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1968  
THE  
**ANNUAL REGISTER**  
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**POLITICS,**  
AND  
**LITERATURE,**  
OF THE YEAR  
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THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
FOR THE YEAR  
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THE  
HISTORY OF EUROPE.

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CHAP. I.

*Discordant Materials of Lord Goderich's Ministry—Dissensions among the Members of it—Quarrels as to the Selection of a Chairman of the intended Committee of Finance—Conduct of Lord Goderich, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Huskisson, and Mr. Herries—Threats and tenders of Resignation by Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Herries—Dissolution of the Goderich Ministry—Formation of a new Ministry under the Duke of Wellington—Adhesion of Mr. Huskisson and his friends to the new Ministry—Subsequent expulsion of Mr. Huskisson from Office—Resignations of his friends—Subsequent changes in the Ministry.*

WE closed our account of the domestic occurrences of 1827, with the elevation of lord Goderich to the office of prime minister on the death of Mr. Canning. The discordant elements, of which the latter had composed his government, led men to expect, that it would fall in pieces, when he himself was removed. In ap-  
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pearance, however, nothing was changed, except the head. The introduction of Mr. Herries into the cabinet, as chancellor of the exchequer, was not the introduction of any new interest. His political views and attachments severed him no doubt very widely from that portion of the ministry, which, before its union with Mr.

[B]

## 2] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1828.

Canning, had formed the opposition; but that difference already existed in the ministry in point of principle: even the premier himself, if any confidence could be placed in the former tenor of his political life, was far removed from perfect political sympathy with the new colleagues whom he received from his predecessor. Mr. Herries at the head of the exchequer, was an additional point on which the contending interests of the cabinet might come into contact; but these discordant interests themselves were all there, already prepared to support each its own pretensions by open clamour, or to undermine its adversary by secret intrigue. Two sets of men, so much opposed to each other as those had long been, who now formed the ministry, could not be expected to carry on the government with cordiality and harmony. Mr. Canning, in whom all of them acknowledged a superior, might have been able to retain them for a while in their appropriate spheres; but lord Goderich soon felt, that, though his dying friend had bequeathed to him rivalry and dissension in the cabinet, neither the power of intellect, nor the decision and energy of character, nor even the tact of management, which would have been necessary to avoid ruin, had formed any part of the bequest. The departing prophet had bestowed his blessing, but had not left his mantle.

The discords, which were unavoidable among these ill-assorted companions, became more deadly, and rendered the ministry more helpless, the nearer the meeting of parliament approached—an occasion which required for their official self-preservation the oblivion of all enmities, and the exhibition of all the

united strength which they could muster. It was scarcely possible, that, in great matters of domestic arrangement, such as finance, Ireland, or the Corn-laws, lord Lansdowne, and Mr. Tierney, with sir Francis Burdett, sir Robert Wilson, and the rest of the cohort which they had brought over from the opposition benches, could cordially coincide with the less bold and decided views of the premier himself: and it was utterly impracticable that any true harmony could exist between them, and the interest of which Mr. Herries was now considered an official representative. He and lord Goderich had long been members of the same government; and there was nothing to prevent them from still acting together, unless the latter was determined to throw himself into the arms of his whig allies: but these allies and Mr. Herries had always been widely separated from each other; and, though now brought together in office, they were as distant as ever from mutual confidence. The whig part of the ministry had vehemently opposed his admission into the cabinet; lord Lansdowne had tendered his resignation on the occasion, under the idea, it was said, of the appointment being pressed by the king personally; and he submitted to it only on being assured, that it was, as it ought to have been, the act of the premier. But still Mr. Herries was only tolerated by them. They were determined not to trust him: they naturally aspired to the strengthening of their power by filling, with one of themselves, an office in the government so prominent and influential. While Mr. Herries continued there, they must be content to remain satisfied

with divided power. To them it was most desirable either to remove him, and those who thought with him, from office, or to diminish the influence of the office which he retained, by assuming to themselves the arrangement of matters, in which no chancellor of the exchequer could submit to fill any place but the first. In attempting the latter, they wrecked the government. The occasion, indeed, seemed to be a trifling one: but the occasion was only the means: the importance and the mischief lay in what was either the true, though the concealed, object, or at least the unavoidable consequence of what was done and persevered in.

When Mr. Canning, as chancellor of the exchequer, opened the budget in 1827, he had avowed strongly the necessity of subjecting the financial condition and resources of the country to a thorough investigation, and had stated that the proper course to be adopted for that purpose would be the appointment of a finance committee. The necessities of his newly-acquired, and still very unstable power, had justified him in postponing this measure from the short session during which alone he had been in office; but he had pledged himself to the House of Commons, that, in the ensuing session of 1828, such a committee would be named. His successor, who assumed office professedly to govern on the same principles, held himself to be bound by this engagement; and therefore, towards the close of the year, as the meeting of the parliament approached, some members of the ministry began to turn their attention to the formation of this committee. In such a measure, which, in its conse-

quences might interfere, to an indefinite extent, with financial arrangements, it seems to be perfectly clear that the chancellor of the exchequer, the finance minister of the country, was the very first person to be consulted. It was not merely due to him as a matter of courtesy, though his opponents were never willing to allow that what followed was more than a want of courtesy: it was due to the influence of his office; it was due to the regular procedure of the ministry. To proceed in such a measure without having ascertained what were his wishes and views, or even without being prepared to accede to these wishes and views, in so far as they did not contradict the general policy of the government, was to degrade him from that official weight and control which belong to every head of a department. It so happened, however, that, before any thing had been said on the subject in the cabinet, Mr. Tierney, the most active member of the whig section of the cabinet, had resolved to take the lead in the formation of this committee,—to take it at once in its most important part, viz. the nomination of the chairman, and to take it, moreover, without so much as informing, much less consulting, the chancellor of the exchequer. In the middle of November, he proposed to lord Goderich, that lord Althorpe should be appointed chairman of the committee. Lord Goderich expressed no objection; but merely said, that, as it was a matter which more nearly concerned those members of the cabinet who had seats in the House of Commons, he would leave it to them; and whatever they might determine on would be agreeable to him. He



## 4] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1828.

requested Mr. Tierney, in particular, to talk it over with Mr. Huskisson. The latter, when the proposal was first made to him, objected to it on the ground, that, whatever might be the talents of lord Althorpe, they had not been directed in any particular manner to those inquiries which would occupy the attention of such a committee. After some days' consideration, however, he got the better of his objections, and informed Mr. Tierney, that he had come to be of opinion that the public service would be benefitted by having lord Althorpe in the chair. Upon this, Mr. Tierney immediately wrote to earl Spencer, lord Althorpe's father, to ascertain whether his lordship would accept the office, if it were offered to him; and lord Althorpe stated in reply, that he would consent to undertake that duty, provided certain arrangements, which he did not then specify, were acceded to by his majesty's government. This negotiation was communicated to lord Goderich, who seemed cordially to acquiesce. It may be very true that it did not go the length of positively committing the government to place lord Althorpe ultimately in the chair; but it shewed decidedly, what were the views of those who engaged in it; and lord Althorpe would justly have thought himself trifled with, if they had afterwards determined on appointing another chairman without some very good reason.

All this took place between the middle and the 27th of November; and, amid all these proposals and arrangements, not one syllable of what was going on had ever been whispered to the chancellor of the exchequer: he was kept in profound ignorance of what vitally

concerned his own office, and ought to have been submitted as matter of deliberation to him, the instant it had been entertained by the head of the government. It was only on the 27th of November, that lord Goderich, when mentioning to Mr. Huskisson the communication which had been made to lord Althorpe, happened to ask, whether the chancellor of the exchequer knew any thing of what had been going on, and learned to his no small surprise, that no communication had been made to Mr. Herries. Mr. Huskisson's answer shewed an anxiety to exculpate himself, which betrayed a conscious feeling that wrong had been done, if very serious wrong was not intended: "I was neither desired nor authorized," said Mr. Huskisson, "to make any communication to him on the subject; but I take it for granted that he has been made acquainted with it." Certainly every man would have taken that for granted; but the fact was, that it had never been mentioned to him. Lord Goderich characterized the omission as an oversight, and requested Mr. Huskisson to inform Mr. Herries of what had been done. Next day, the 28th November, when even the names of the intended members of the committee were talked of in town, Mr. Herries happened to call at the Colonial office on other business, and learned, for the first time, that it was proposed to place lord Althorpe in the chair of the finance committee, that the intention had been already communicated to his lordship, and that all this had been arranged by the master of the mint and the colonial secretary, without taking the trouble even to inquire what might be the views or wishes of the

finance minister of the country, within whose department the matter fell, who was entitled to have had the initiative in every thing connected with it, and whose every arrangement might depend on the views with which the choice was made. While these two gentlemen were together, Mr. Tierney came in, and drew from his pocket a prepared list of the members whom he meant to propose should form the committee. Mr. Huskisson afterwards stated, that Mr. Herries, at this meeting seemed to acquiesce in the nomination; and Mr. Tierney said, that he thought he had the chancellor of the exchequer with him. But Mr. Herries, in the course of the parliamentary explanations which followed, made the following uncontradicted statement in the House of Commons, on the 18th of February: "I now call on my right hon. friend (Mr. Huskisson) to do me the justice to state, that, when mention was first made to me of the intention to place lord Althorpe in the chair, I said, that, with all the respect which I bore for the high private character of that noble lord, and with all the satisfaction which I should experience in acting with him on any committee, I must object to his being appointed chairman of this committee. Such was the answer which I gave to a communication which I by no means considered at the time to be so distinct as I afterwards discovered that it was intended to be."

Before next day, Mr. Herries had brought himself to be of opinion that this nomination was one which on various grounds he was bound to resist; and, looking at the matter in the light in which he was entitled to consider it, it is not easy to see how blame could attach

to him for doing so. Lord Althorpe belonged to a party in the House of Commons, with whose financial views Mr. Herries could not coincide, and with which lord Goderich, when himself chancellor of the exchequer would as little have coincided. The selection of a chairman by the government, was a declaration by the government of the principles by which it intended that the inquiry should be conducted, and the general nature of the results which it was meant to bring out. Now, if Mr. Herries thought that the principles and doctrines, of which he considered lord Althorpe a representative, were not those to which the government ought to lend its countenance, and would lead to a state of things under which he could not consent to conduct his own department of public affairs, he was both bound and entitled to resist. Whether his opinion was at bottom right or wrong, was, in this view, matter of indifference. These objections in his mind, if they really existed, were perfectly fair and legitimate grounds of dissent and opposition, and, if the measure was persisted in, of resignation. Scarcely less valid were the objections arising from the history of the transaction. A mere unintentional omission it could not be: at least it would have been asking too much, to have required Mr. Herries, in all the circumstances of the case, to have considered it as not betokening something much more serious. He had come into the government in defiance of the violent resistance of the whig part of the cabinet; and it was the most active member of that party who had taken into his hands what properly belonged to the chancellor of the exchequer himself. The

thing to be done, too, by this interference was to place a leader of the same party in an office of no mean importance; to declare, in a manner, that the principles of that party were the principles by which the ministry desired to be guided in one of their weightiest departments; to make, in short, the whig interest in the cabinet, a rising and predominating interest; and to sink Mr. Herries, and the interest of which he was a representative, into such a state of subserviency, that, while its adherents held office nominally, they were to exercise none of the prerogatives and influence of their offices. Nothing could be more natural than for Mr. Tierney and his friends to labour after such a consummation: they undoubtedly would have considered the removal of Mr. Herries a good gained: and even lord Goderich may have had reasons for being willing that one section of his cabinet should assume a decided superiority over the other, although his errors seem to have proceeded from mere want of energy. But all this did not make it the less unreasonable, to insist that Mr. Herries should submit to such a superiority, and to accuse him of treacherously plotting to destroy the government, merely because he thought that the whole transaction tended to create a preponderance under which he was perfectly entitled to say he would not act. A mere unintentional omission to consult the head of a department, while you are concocting measures which affect the very vitals of his department, and of which he ought to be the official leader, is not a thing to be presumed among men of business and decorum, especially when it comes from a declared political enemy,

or a lukewarm friend. Lord Goderich had said at the very outset, "consult the members of the cabinet who have seats in the House of Commons;" Mr. Tierney consults Mr. Huskisson; and not only do they go the length of communicating to the nominee, without consulting that member of the cabinet in the House of Commons, without whom they must have known, unless they meant to degrade him into a nominal minister, they could not move a step, but there is nothing from which it appears that they had any intention of consulting him at all. It was only an incidental inquiry of lord Goderich which brought out the fact, that Mr. Herries was still kept in ignorance. Mr. Huskisson declares, that he could make no communication, unless he was "requested or authorized"; an excellent specimen of the utter want of cordiality among these gentlemen: for what authority did Mr. Huskisson require to inform a fellow-minister, that measures were going on, in which that minister was deeply interested? what other authority than that which good feeling is to every honest man, not to keep another person in the dark about what he is doing in that other person's affairs. When Mr. Tierney goes with a list of members for the committee in his pocket, it is to the Colonial office that he goes, and to consult with the colonial secretary, not with the chancellor of the exchequer; and next day, when the colonial secretary, in consequence of Mr. Herries's remonstrances, and in possession of Mr. Herries's objections, writes to Mr. Tierney at Brighton, requesting that greater caution may be used, and no names mentioned, he does not once make even the slightest

allusion to Mr. Herries's feelings or wishes on the subject.\* If Mr. Herries felt, as he probably did, and had openly said, that the transaction had been carried on either in the opinion that his approbation was matter of little moment, or with the purpose of trying how far he would allow it to be reckoned of little moment, and proving to him that the real influence of his office was in the hands of others, there assuredly was nothing in the history or probabilities of the transaction to contradict him.

Accordingly, next day, the 29th of November, he, Mr. Herries requested an interview with lord Goderich, at which he stated to his lordship the strong objections which he felt, both on public and private grounds, to the nomination of lord Althorpe, and the mode in which it had been carried so far as it had gone. Lord Goderich received the communication "with considerable agitation; admitted the wrong which had been done; and agreed that no time should be lost in obviating the objections which had been stated."† Mr. Herries immediately sought an interview with Mr. Huskisson for the same purpose: he did not obtain one till next day, and he then stated to him what he had stated to lord Goderich, and, after leaving Mr. Huskisson, transmitted his objections to him in a written form, as his protest against the nomination of lord Althorpe. This was on the 30th of November; and nothing more seems to have taken place regarding the matter, till the 21st of December. During this interval, it is allowed on all hands that the government was in the

agonies of dissolution from causes which had no connection with this dispute, for neither Mr. Herries nor Mr. Huskisson had yet spoken of resigning; and Mr. Herries had no reason to believe, that, after what had passed, the obnoxious nomination would be persisted in. Mr. Huskisson himself said of the intervening period, that, during it, "there had occurred many circumstances, which tended materially to impair the strength and shake the stability of the administration. Some of the principal of them are of a nature so notorious as to render it unnecessary for me to state them; while there are others which have come to my knowledge in such a manner as to preclude me from stating them; but the impression made upon my mind by all of them was, that the administration, as constituted at that time, was exposed to the greatest difficulties. These were to me ominous signs which I could not mistake." In truth, till the 19th of December, there was no government. Lord Goderich had formally tendered his resignation; there was no ostensible head to whom the complaints or wishes of an inferior member of the ministry could be addressed. The nominal head was in a sea of perplexities, where squabbling and complaining would have been any thing but friendly offices. Mr. Herries, when accused of having subsequently backed his objections by the alternative of resigning, if they were not sustained, answered, and apparently with much justice, that, if he had chosen that season to press a determination of the dispute, there would have been some reason for representing him as seizing an opportunity at once to hasten and to embitter the dying moments of the expiring cabinet.

\* Mr. Tierney's speech, 18th February.

† Mr. Herries's speech, 18th Feb.

On the 19th or 20th of December, the ministry again righted for a while, and lord Goderich was still at the helm. Mr. Herries, to bring the affair of the finance committee to a close, addressed to him on the 21st the following letter.

"My dear Goderich,—It is now full time that some further steps should be taken with respect to the committee of finance.

"It would, I believe, naturally be my duty to bring that subject under the consideration of the cabinet; but, after what has passed (and I advert to it with much pain), I feel that it is not at present in my hands. I must, therefore, learn from you, as head of the government, what is the course intended to be pursued for the formation of this committee, and the regulation of its proceedings.

"What has hitherto been done in this matter has taken place without consultation or communication with me, although it would seem to belong principally to my department of the public business. A negotiation has been carried on, and completed by Mr. Tierney, with your sanction and that of Mr. Huskisson, for the nomination of the chairman of the committee. The government is, I presume, fully committed to the individual fixed upon for the purpose, and to the noble house of which he is a member; and this proceeding, as I am given to understand, has been adopted with a view, in a great measure, to a political object, and as being calculated to strengthen the hands of the administration. I doubt much, whether that view be correct, and whether the calculation be a just one. But I have an objection to the arrangement upon a much higher ground. I conceive, that, in order to derive, in

the utmost possible degree, from this important measure all the public benefit which it is capable of affording, and at the same time to avoid the inconveniences to which it is liable, all political views of the narrower kind—all those which are connected with particular parties and influences only—should be utterly discarded in the formation of the committee. It appears to me, that these objects would be best secured, if the committee were composed of the most eminent individuals of the several parties in the House of Commons, and the chair filled by some person of high character and respectability, either entirely unconnected, or connected as little as possible, with any of the political parties into which the House is divided.

"Whether this be a proper view of the subject, and whether, if it be so, you could yet proceed upon such a principle, you are best able to judge. I do not feel that I could act in it upon any other. In order, therefore, to relieve you from any difficulty, as connected with my situation, respecting the course which you may deem it expedient to pursue, I beg to assure you, that if, by putting my office into other hands, you can more satisfactorily execute this difficult measure, you may command my most ready and cheerful resignation of it. I place it (and I beg it to be understood as being done in the most friendly manner) entirely at your disposal."

The answer of lord Goderich, was in the following terms:

"My dear Herries,—I received your letter of the 21st, and I agree with you, that the time is at hand when it will become necessary to consider the direction of the finance committee in all its bearings, with

a view to the public good, and the satisfaction of all parties. When Mr. Huskisson returns to town, this matter must be brought to a final issue. I owe it, however, to myself to say, that you have greatly misconceived the degree in which I was a party to the nomination of lord Althorpe to fill the chair of that committee. I thought I had sufficiently explained to you, verbally, that I conceived the communication to be nothing more than casual, and I regret that it was made. When Mr. Tierney suggested to me the appointment of lord Althorpe, I said it was a proposition that ought to be well considered; but from my regard for the individual, and my old friendship towards him, I was disposed towards it. The matter ended here. When Mr. Tierney afterwards mentioned the circumstance again, I said, that, if the members of the House of Commons inclined to his nomination, I should not object, but that it could not be acted on without a consultation with the government. When I subsequently understood from Mr. Huskisson that a sort of communication had been made to lord Althorpe, on the subject, my first inquiry was, as to whether you had been spoken to on the subject, and to my great surprise, I was given to understand you never had. I then thought it right to state that you were a party to whom direct reference should be made. With respect to the latter part of your letter, in which you place your office in my hands, I cannot conceive that you have made out a case to justify you in so proceeding; but I hope that you will take no steps until an opportunity has been given for bringing the whole matter under full consideration."

On Mr. Herries's proposal to resign being communicated to Mr. Huskisson, the latter immediately announced to lord Goderich that he would resign, if the nomination of lord Althorpe was not carried through. He had been willing, he said, notwithstanding the difficulties in which the ministry was placed, to make every exertion to meet parliament, and then leave their fate in the hands of the House of Commons; but he now saw that there was no prospect of that cordial co-operation, without which he could not hope to carry through the measures which he reckoned of essential importance to the country. This seemed to imply, that to yield to Mr. Herries on the present occasion would be to acknowledge the power of an interest which did not run in the same channel with his own. But he forgot that, in thinking so, he furnished the justification of his colleague; for, considering the quarter from which the proposed nomination had come, and the party likings and views which might fairly be said to be involved in its confirmation, the same sentiment would have been, at least equally correct in the mouth of Mr. Herries. Mr. Huskisson, however, although he had thus expressed his determination, was prevailed upon not to resign formally, till it should be ascertained whether Mr. Herries was in earnest.\* New applications were accordingly made to Mr. Herries, who remained ignorant in the mean time of Mr. Huskisson's threatened resignation. If he had been aware of it, he would instantly have given in his formal resignation; but he did not learn

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\* Mr. Huskisson's speech, 18th Feb.

it, till the 5th of January. Lord Goderich, in the mean time, was repeating his assurances that no slight had been intended, and urging Mr. Herries not to take a step which would embarrass the government; but no approach was made to any explanation or discussion. Mr. Herries was told again and again, that he was wrong in thinking that the government stood committed to lord Althorpe; and yet he was given clearly to understand, that the government would carry lord Althorpe's nomination through. It is very evident that to press the appointment in such circumstances was to add strength to every objection which Mr. Herries had originally been entitled to take. His opponents were clearly those who had been at first in the wrong; and if, looking at it merely as a matter of personal rivalry, without any reference to the public grounds on which the proposal was defended and opposed, lord Goderich found himself compelled to say,—‘though perfectly indifferent myself in the matter, yet I cannot give up this nomination by the Colonial Secretary and the Master of the Mint, without losing Mr. Huskisson,’—neither he, nor any other reasonable man could blame Mr. Herries for avoiding by his resignation, a concession which could not fairly be pressed upon him. So soon, therefore, as he learned, that, if lord Althorpe was not made chairman of the Finance Committee, Mr. Huskisson would not continue Colonial Secretary, he announced his final determination to resign in the following letter to lord Goderich, on the 7th of January.

“My dear Goderich:—I have, as you requested in your last letter, (and as I promised in my answer

that I would), carefully reconsidered the subject of my letter of the 21st of December. I regret to be compelled to state, that the reconsideration so bestowed upon it has not conduced to any alteration of the judgment which I had previously formed and communicated to you. The question at issue, and upon which your judgment, not mine, is to be formed, is obviously not the mere nomination of lord Althorpe. That nomination cannot be treated as an insulated point, disconnected from the circumstances under which it was determined upon, and the manner in which it was settled; nor (which is of much more importance) can it be fairly considered without reference to the principles by which I have stated that I think every step in the formation of the committee of finance ought to be guided. In your last communication to me, you gave me to understand that I had been mistaken in supposing that a conclusive engagement with lord Althorpe had been made. It appears from your view of the matter, that little more had been done than to ascertain that lord Althorpe would undertake the office. If such be the case, I cannot but observe that it renders the positive determination to adhere peremptorily to that choice, and even to refuse all discussion of the reasons upon which I think a different course ought to be pursued, not only more unintelligible to me, but more difficult for me to acquiesce in. I should have thought that it might, upon such grounds, have still been an open question. Let me take this opportunity of renewing the assurance which I have already given you, that your determination, as the result of your judgment in this matter, to advise the king to confide to

other hands the seals which I now hold, will not have the slightest tendency to diminish the friendship which I feel both for you and for Huskisson; nor to abate the sincere wishes which I entertain for the future success of your administration. I feel that, where parties of such unequal weights are placed, by an unfortunate concurrence of circumstances, in two opposite scales, there ought not to be a moment's hesitation (with reference to the interests of the government) in so disposing of me as to retain the invaluable services of our common friend." Next day the ministry was at an end. Lord Goderich, unable to untie the knot, resolved to cut it. He was reduced to the necessity of allowing either Mr. Huskisson or Mr. Herries to resign, and he escaped from the dilemma by resigning himself. On the 8th of January he went down to Windsor, opened his difficulties to the king, and ceased to be minister.

Thus perished the Canning Coalition Ministry, after an existence of seven months, before it had been able to acquire a character, or gain that hold on public confidence, which had been forfeited by the sudden reconciliation of the ancient enemies of whom it was composed. It perished—the victim of that want of confidence, of those very enmities which the gainers by coalitions always represent as swallowed up in their new-born friendships—and of want of power and energy in its leader. Though occasion was industriously taken to throw the blame of having caused its dissolution on the dispute between Mr. Herries and Mr. Huskisson, it was abundantly plain that it would speedily have fallen to pieces from its own infirmities.

We have already seen the total want of cordiality among its members: we have already noticed the declaration of Mr. Huskisson, that there were "ominous signs" which he could not mistake. Mr. Herries declared positively in the House of Commons, that the explosion had not been produced by that dispute; that it was the work of other causes which had been previously acting; and that a consultation had been held to determine whether his tendered resignation should not be made use of as furnishing an opportunity and a pretext to take a step already resolved on. In truth, in the middle of December, before the difference about the chair of the Finance Committee had exhibited a single alarming symptom, lord Goderich had actually tendered his resignation. How then could the embarrassments and dissolution of the ministry be ascribed to events, which did not occur till the members seemed to be already anxious to seize the first opportunity of escaping from a falling edifice? In particular, the question was often put, but never answered,—'why did lord Goderich resign instead of deciding? To lose Mr. Herries, was not to lose the ministry. It was often asked, too, who, or what, was Mr. Herries, that he should have been of sufficient importance to destroy the ministry? The question could reasonably be directed to lord Goderich alone. Mr. Herries said, 'I shall resign that Mr. Huskisson may remain.' Lord Goderich said, 'if you resign, the cabinet is destroyed, for the government cannot go on without you.' It is only on the supposition of Mr. Herries having been considered a minister whose place could not be supplied, that the determination of



the premier becomes intelligible. Lord Goderich took with him from office, the honourable, candid, and ingenuous character which had always distinguished him; but he left neither his king nor his country impressed with any high idea of his energy and decision, or of his power and skill to grapple with difficulties, or control jarring spirits.

The king, thus abandoned by the ministers, to whom he said he would have been true if they had been true to themselves, sent for the duke of Wellington, and commissioned his grace to form a new cabinet with himself at its head. His grace immediately entered into communication with Mr. Peel, and other members of lord Liverpool's ministry, who had seceded on the elevation of Mr. Canning. The new government was speedily constructed. In framing it, almost all the members of the former one were retained, except the whigs who had joined Mr. Canning in the day of his necessity. Mr. Peel returned to the home office, in place of the marquis of Lansdowne. Mr. Tierney surrendered the mint; sir James Scarlett resigned the office of attorney-generalship, which was restored to sir Charles Wetherell, who had gone out with the leading members of lord Liverpool's ministry in the preceding April. Lord Melville was placed at the head of the board of control; Mr. Goulburn was made chancellor of the exchequer, and earl Bathurst, president of the council. Even Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Herries, whose irreconcilable antipathies had just been so fatal, remained portions of the new ministry, Mr. Huskisson continuing to be colonial secretary, and Mr. Herries becoming master of the mint in place of Mr. Tierney,

whose interference had tended, if it was not meant, to degrade his successor in his official character. All the friends of Mr. Huskisson retained their places;—lord Dudley and Ward, as foreign secretary; Mr. Grant, as president of the board of trade; lord Palmerston, as secretary at war. The duke of Wellington was first lord of the treasury, and he immediately resigned the office of commander-in-chief of the army.

Thus the ministry was almost entirely restored to what it had been under the premiership of lord Liverpool. With the exception of lord Lyndhurst as chancellor, in place of lord Eldon, and lord Dudley as foreign secretary in place of Mr. Canning, the *personale* remained nearly unchanged. The old opposition alone was again totally excluded. The public, however, were not easily satisfied at seeing Mr. Huskisson and his friends still clinging to office. His union with the new ministry displeased the personal friends of Mr. Canning, who thought that he displayed little regard to the memory of his friend, in so soon taking place with those who had deserted that friend at his utmost need. The whigs were not easily satisfied that he acted honestly in staying in, when they were compelled to go out: they had thought that the conduct of those who resigned in April 1827, when he adhered to Mr. Canning, had secured him from them for ever, and that he would remain faithful to the opposition benches, where, in that emergency, he had found protection and support. He was directly accused of having sacrificed principle to love of place. He was pledged, it was said, to measures to which the leading members of the new government could not but be hostile. On him depended the

liberal policy of our commercial system; he stood engaged to liberal measures in our foreign policy; he was pledged in the cause of Catholic emancipation. These measures had formed the points of union among all the members of the late government; but in every one of them the new government was either lukewarm, or would be guided, by its head, in an opposite direction. No beneficial alteration in the corn laws could, it was said, be expected, under the duke of Wellington, who, in the preceding year, had thrown out the corn bill: Catholic emancipation had no more obstinate enemy; he was too intimately and personally connected with the monarchs of Europe, to set any value on the rights of their subjects; and the policy of Mr. Canning to protect Portugal and rescue Greece would wither under his influence. The men who indulged in language like this, (and they were found in parliament as well as out of it), forgot, that every thing which had been done in regard to these topics, with the exception of the corn bill, had been done under lord Liverpool, when the duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel were members of the government. Neither of these statesmen had resisted Mr. Huskisson's amendments in the commercial code; it was the duke of Wellington who had signed the protocol of St. Petersburg, on which rested our interference with Turkey in behalf of Greece; and, as to Ireland, the government was now just what it had been so long, and what even the last cabinet itself had been, a divided government. There was in truth much more of ignorance and prejudice than of sound sense in the clamour which was excited against Mr. Huskisson for his accession to the ministry. On

the hustings at Liverpool, where he was re-elected, he entered into an explanation of his conduct. It was simply this—that the policy of the present ministry was to be the same with that of all those of its predecessors, to which he had belonged. He had refused to accept the duke of Wellington's offers, till he should understand what were to be the principles of his grace's cabinet. When he found that lord Dudley was to continue at the head of our foreign relations, Mr. Grant at the board of trade, and he himself in the colonial office,—that there was to be no change in the administration of Ireland, and that the Irish question to remain, as it had so long remained, a question on which no official influence should be brought to bear,—he saw so much security for the prevalence of the principles to which he was pledged, as would have left him without excuse, if he had deserted the public service to gratify private feelings. In speaking on this subject he used the word "guarantees", and was reported to have said, that he had insisted on receiving, and had received, from the duke of Wellington, positive and special pledges that a particular line of policy should be followed, and that his grace should tread in all respects in the footsteps of Mr. Canning. So soon as the report of the speeches was made public, the expressions of Mr. Huskisson attracted notice. The duke of Wellington immediately noticed them in the House of Lords, and repelled, with a prompt and somewhat contemptuous contradiction, the imputation that he had bound himself to Mr. Huskisson by any particular security. Pledges, he said, had neither been asked nor given; and if they had been asked, they would have been indignantly refused. Mr. Huskisson then ex-

plained in the House of Commons, that his words had been misrepresented. He had, he allowed, used the expression guarantee; but he had used it in no other sense than this, that the presence of his friends in the offices which they had held under Mr. Canning was a sufficient understanding as to the views on which the new government was to be conducted.

It is certain, however, that these occurrences injured Mr. Huskisson in public estimation. Amid all changes he was too regularly in office; his political life had rendered it indubitable that he loved place; and he seemed not indisposed to rest the defence of his consistency on fine-drawn distinctions. On the present occasion he appeared to feel that part, at least, of the public confidence was gone; that his late friends considered him as having betrayed them; that his new colleagues scarcely trusted him, though they found him useful, and imputed his adherence to an inability to resign or refuse place, rather than to any cordial community of sentiment. He seemed anxious to redeem himself by some act that would look like an assertion of independence; yet he took his opportunity so unfortunately, and followed it up with such a miserable want of steadiness and self-respect, that it left him almost without a public character; and, while it dismissed him from the ministry, allowed him to depart scarcely followed by a single regret. In the course of the session, bills were introduced into parliament to disfranchise the boroughs of Penryn and East Retford, which had been convicted of repeated and incurable bribery. Two opinions prevailed regarding the mode in which the vacant franchises should be disposed

of. One was that they should be extended to the neighbouring hundreds; the other was, that they should be transferred to some of the populous unrepresented towns, Birmingham for instance, and Manchester. Mr. Peel, as leader in the House of Commons, had declared, that, having two boroughs to deal with, he would, in the one case, extend the franchise to the hundreds, and, in the other, transfer it to a town. Mr. Huskisson, however, had gone farther, and had stated in the house, that, if there should be only the franchise of one borough to dispose of, he would vote in favour of the transference to Birmingham or Manchester. Penryn was first dealt with in the House of Commons: a bill transferring its franchise to Manchester was sent up to the Lords, while the case of East Retford was allowed to stand over, as the decision of the Commons in the latter might be materially affected by the decision of the peers upon the former. By the 19th of May, when the East Retford bill was again moved, it was considered so certain that the Penryn bill would be rejected by the House of Lords altogether, that the ministers, who had pledged themselves, only in case of two boroughs being in question, to give the franchise of one of them to a town, considered themselves as in fact having only one borough to deal with. They voted, therefore, with the exception of Mr. Huskisson, against transferring the franchise of East Retford to Birmingham. But Mr. Huskisson, who had tied himself up by his former declaration, even in the case of only one being disfranchised, felt himself bound to redeem his pledge, and divided against his colleagues. This was, no doubt, an awkward

occurrence; but as the intentions of government had been involved in some obscurity, it does not seem that it would have led to any consequences, if Mr. Huskisson himself had not considered it to be of such importance, as to affect his connection with the ministry. So soon as he got home from the House of Commons, he sat down, at two o'clock in the morning, and wrote to the duke of Wellington the following letter, marked private and confidential, and inclosed in a cabinet box;—circumstances, on which Mr. Huskisson subsequently laid great stress as modifying its plain import.

“Downing Street,

“Tuesday morning, 2 a. m. May 20.

“My dear Duke.—After the vote which, in regard to my own consistency and personal character, I have found myself, from the course of this evening's debate, compelled to give on the East Retford question, I owe it to you, as the head of the administration, and to Mr. Peel as the leader of the House of Commons, to lose no time in affording you an opportunity of placing my office in other hands, as the only means in my power of preventing the injury to the king's service which may ensue from the appearance of disunion in his majesty's councils, however unfounded in reality, or however unimportant in itself the question which has given rise to that appearance.”

If words had any meaning, this was a resignation of his office. The epistle was couched in almost the express terms of Mr. Herries, not many weeks before; which lord Goderich and all the world had rightly looked upon as a resignation, and on which, as a resignation, Mr. Huskisson himself had built his belief that the then government

could not stand. The duke of Wellington read and understood it as a resignation, and as such he laid it immediately before the king, returning to Mr. Huskisson this laconic answer.

“My dear Huskisson,—Your letter of two this morning, which I received at ten, has surprised me much and has given me great concern. I have considered it my duty to lay it before the king.”

For such prompt and straightforward conduct Mr. Huskisson was not prepared. He had expected that the minister would entreat him to remain in office, as a person without whom the government would be helpless; he did not seem to have once calculated on the possibility of the duke dispensing with his services. He was in conversation with lord Dudley, when his grace's answer arrived, and astounded him. Lord Dudley, to whom he shewed it, said the duke, was labouring under a mistake, which he would go and clear up. He soon returned however, with the intelligence that the duke maintained, “it is no mistake, it can be no mistake, and it shall be no mistake.” Here Mr. Huskisson ought to have stopped short: any step towards explanation was, after this, degradation; to volunteer it farther was to supplicate for permission to remain in office from a master who had thus brought him to his knees. But Mr. Huskisson did not stop here. Lord Dudley was immediately followed by lord Palmerston, commissioned to tell the duke, that Mr. Huskisson was surprised at his grace not having called for any explanation of the vote of the preceding night, and was ready and willing to state to his grace the reasons on which he had acted. The secretary at war was not a

more successful ambassador than the foreign secretary. The answer he brought back was, that, in the view which the duke of Wellington took of the matter, Mr. Huskisson's letter was an absolute and formal resignation, and could not be looked upon in any other light whatever. Even this was not sufficient to recal the placeman to a sense of self-respect. Two ambassadors had failed: he tried the effect of a written explanation of his own, in the following terms.

"Downing Street,

"May 20, 1828, half past 6 p. m.

"My dear duke,—Having understood from lord Dudley and lord Palmerston, that you had laid my letter of last night before the king under a different impression from that which it was intended to convey, I feel it due both to you and to myself to say, that my object in writing that letter was, not to express any intentions of my own, but to relieve you from any delicacy which you might feel towards me, if you should think that the interests of his majesty's service would be prejudiced by my remaining in office, after giving a vote, in respect to which, from the turn which the latter part of the debate had taken, a sense of personal honour left me no alternative."

The duke's answer placed the matter on its true footing; the footing on which Mr. Huskisson's self-love must have hoped and intended that it should be placed, although the issue had so unluckily disappointed his expectations. It was in these terms:—

"My dear Huskisson,—I have received your letter of this evening. I certainly did not understand your letter of two this morning as offering me any option; nor do I understand the one of this evening,

as leaving me any, except that of submitting myself and his majesty's government to the necessity of soliciting you to remain in your office, or of incurring the loss of your valuable assistance to his majesty's service. However sensible I may be of this loss, I am convinced that, in these times, any loss is better than that of character, which is the foundation of public confidence.

In this view of the case, I have put out of it altogether every consideration of the discredit resulting from the scene of last night; of the extent of which you could not but have been sensible when you thought proper, as a remedy for it, to send me the offer of "placing your office in other hands."

Still another attempt was to be made; and Mr. Huskisson, next day, dispatched another apologetic epistle to his grace, vowing that he had never intended to resign; that, in truth, he had never expected to be taken at his word.\* His grace's

\* "Colonial Office, May 21, 1828.

"My dear Duke,—In justice to myself, I cannot acquiesce for a moment in the construction which your letter of last night puts upon my conduct.

"You cannot refuse to me the right of knowing the motives of my own actions; and I solemnly declare that, in both my letters, I was actuated by one and the same feeling. It was simply this:—That it was not for me, but for you, as head of the government, to decide how far my vote made it expedient to remove me from his majesty's service. I felt that I had no alternative, consistently with personal honour (in a difficulty not of my own seeking or creating), but to give that vote; that the question, in itself, was one of minor importance; that the disunion was more in appearance than in reality; but I also felt that, possibly, you might take a different view of it, and that, in case you should, I ought, (as I had done on a similar occasion with lord Liverpool), to relieve you from any

answer was in the same clear and decided style as before, that it was impossible to put any other rational meaning on the letter than that of a resignation; and that to have inter-

difficulty, arising out of personal consideration towards me, in deciding upon a step to which you might find it your public duty to resort on the occasion.

"It was under this impression alone, that I wrote to you immediately upon my return from the House of Commons.

"If you had not misconceived that impression, as well as the purport of my second letter, I am persuaded that you could not suppose me guilty of the arrogance of expecting 'that you and his majesty's government should submit yourselves to the necessity of soliciting me to remain in my office,' or do me the injustice of believing that I could be capable of placing you in the alternative of choosing between the continuance of my services, such as they are, and the loss to your administration of one particle of character, which I agree with you, is the foundation of public confidence.

"If, understanding my communication as I intended it to be understood, you had, in any way, intimated to me, either that the occurrence, however unfortunate, was not one of sufficient moment to render it necessary for you, on public grounds, to act in the manner in which I had assumed that you possibly might think it necessary, or that you were under that necessity, in either case there would have been an end of the matter. In the first supposition, I should have felt that I had done, what in honour and fairness towards you, I was bound to do; but it never would have entered my imagination, that I had claimed or received any sacrifice whatever from you or any member of his majesty's government.

"On the other hand, nothing can be further from my intention than to express an opinion that the occasion was not one in which you might fairly consider it your duty to advise his majesty to withdraw from me the seals of office, on the ground of this vote. I do not, therefore, complain; but I cannot allow that my removal shall be placed on any other ground. I cannot allow that it was my own act, still less can I admit, that when I had no other intention than to relieve the question on which you had to decide

pretended it otherwise would have exposed the government to very painful misconstructions. In the mean time, Mr. Huskisson, when he found that these repeated and humble

from any personal embarrassment, this step, on my part, should be ascribed to feelings the very reverse of those by which alone I was actuated, either towards you or his majesty's government."

This Letter produced the following answer from his grace;

*London, May 21, 1828.*

"My dear Mr. Huskisson,—In consequence of your last letter, I feel it to be necessary to recal to your recollection the circumstances under which I received your letter of Tuesday morning.

"It is addressed to me at two o'clock in the morning, immediately after a debate and division in the House of Commons. It informs me that you lose no time in affording me an opportunity of placing your office in other hands, as the only means in your power of preventing an injury to the king's service, which you describe. It concludes by 'regretting the necessity for troubling me with this communication.'

"Could I consider this in any other light than as a formal tender of the resignation of your office, or that I had any alternative but either to solicit you to remain in office contrary to your sense of duty, or to submit your letter to the king?

"If you had called on me the next morning after your vote, and had explained to me in conversation what had passed in the House of Commons, the character of the communication would have been quite different, and I might have felt myself at liberty to discuss the whole subject with you, and freely to give an opinion upon any point connected. But I must still think that if I had not considered a letter, couched in the terms in which that letter is couched, and received under the circumstances under which I received it, as a tender of resignation, and had not laid it before the king, I should have exposed the king's government and myself to very painful misconstructions. My answer to your letter will have informed you that it surprised me much, and that it gave me great concern. I must consider, therefore, the resignation of your office as your own act, and not as mine."

[C]

entreaties, which he mis-called explanations, had no effect on the hard-hearted duke, requested an interview with the king, in the hope, no doubt, of finding his royal master more placable: for, as he expressed it, "when it had been stated to his majesty that he had written a letter containing his complete resignation, and when he could tell his sovereign that it had been written with no such intention—that it was marked private and confidential—and that the supposed resignation of his office was not accompanied by expressions of gratitude for the favours which he had received at his majesty's hands,—that the letter in question did not contain a single expression of regret at withdrawing from the service of his sovereign,—that, in fact, there was nothing in it of those genuine feelings which it became a minister to utter upon such an occasion, and towards such a king,—when he should have stated such circumstances, he (Mr. Huskisson) believed that he should have set the royal mind right upon the subject, and that he should have made his majesty conscious that he (Mr. Huskisson) was not forgetful of the confidence with which he had been honoured while in his majesty's service." The duke of Wellington, however, did not think proper to advise his majesty to grant an audience to Mr. Huskisson, till the correspondence between him and his grace should be at an end, by arrangements being made to fill up his office; but he allowed him to be informed through lord Dudley, that a door of escape was still open. "Huskisson is a man of sense," said the duke, "and knows well what should be done to settle the whole matter and bring it to an end;"

meaning that he should withdraw his letter, which, while it remained, was a recorded resignation. But Mr. Huskisson was either too dull to take the duke's hint, or too proud to act upon it; where pride, after so much humility, was very much out of place. On the 25th of May, the duke of Wellington informed him, that his majesty had given instructions to supply the vacancy occasioned by his resignation.\*

Mr. Huskisson, in giving what

\* The following is the sequel of the correspondence, the earlier part of which has already been quoted. The first letter was returned by the duke of Wellington un-opened, from a feeling that, as his majesty had been advised to supply Mr. Huskisson's place, it would be improper to learn its contents without the consent of Mr. Huskisson, who had written it in ignorance of that fact. The contrast is striking between the explicit manner of the duke, and the loaded verbiage of the secretary.

The following are the Letters alluded to:—

*Downing Street, 25th May, 1828.*

"My dear Duke,—On Tuesday last I wrote to the king to solicit an audience. His majesty has not yet been pleased to grant me this honour.

"In the expectation (not unnatural for me to entertain in the situation which I hold) of being afforded an opportunity of waiting upon his majesty, I have deferred acknowledging your letter of the 21st, which, passing by altogether all that is stated in mine of the same date you conclude in the following words:

'I must, therefore, consider the resignation of your office as your own act, and not as mine.'

"I will not revert to the full explanation which I have already given you on this subject. Not denying that my first letter might be capable of the construction which you put upon it, I would ask you whether it be usual, after a construction has been from the first moment explicitly disavowed, to persist that it is the right one? It being, however, the construction to which you adhere, I must assume, as you laid the letter before his majesty, that you advised his majesty upon it, and that his majesty is,

he called his explanation of these occurrences in the House of Commons, insinuated that he

had been made a peace-offering to gain the support of persons who would join the ministry

therefore, under the same misapprehension as yourself of what I meant: the more especially, as I have no means of knowing whether any subsequent letters have been laid before his majesty.

"It was for the purpose of setting right any erroneous impression on the royal mind, that I sought to be admitted as soon as possible into his majesty's presence.

"I was then, as I am still, most anxious to assure his majesty that nothing could have been further from my intention, than that the letter in question should have been at all submitted to his majesty,—to make known to his majesty the circumstances and feelings under which it had been written—to point out to him that I had taken the precaution (usual between ministers in matters of a delicate and confidential nature, when it is wished to keep the subjects as much as possible confined to the respective parties) of marking the letter 'private and confidential,' that I understood that this letter, so marked specially to guard its object, had been, without previous communication of any sort with me, in respect to the transaction referred to, but not explained in the letter itself, laid before his majesty, as conveying to the foot of the throne my positive resignation.

"I should further have had to state to his majesty the great pain and concern which I felt at finding that a paper should have been submitted to his majesty, and describing to him as conveying my resignation of the seals, in a form so unusual, and with a restriction so unbecoming towards my sovereign, as is implied in the words 'private and confidential;' that in a necessity so painful (had I felt such a necessity) as that of asking his majesty's permission to withdraw from his service, my first anxiety would have been to lay my reasons, in a respectful, but direct, communication from myself at his majesty's feet, but that, most certainly, in whatever mode conveyed, the uppermost feeling of my heart would have been to have accompanied it with those expressions of dutiful attachment and respectful gratitude which I owe his majesty for the many and uniform proofs of confidence and

kindness with which he has been graciously pleased to honour me since I have held the seals of the colonial department.

"If I had been afforded an opportunity of thus relieving myself from the painful position in which I stand towards his majesty, I should then have entreated of his majesty's goodness and sense of justice to permit a letter, so improper for me to have written (if it could have been in my contemplation that it would have been laid before his majesty as an act of resignation) to be withdrawn. Neither should I have concealed from his majesty my regret, considering the trouble which has unfortunately occurred, both to his majesty and his government, that I had not taken a different mode of doing what, for the reasons fully stated in my letter of the 21st, I found myself bound in honour to do, so as to have prevented, perhaps, the misconception arising out of my letter, written immediately after the debate.

"I have now stated to you frankly, and without reserve, the substance of all that I was anxious to submit to the king. I have done so in the full confidence that you will do me the favour to lay this statement before his majesty; and that I may be allowed to implore of his majesty that he will do me the justice to believe that, of all who have a right to prefer a claim to be admitted to his royal presence, I am the last who, in a matter relating to myself, would press that claim in a manner unpleasant to his majesty's wishes or inclinations.—I bow to them with respectful deference, still retaining, however, a confidence founded on the rectitude of my intentions, that in being removed from his majesty's service, I may be allowed the consolation of knowing that I have not been debarred from the privilege of my office in consequence of my having incurred his majesty's personal displeasure."

*"London, May 25, 1828.*

"My dear Huskisson.—It is with great concern that I inform you that I have at last attended his majesty, and have received his instructions respecting an arrangement to fill your office.

[C 2]



only on condition that he, and with him, all chances of improvement,

"I sincerely regret the loss of your valuable assistance in the arduous task in which I am engaged."

*"Downing Street,*

*"9½ p. m. 25th May, 1828.*

"My dear Duke,—Lord Dudley has just sent to me, unopened, my letter to you, which I forwarded to Apsley-house about five o'clock this afternoon.

"This letter was written as soon as I was given to understand by lord Dudley, who called here after an interview with you this morning, that his majesty had not signified any intention of granting me the honour of an audience. No other mode, therefore, remaining open to me of conveying my sentiments to the king, I address myself to you, for the purpose of bringing before his majesty, in the shape of a written communication, what I am prevented from stating to his majesty in person.

"I feel confident that you will not deny me this favour, and you will be satisfied by the contents of my letter (which I now return) that in writing it, nothing was further from my intention than to intrude myself between you and the arrangements which, upon my removal from office (for such I have considered the result of our correspondence since your letter of the 21st) you have received his majesty's instructions to make.

"Your letter, communicating this fact, reached me about half past seven this evening. I thank you for the information, and for the kind manner in which you advert to any feeble assistance which I may have been able to give to your administration, as well as for the expression of the concern with which you have advised his majesty to place my office in other hands."

*"London, May 26, 1828.*

"My dear Huskisson,—I have received your letter of yesterday, accompanied by another letter from you dated also yesterday, which I had returned to lord Dudley, under the impression that I ought not to open it without your previous consent, under the circumstances that existed at the time I received it.

"I have laid both before the king. In answer I have only to repeat that I considered your letter of the 20th as a

should be removed; and he made a furious attack on the noblemen

formal tender of the resignation of your office; and that the circumstance of its being marked 'private and confidential' did not alter the character of the letter, or relieve me from the painful duty of communicating its contents to his majesty, as I did, in person.

"Your subsequent letters did not, according to my understanding of them, convey any disavowal of your intention to tender your resignation. I laid them before his majesty, and my answers to them, and communicated to lord Dudley that I had done so.

"The king informed me, I think on Wednesday the 21st, that you had desired to have an audience of his majesty; and that he intended to receive you on the day but one after. I did not consider it my duty to advise his majesty to receive you at an earlier period.

"It is scarcely necessary for me to observe, that your letter to me of the 20th was entirely your own act, and wholly unexpected by me. If the letter was written hastily and inconsiderately, surely the natural course was for you to withdraw it altogether, and thus relieve me from the position in which, without any fault of mine, it had placed me—compelling me either to accept the resignation which it tendered, or to solicit you to continue to hold your office.

"This latter step was, in my opinion, calculated to do me personally, and the king's government, great dis-service; and it appeared to me that the only mode by which we could be extricated from the difficulty in which your letter had placed us was, that the withdrawal of your letter should be your spontaneous act, and that it should be adopted without delay.

"The interference of his majesty, pending our correspondence, would not only have placed his majesty in a situation in which he ought not to be placed in such a question, but it would have subjected me to the imputation that that interference had taken place on my suggestion, or with my connivance.

"I did not consider it my duty to advise his majesty to interfere in any manner whatever.

"His majesty informed me this day that he had written to you this morning appointing an audience to the course of the day."

and gentlemen who celebrate the birth-day of Mr. Pitt, as if their festivities had had some connection with his downfall. Mr. Huskisson forthwith retired for a time to the continent.

Along with Mr. Huskisson went out lord Dudley, lord Palmerston, and Mr. C. Grant; lord Dudley was succeeded as foreign secretary by the earl of Aberdeen: Mr. Huskisson himself was succeeded in the colonial office by sir George Murray; sir H. Hardinge became secretary at war, in place of lord Palmerston; and Mr. V. Fitzgerald was put at the head of the board of trade, in place of Mr. Grant.

Another change in the ministry happened during the autumn, by the duke of Clarence resigning the office of lord high admiral. The reasons of this step were never given

explicitly to the public; but it was generally attributed to some dissatisfaction which the minister was said to have expressed at the frequent costly journeys of his royal highness, and the costly marine shows which were got up in the course of them, both of which were believed to cause a greater outlay of money than any benefit to be derived from such superintendence and formal examinations could be worth. The Admiralty was again put into commission, and lord Melville was re-instated at the head of the board. In Ireland, too, a change of government was rendered necessary towards the close of the year: but as the events occurring in Ireland possessed more than ordinary interest, they will find a more appropriate place in a subsequent part of the volume.

## CHAP. II.

*Meeting of Parliament—Speech from the Throne—Debate on the Address—Discussions and Explanations concerning the Dissolution of the Goderich Ministry—Statements of Lord Goderich, Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Herries, and Mr. Tierney—Discussions on the Union of some of the principal Members of Mr. Canning's Administration with the Duke of Wellington.*

TO give time for carrying into effect the ministerial arrangements which followed the resignation of lord Goderich, parliament had been prorogued from its appointed day of meeting, till the 29th of January. On that day, the session was opened with the following speech, which was read by the lord chancellor.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"We are commanded by His Majesty to acquaint you, that His Majesty continues to receive from all Foreign Princes and States, assurances of their desire to maintain the relations of amity with this country, and that the great powers of Europe participate in the earnest wish of His Majesty to cultivate a good understanding upon all points which may conduce to the preservation of peace.

"His Majesty has viewed for some time past, with great concern, the state of affairs in the east of Europe.

"For several years a contest has been carried on between the Ottoman Porte and the inhabitants of the Greek provinces and islands, which has been marked, on each side, by excesses revolting to humanity. In the progress of that contest, the rights of neutral states and the laws which regulate the

intercourse of civilized nations, have been repeatedly violated, and the peaceful commerce of His Majesty's subjects has been exposed to frequent interruption, and to depredations too often aggravated by acts of violence and atrocity.

"His Majesty has felt the deepest anxiety to terminate the calamities and avert the dangers inseparable from hostilities which constitute the only exception to the general tranquillity of Europe. Having been earnestly entreated by the Greeks to interpose his good offices, with a view to effect a reconciliation between them and the Ottoman Porte, His Majesty concerted measures for that purpose, in the first instance with the emperor of Russia, and subsequently with his Imperial Majesty, and the king of France. His Majesty has given directions that there should be laid before you copies of a protocol signed at St. Petersburg, by the plenipotentiaries of His Majesty, and of his imperial majesty the emperor of Russia, on the 4th of April, 1826, and of the treaty entered into between His Majesty and the courts of the Tuilleries, and of St. Petersburg, on the 6th of July, 1827.

"In the course of the measures adopted with a view to carry into

effect the object of the treaty, a collision, wholly unexpected by His Majesty, took place, in the port of Navarin, between the fleets of the contracting powers and that of the Ottoman Porte.

"Notwithstanding the valour displayed by the combined fleet, His Majesty deeply laments that this conflict should have occurred with the naval force of an ancient ally; but he still entertains a confident hope that this untoward event will not be followed by further hostilities, and will not impede that amicable adjustment of the existing differences between the Porte and the Greeks, to which it is so manifestly their common interest to accede.

"In maintaining the national faith by adhering to the engagements into which His Majesty has entered, His Majesty will never lose sight of the great objects to which all his efforts have been directed—the termination of the contest between the hostile parties—the permanent settlement of their future relations to each other—and the maintenance of the repose of Europe upon the basis on which it has rested since the last general treaty of peace.

"His Majesty has the greatest satisfaction in informing you, that the purposes, for which His Majesty, upon the requisition of the court of Lisbon detached a military force to Portugal, have been accomplished. The obligations of good faith having been fulfilled, and the safety and independence of Portugal secured, His Majesty has given orders that the forces now in that country should be immediately withdrawn.

"We are commanded by His Majesty to acquaint you, that His Majesty has concluded treaties of amity and commerce with the

emperor of Brazil, and with the United States of Mexico; copies of which will, by His Majesty's commands, be laid before you.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"His Majesty has ordered the estimates for the current year to be laid before you. They have been prepared with every regard to economy, consistent with the exigency of the public service.

"We are commanded by His Majesty to recommend to your early attention an inquiry into the state of the revenue and expenditure of the country.

"His Majesty is assured, that it will be satisfactory to you to learn, that, notwithstanding the diminution which has taken place in some branches of the revenue, the total amount of receipt during the last year has not disappointed the expectations which were entertained at the commencement of it.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"His Majesty has commanded us to inform you, that a considerable increase has taken place in the export of the principal articles of British manufacture. This improvement of our foreign trade has led to a more general employment of the population, and affords a satisfactory indication of the continued abatement of those commercial difficulties which recently affected so severely the national industry.

"His Majesty commands us to assure you, that he places the firmest reliance upon your continued endeavours to improve the condition of all classes of his subjects, and to advance the great object of His Majesty's solicitude, the prosperity and happiness of his people."

In the Lords the address was

moved by the earl of Chichester. No amendment was proposed. The discussion, which took place, was confined almost exclusively to the state of our relations with Turkey, more especially to the propriety of the epithet "untoward," applied in the speech to the battle of Navarino, and to some lurking indisposition in the new ministers, to carry through the policy of their predecessors, regarding the Ottoman Porte, which the use of that epithet was supposed to manifest. Lord Holland expended a great deal of historical research in fixing a quarrel on the phrase "ancient ally," by which His Majesty had designated the Turkish empire; contending that the Turk could not be termed, in any correct sense of the words, an ally of this country at all, and much less an ancient ally. "The anti-social race," said his lordship, "which now enjoys the throne of the Constantines, considers itself naturally at war with every nation, with which it has not entered into a formal treaty of peace. But can a treaty of peace be fairly considered as a treaty of alliance? The first treaty made between this country and Turkey, I have no doubt, was considered by the Turks as an act of grace and concession, yielded by them, in the plenitude of their power, to those dogs of Christians, the Nazarene nations. The privileges which were granted to our commerce, were obtained from the Porte about 1699, by lord Winchilsea and sir John Finch. But how were they granted? Were the names of lord Winchilsea or sir John Finch subscribed to any treaty which secured them? No such thing. The privileges were granted as we would throw a bone to a dog: they were given, too, for very special reasons.

The first was, because the messages, which Charles II. had sent to the sultan, were of an agreeable nature; the second, because Charles II. was considered to be a very powerful monarch among the Nazarene nations; and the last and most ludicrous was, because the sultan had heard that Charles was the arbiter of the differences among them. For those reasons the sultan granted to our countrymen what was called, by a sort of diplomatic euphonism, certain capitulations, but what I believe to have been called, in the Turkish language, boons or concessions. Those concessions or capitulations—call them by which name you please—were merely commercial: they gave to the subjects of Great Britain the same immunities which had been granted, on the same terms, to the subjects of France. We had, however, no political relations with Turkey, in any sense of the word, until the year 1699. In 1692, we offered our services to mediate between the emperor of Germany and the Turkish power, who were then at war; and we did so, in order to leave our ancient ally, the house of Austria,—for Austria was our ancient ally, and Russia, too, was our ancient ally,—in a situation to direct her arms, along with us, against the then colossal power of France. And what was the result of that negotiation? We were accused, by French writers,—I shall not stop to examine whether rightly or wrongly,—of having exercised our mediation with gross partiality, and with having inflicted by it a severe injury on the Ottoman power. One of the articles in the treaty, into which the Turks entered under our mediation, was to this effect,—that they should surrender the whole of the Morea

and of Greece into the hands of the Venetians. So that the result of our first political negotiation with Turkey was, to wrest Greece from its dominion; though, unfortunately, not for ever.—In the year 1718, we again entered into a political negotiation with Turkey; but under circumstances which, I contend, still preclude us from denominating her our ‘ancient ally.’ It is right, however, to state that, by that treaty, we recognized Turkey as the sovereign of Greece, which a fatal war had enabled her to recover from the Venetians.

“In the war between Germany and Turkey, lord Torrington attacked and defeated a Spanish fleet, because it was suspected of acting under orders hostile to the interests of the empire. The aggression was blamed as a violation of the law of nations, an unjustifiable outrage against a power with which we were at peace. And how was it defended? The two secretaries of state, lord Stanhope, in the House of Lords, and Mr. Craggs, in the House of Commons, defended it on the ground that the attack, made by Spain upon Germany, when Germany was at war with the Turks, was a species of delinquency which rendered all that had been done justifiable—was a sort of aggression against the interests of Christendom and of Europe. Strange language this to hold of an ancient and faithful ally! Mr. Addison, too, who was not only a philosopher, but one of the wisest and best men on the face of the earth, remarked upon the bad effect of the numerous journalists in this country, and the great spirit of writing and reading politics in the country, and went on to say, that, though there

was no absurdity to which people, by this itch for talking and writing politics, might not be brought, he did not believe it possible that there could be persons in England who could think that we were interested in the prosperity of the Ottoman empire. Therefore, after the two political relations we had with Turkey, in one of which we extorted this very Greece from the Turks, we have the declaration of two secretaries of state, and of another man, afterwards secretary of state, as to the interest which this country has in Ottoman politics. But, what happened afterwards? From that period to the year 1770, I do not know anything of political feeling towards the Turks; nor, indeed, until we come to the memorable debate in this House on the affair of Oczakow. Almost every man who had held office, and had authority, stated, that the opinion of lord Chatham was, that we should never have any kind of connexion whatever with the Ottoman Porte; and that opinion was fortified during the seven years’ war by a similar opinion of the king of Prussia. In 1770 our allies, the Russians, sent a great fleet into the Mediterranean, for the purpose of overpowering the Turks. What was the policy of this country? To assist the Russian navy. That fleet was refitted in our harbours, and, with the munitions and implements which it received from us, burnt a Turkish town and fleet, and continued cruising in the Archipelago for no less than five or six years.—Then we come to the business of Oczakow. We had an object in preventing Russia from possessing Oczakow. Did Mr. Pitt propose an alliance with Turkey? Did he come down and

say, 'Here is your ancient and faithful ally that is attacked?' Did he say, 'Here is a power attacked which we are interested in defending?' No. Mr. Pitt knew well enough—he must have known from his father that there was no sort of alliance between this country and Turkey, and never had been; but he said this, 'We have established a new system in Europe'—and he prided himself upon it—'Prussia forms a main part of that system, and, for the interest of Prussia, we must prevent the proposed aggression of Russia upon Turkey.' Mr. Pitt was not the only person who used this language at that time; but neither Mr. Pitt, nor any of his friends, ever spoke of Turkey at that time as our 'ancient ally.' Mr. Burke, too, spoke thus of our ancient and faithful ally the Turk. 'I have never before heard it held forth that the Turkish empire has ever been considered as any part of the balance of power in Europe. They had nothing to do with European power; they considered themselves as wholly Asiatic. Where is the Turkish resident at our court, the court of Prussia, or of Holland? They despise and condemn all Christian princes, as infidels, and only wish to subdue and exterminate them and their people. What have these worse than savages to do with the powers of Europe, but to spread war, destruction, and pestilence, amongst them? The ministers and the policy which shall give these people any weight in Europe, will deserve all the bans and curses of posterity.' Very strange language this in an English House of Commons, regarding an ancient and faithful ally! This mighty master proceeds.—'All that is holy in religion, all that

is moral and humane, demands an abhorrence of every thing which tends to extend the power of that cruel and wasteful empire. Any Christian power is to be preferred to these destructive savages.' I do not mean to say that I approve of the sentiments here expressed. I do not quote them as rules for the guidance of your lordships; but I bring them, as evidence to the fact, and for the purpose of showing that the Turk was not considered by public men as the ancient ally of Great Britain. In truth, the first alliance really made with Turkey by this country, was an alliance formed in the year 1798 or 1799, in consequence of the invasion of Egypt by the French, who have often been reproached with being, though they never acknowledged that they were, an ancient ally of the Ottoman empire. When they invaded Egypt, and not before, we entered into a treaty of alliance with the Porte. My lords, I have looked into that treaty this very evening, and I am surprised to find that, so far from its being a treaty of alliance formed for the mutual interests of Turkey and England as against the rest of the world, or as connected with commerce, so far from being a treaty of alliance, formed for the protection of the Turkish empire against its immediate invaders, it is a treaty of alliance, on the invitation of an old and natural ally, the emperor of Russia, to enter, for the first time, into an alliance with the Turk. The words of the first article are: 'His Britannic majesty, connected already with his majesty the emperor of Russia by the ties of the strictest alliance, accedes by the present treaty, to the defensive alliance which has just been concluded between his

majesty the Ottoman emperor and the emperor of Russia, as far as the stipulations thereof are applicable to the local circumstances of his empire, and that of the Sublime Porte.' Thus, all the alliance which we then made with Turkey was made at the express request of Russia. This treaty of alliance itself, too, was limited in its duration to seven years; and, strange to say, long before these seven years had expired, Turkey had broken all the main articles of that treaty which bound it to remain at peace with Russia. It broke them, too, in so far as they related to ourselves. By the treaty, Turkey was to have no friends that were not our friends, and was to enter into no relations with those who declared themselves our enemies. But, long before the year 1807, we had occasion to remonstrate against the influence which the agents of Napoleon had acquired in the Divan. That of itself would have been a legitimate cause of war; and three months had not elapsed after the expiry of the treaty, before we were obliged to send a fleet to Constantinople to bring them to reason, and compel them to perform the articles of the treaty with Russia. I do say, then, that Turkey is proved to have been neither an ancient nor a faithful ally. Since that time no alliance has been made. We have preserved the relations of peace and amity, but we have done no more."

His lordship further expressed his disapprobation of the epithet "untoward," as applied in the speech to the battle of Navarino. If it was meant, by "untoward," to cast any blame on the gallant officer who commanded the fleet at Navarino, he would protest against the baseness and ignominy of such

an insinuation, in the most solemn way. If we are to understand from the word "untoward," that it referred to that which happened by accident, and which stood across the object which we had in view—if that were the meaning of it, he must also protest against it. However much he might lament the effusion of blood which had taken place at Navarino—however much he might lament that we had not yet accomplished so great an object as the pacification of two contending countries, and the liberation of Greece—that country from which we derive no small portion of all those virtues which exalt and dignify our nature, and to which we owed all that gives life and animation to our debates—however much he might mourn over the deferred hopes of a gallant people—still, if by that word it was meant to say, that the battle of Navarino was an obstacle to the independence of Greece, he could not agree in such views. He looked upon it as a step, and a great step, towards the pacification of Europe: and considered it of more use than a contrary policy could have been in promoting that great and desirable object.

The duke of Wellington maintained, that the epithets, which had excited lord Holland's disapprobation and spirit of research, were, in both instances, fairly and truly applicable. The Ottoman empire, he said, had long been an ally of this country: the Ottoman power was an essential part of the balance of power in Europe; its preservation had been, for a considerable number of years, an object not only to this country, but to the whole of Europe; while the revolutions and changes of possession which



had taken place had increased the importance of preserving the Ottoman power as an independent state capable of preserving itself. Its preservation had been an essential object to Russia as well as to ourselves. Had it not been for the influence of the councils of this country at Constantinople, the disaster of Napoleon in 1812, which led to the establishment of Europe in its present state, would not have occurred to the extent to which it did occur. As to the designating the battle of Navarino an "untoward" event, the sense in which the epithet was used, was this. Under the treaty it was particularly stated, as one of the stipulations of the alliance, that its operation was not to lead to hostilities, and that the contracting powers were to take no part in hostilities. Therefore, when unfortunately the operations under the treaty did lead to hostilities, it certainly was an untoward occurrence. The former government had expected to accomplish its object without hostilities; this was manifest both from the treaty itself, and from their providing such a force for the execution of the measure as rendered it almost impossible that there should be hostilities. That being the case, when the measures of the late government assumed the character of hostilities, instead of that of peace, it was an untoward event. As he understood, moreover, that there was some prospect, after the intelligence of the conflict reached Constantinople, that it might have ended in war, it was, in that sense, too, an untoward event. Yet assuredly it was not meant to make any charge against the naval commander. His majesty, and his late government, who had had the

gallant admiral's conduct under their consideration, had wholly acquitted him of blame; and he (the duke of Wellington) certainly had no right to come forward and say that the gallant admiral had done otherwise than his duty to his king and his country. I will say, said his Grace, that the gallant admiral was placed in a very delicate and peculiar situation. He was in command of a squadron of ships, acting in conjunction with admirals of other nations, and he so conducted himself as to acquire their confidence, and to induce them to allow him to lead them to victory. This being the case, I should feel myself unworthy of the high situation which I hold in his majesty's councils, if I were capable of uttering a single word against the gallant admiral. Meaning, as I did, that the government should carry the treaty fairly into execution, it would be highly blameable in me to insinuate a censure against a man who was charged with the execution of difficult orders under that treaty.

Earl Grey, the marquis of Lansdown, and lord Goderich, all agreed, that, whatever might have been the character of the conflict at Navarino, no blame could attach to the admiral who commanded. The marquis of Lansdown said, that, on the intelligence of the affair reaching this country, it was found that further information was wanted. That information had been supplied; and, being supplied, it had shown that sir Edward Codrington was entitled to the warm approbation of the government and of the country. In regard to the conflict itself, although it was no doubt an unfortunate occurrence, in as much as it occasioned the destruction of life, and led

to those consequences which always tended to alienate friendly powers, yet he should be ashamed not to declare that it would be childish to have expected, that, when an armed interference had been determined on by treaty, it could take place without the risk of war. War no doubt was not to take place, if the objects of the intervention could be effected without it; but the consequences of opposition must have been foreseen by those who framed the protocol and the treaty of London. There was no meaning in establishing a hostile intervention, unless we were prepared to encounter all the consequences which might result from it, melancholy as they might be. Earl Grey could not help considering the event as an untoward and most unfortunate one; for war was the issue to which it might naturally have been expected to lead: and lord Eldon could not see how the epithet of "untoward" could be denied to hostilities taking place in the face of two treaties, one of which aimed at the re-establishment of peace, and the other provided that hostilities should not be committed.

The address was agreed to without a division.

In the Commons the address was moved by the hon. Cecil Jenkinson, the brother of lord Liverpool, and seconded by Mr. Robert Grant; — but the discussion was greatly narrowed by the absence of the ministers who had vacated their seats by taking office under the new administration, and whose writs had been moved for only in the course of the evening. The mover delivered a panegyric on the character of lord Liverpool, which, from the relationship between them, was at least natural, though per-

haps misplaced; and he assured the House that lord Liverpool confided cordially in the new administration, was persuaded that it embodied all the interests to which he had himself been so long attached, and approved of it as containing many, if not all, the distinguished persons, with whom he had himself been so closely connected. The debate, if so it might be termed, regarded principally the state of our relations with Turkey, and the changes which had taken place in the government. Mr. Brougham said, that he wished at once to record his dissent from that paragraph of the speech which designated the affair of Navarino as an occurrence to be lamented, but which he would term "a glorious, brilliant, decisive, and immortal achievement." It had been reserved, he said, for some of the men of these times, to triumph and to be afraid—to conquer and to repine—to fight, as heroes did, the contest of freedom, and still to tremble like slaves—to act gloriously, and repine bitterly—to win by brave men the battle of liberty in the east, and, in the west, to pluck from the valiant brow the laurels which it had so nobly earned, and plant the cypress in their stead, because the conqueror had fought for religion and liberty. He hailed as a bad omen the designation of a great naval achievement as an "untoward event." He complained of this passage, on the part of certain honourable gentlemen, who formed a portion of the late, as they did of the existing administration, but who were not present to state their sentiments with reference to this point. The censure, which it contained, was directed either against Mr. Grant and Mr. Huskisson, who

had formed part of the last ministry as they did of this, or against the gallant officer who was employed on this important occasion. "In this dilemma," exclaimed Mr. Brougham, "in this dilemma, my Lord Field Marshal Duke of Wellington and Prime Minister, you are placed; out of this dilemma, not your finest manœuvres, not your most accomplished movements, be they ever so bold, ever so nimble, ever so well constructed, will be sufficient to extricate you. Either you blame Mr. Huskisson or Mr. Grant, or there is no blame whatever imputed by you to them. In that case the blame is all meant on the other side: it is directed against those who fought this glorious battle, against those who led our gallant seamen to victory. They must be the objects of blame, if Mr. Grant and Mr. Huskisson are not." The learned member forgot that his dilemma was harmless, because the cabinet on the one hand, and the admiral on the other, did not exhaust its conditions, and because the phrase that was used implied no censure at all. The battle of Navarino might be an untoward, a very untoward event, and yet neither the one nor the other be blamed, or intended to be blamed. The word is one which refers merely to the consequences of an occurrence, not to the moral dispositions of the actors who have borne a part in it. And so long as nobody could have been surprised, had Turkey declared war against the friendly powers, who burned her fleet, by way of manifesting the absence of all hostile intentions, so long could those, who desired the continuation of peace, give the battle of Navarino no other epithet than 'untoward'—if they refrained from marking it by a somewhat harsher appellation.

As to the new administration, Mr. Brougham declared he would look to its measures, not to its members; and if the former were good, the latter would receive from him as hearty and active a support as if he were sitting among them. But there was one circumstance connected with the present administration, to which he felt a very great degree of objection. He alluded to the commander-in-chief of the army having been placed, by his sovereign at the head of the government. No man valued more highly than he did the illustrious services of the noble duke, as a soldier. But, though he entertained the highest opinion of the noble duke's military genius, still he did not like to see him at the head of the finances of the country, enjoying all the patronage of the crown,—enjoying, as he did enjoy, the full and perfect confidence of his sovereign,—enjoying the patronage of the army,—enjoying the patronage of the church,—and, in fact, enjoying almost all the patronage of the state. To the noble duke also was intrusted the delicate function of conveying constant and confidential advice to the ears of his royal master. As a constitutional man, this state of things struck him as being most unconstitutional. He was, indeed, told, that the noble duke was a person of very great vigour in council, and that his talents were not confined to the art of war. It might be so; but that did not remove his objections against the noble duke's being placed in possession of such an immense mass of civil and military influence. It was said, that the noble duke was incapable of speaking, in public, as a first minister of the crown ought to do. Now, he conceived

that there was no validity in that objection. He happened to be present, when the noble duke, last year, had the modesty and candour to declare, in another place, that he was unfit for the situation of first minister, and he really thought he had never heard a better speech in his life. Nothing could be more suited to the occasion. He never saw less want of capacity in an individual who might be called on to take an active part in debate. This, therefore, was not his reason for objecting to the appointment. That objection rested on the constitutional grounds which he had already stated, and, moreover, because the noble duke's experience had been purely military, not civil. Let it not be supposed, however, that he was inclined to exaggerate. He had no fear of slavery being introduced into this country, by the power of the sword. It would take a stronger, it would demand a more powerful, man, than even the duke of Wellington, to effect such an object. The noble duke might take the army, he might take the navy, he might take the mitre, he might take the great seal—he would make the noble duke a present of them all. Let him come on with his whole force, sword in hand, against the constitution, and the energies of the people of this country would not only beat him, but laugh at his efforts. There had been periods when the country heard with dismay that “the soldier was abroad.” That was not the case now. Let the soldier be ever so much abroad, in the present age he could do nothing. There was another person abroad,—a less important person,—in the eyes of some an insignificant person,—whose labours had tended to produce this state of

things. The schoolmaster was abroad, and he trusted more to the schoolmaster, armed with his primer, than he did to the soldier in full military array, for upholding and extending the liberties of his country. He thought the appointment of the duke of Wellington was bad, in a constitutional point of view; but as to any violence being, in consequence, directed against the liberties of the country, the fear of such an event he looked upon as futile and groundless.

Mr. Bankes, on the other hand, treated the affair of Navarino as one which had created dismay and astonishment, and had called forth an unqualified expression of regret throughout the country. Those who had agreed to a treaty, the necessary consequence of which had been so deplorable an event, were placed in a dilemma from which they could not extricate themselves. The treaty itself he considered impolitic and unjust. Was it British policy to interfere in the internal affairs of other states? Was it not contrary to the law of nations to do so? And had they not, by the treaty into which they had entered, violated that law? The treaty was founded on a false pretence, for they were told that the intention was to put down piracy. But, was it necessary for England, the greatest naval country under the sun, to call to her assistance two other powers, to check and put down a system of piracy? Was it necessary that a fleet of sixteen sail of the line should be employed in such a business? It was ridiculous to make such an assertion. It was apparent, on the face of the matter, that the force was entirely directed against a power which was in amity with this country, and that,

too, without any sufficient cause. In his view of the case, the entire subject, the treaty and every thing connected with it, should be referred to a secret committee: for it would not, perhaps, be proper that such an inquiry should be public. He should be glad to know in what situation this country stood at present; and whether we were at war or peace with Turkey. As to the gallant officer who had behaved so honourably at Navarino, he had nothing to say against him. He had only to lament, that so meritorious an individual had been engaged in an attack on an ancient ally. It would, however, be right that the House should know, hereafter, what instructions were given to him on that disastrous occasion.

Lord Althorpe, likewise, while he maintained that the admiral who had fought the battle was beyond the reach of censure, acknowledged, that, with respect to the treaty of London, he entertained considerable doubts both of its policy and its justice.

Lord Palmerston answered, that the speech contained no condemnation of the battle of Navarino: it censured or condemned nothing. It contained no censure upon the treaty which had led to the battle, nor any blame of the gallant admiral who had commanded in it. The speech said, that the conflict was unexpected; and, certainly, there could be no doubt that it had been so. Because, although some collision might have been anticipated, yet the affair of Navarino took place in a way which could not be expected. It had arisen out of a combination of circumstances which could not be foreseen; and therefore it must have been a collision entirely unexpected by the govern-

ment. He thought it impossible that his majesty could be advised to allude to a battle taking place under such circumstances, without an expression of regret,—a battle, speaking without the smallest condemnation of it, which had taken place between his fleets, and the fleets of a country with which we were not only not at war, but with which we were absolutely on terms of alliance. The expressions used, did not throw any reflection upon the conduct of the gallant admiral commanding, and could not fairly be so construed. The honours conferred on the admiral were a sufficient proof of this, and proved that his skill and gallantry were duly appreciated. The gallant officer still continued in his situation of high and important trust. Would this be the case, if the government considered that any censure ought to be passed upon him? No censure was meant, nor was any expressed; and therefore the dilemma, in which the hon. and learned member proposed to involve the government, was without existence. It had been asked, whether we were at war or at peace with Turkey? Certainly, not at war. Our ambassador had quitted Constantinople; but no change had taken place in our policy. Therefore, we were still at peace. With respect to Greece, he would merely say, that the treaty and protocol would be laid before the House, but it was not intended at present to found any motion upon them. The negotiations connected with the treaty were not yet ended. There was no reason to believe that they would be ended, otherwise than to the advantage of the country; but it was possible that the present discussion might oper-

ate prejudicially. If, under these circumstances, it should be thought advisable to bring forward any motion, ministers would be prepared to meet it; though they would not themselves, at present, originate any. To the constitutional objections which had been urged by Mr. Brougham against the duke of Wellington's remaining at the head both of the army and of the administration, his lordship answered, that, on that point, he was glad to be able to relieve the alarms of the hon. and learned gentleman. The military office formerly held by the noble duke would not be united to the political. His grace had tendered to the king his resignation of the office of commander-in-chief, on the same day that he had accepted that of first lord of the Treasury; and, although no successor had as yet been appointed, the House might consider the resignation as virtually made: from the present time, the duke of Wellington would cease to be commander-in-chief. Another objection to the present prime minister was, that the noble duke's habits and experience had been military, and not civil. But there had been scarcely an important transaction in Europe for the last thirteen years in which the noble duke, at home or abroad, had not directly borne a part.

Lord John Russell said, he was not satisfied with lord Palmerston's statement on the subject of the command of the army. He must know how that situation was intended to be filled, before he should be convinced, that some part of the patronage of it would not still remain at the disposal of the duke of Wellington in his new capacity. He admitted that it was but fair to wait for the mea-

sures of the new ministry, before the House decided upon its character. He certainly saw symptoms of danger in the formation of the government; but he would not make up his mind definitively, until he saw it act. With regard to the affair at Navarino, he regretted the phrase made use of in the speech. He was bound to take the sense in which the words had been used, to be that which lord Palmerston had given to them; but certainly if they were not intended to intimate, that the gallant admiral, who fought that battle, had fought it without instructions and unadvisedly, they were the most unlucky words, for their real purpose, that could possibly have been chosen. For himself, he believed the battle to have been a glorious victory, and a necessary consequence of the treaty of London; and moreover, as honest a victory as had been gained since the beginning of the world.

No amendment was moved, and the address, which was as usual an echo of the speech, was voted without a division.

The dissolution of the late ministry had been so unexpected, so little had hitherto been made known of the causes which produced it, and the conduct of those members of it who had passed into the new government appeared so suspicious to their former brethren who had been turned out, that some explanation of these various matters was anxiously looked for in both Houses of Parliament. No sooner, therefore, had Mr. Herries, Mr. Huskisson, and the other ministers who had vacated their seats by accepting office under the new government, again taken their places in the house, than the

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disclosures began. As was natural, they commenced with lord Goderich, on whom it was especially incumbent to explain the civil dissensions which had broken in pieces a cabinet of his own framing, and had induced him to throw up the government in a manner not easily intelligible either to his older friends or his more recent allies—and with effects which, in the public mind, had not been favourable to his reputation for statesman-like energy and conduct. On the 11th of February, his lordship took occasion on a motion of the earl of Carnarvon for the production of further papers regarding our relations with Turkey, to give the following history of the decline and fall of his administration. He referred to the engagement, which Mr. Canning, during his short administration, had come under, in the preceding session of parliament, that a Finance Committee should be appointed during the present session; and he stated, that, in the course of the familiar communications which had passed between himself and his colleagues on the subject, after he had succeeded to office, the name of lord Althorpe had been mentioned to him as a proper person to be placed in the chair of the committee which was to be named so soon as parliament should assemble. "It was impossible," said lord Goderich, "that I should have felt any personal objection to the appointment of that individual: but, as the matter had not come regularly before the government, but was stated to me merely in a casual and incidental manner, I did not feel myself then called upon to express any other opinion than this—that, as the question was one which rested especially with the

House of Commons, whatever appointment the members of the cabinet in that House should make, I should be satisfied with, and acquiesce in. The matter was not placed before me for my consideration in any thing like an official way, nor as at a ministerial conference, but under the circumstances which I have stated, as a mere matter of accidental conversation. It did, however, happen, without my being aware, at the time, that such a step had been taken, that a communication was made to the individual in question, for the purpose of ascertaining whether, if the government should be disposed to recommend his nomination as chairman of the committee, he would undertake the duty. This communication was made, as I have already declared, without my knowledge; and it was also made without the knowledge of one of the members of the government, who, from his situation, was more immediately connected with the subject to which it refers; I mean the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Herries) who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer. But I ought to add, that from subsequent explanations which were given to me, I understood that the application was not at all made as a settled thing, or in such a manner as to pledge the government, and bind them to the appointment.

"When, however, I learnt that this communication had been made, the result of which was to me, from my personal feeling towards the individual to whom it was made, any thing but unsatisfactory, the first question I asked was, whether any previous communication had been had with the Chancellor of the Exchequer? I was informed, that there had not been

any. I lamented that circumstance—I could not but lament it—and I imputed it to mere oversight. It seemed to me an unfortunate circumstance, that any thing should have passed upon the subject beyond our own immediate circle. I begged that no time might be lost in putting the Chancellor of the Exchequer in possession of what had been done, and in explaining to him the whole of the circumstances. This was done by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, (Mr. Huskisson). He fully explained to the Chancellor of the Exchequer all that had occurred upon the subject. No objection was then made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. No offence was taken by him at the time, as far as I have heard, to any thing that had been done. It did, however, so happen, that, on the next day—after he had had the subject under his consideration—he found, that there were very strong objections to the proposed appointment which had been so submitted to him. He stated those objections to me; but I understood them to refer much more to the circumstance, of the nomination having been made without his having been consulted, than to the material proposition itself; and that, so placed, he could not accede to it. Various explanations followed, as I have been informed, some of them by letters between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary of State for the Colonies: and I, who never saw this correspondence, was in hopes, for a time, that such explanations had been perfectly satisfactory to all the parties concerned in it. Indeed, so convinced was the colonial Secretary that he had succeeded in removing the objections of the Chancellor of the Exchequer,

that he did not feel it necessary to make me acquainted with the correspondence which had taken place between them both, and the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Tierney) from whom the recommendation originally proceeded. For my own part, I was quite convinced, that the explanation had proved entirely satisfactory. There might be differences of opinion, as to the propriety of what had been done: difficulties were to be surmounted, and objections, unquestionably, might be made; but I had no reason to believe, that there was any such difference of opinion as would lead any party concerned to conceive, that, if that appointment were persisted in, it would be impossible for the individual objecting, to remain any longer a member of the government.

“These circumstances took place between the latter end of November and the beginning of December; and, on the 22nd of December, I received a letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in which he first of all stated to me his objections to the mode in which the matter had been discussed, and the negotiation, as he termed it, carried on, and concluded with my sanction,—without his knowledge. He then proceeded to state his objections, on public grounds, to the particular nomination; and he concluded by positively informing me, that, under these circumstances, he felt it his duty, on principle, to place his office of Chancellor of the Exchequer at my disposal, if it were a matter of convenience to me to accept his resignation, and put it into any other hands. The conclusion I drew from that letter certainly was, that my right hon. friend tendered his resignation, if the



proposed nomination took place. I felt it my duty so to consider it; and every rational man must, I am satisfied, view it in the same light. I stated in answer to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that he seemed to have greatly misunderstood the degree to which I had been a party to any thing like a settlement of the question. I explained to him that there was no ground for representing an arrangement as concluded with my sanction, of which in fact I knew nothing till it was over. In reference to the tender of his resignation, I assured him he was mistaken, if he thought I could conceive a case in which his retirement would be a convenience; and expressed my hope, that, at all events, he would take no final step, until we should have an opportunity of giving the whole question the fullest consideration. Copies of these two letters I transmitted to the Secretary of the Colonies. The result unfortunately was, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, though strongly pressed not to risk the consistency of the government, and though the most earnest endeavours were made to satisfy him that his objections to the proposed nomination had no sufficient foundation, always referred to his letter which involved his resignation as the necessary consequence of that appointment: and, on the other hand, the Secretary for the Colonies distinctly and unequivocally declared, that he felt his own honour and character to be so involved in maintaining that nomination, that it was utterly impossible he could acquiesce in any change. Here then there was an irreconcilable difference between two individuals, holding two of the most important and

efficient offices in the state, on a question of vital importance to the proper conduct of the affairs of the kingdom. It was manifest, that, as both of them could not remain in the government, under the circumstances which had occurred, and with the opinions which they avowed, the administration could not go on with the essential business of the country. This was no fault of mine. I did not raise the difficulty. I had no wish, God knows, that the government should not go on. I declare before God, my desire was to maintain the administration undivided; and, let my opinion be what it may upon the cause of difference, no man can think I could descend to so paltry, so base a trick, as to cause differences among my friends in the cabinet. God knows I have never done so, I tried to heal, not to excite differences! Need I vindicate myself from the insinuation? I hope not, I am sure not—your lordships cannot believe it. What was I to do? In what situation was I placed? There was an irreconcilable difference between two of my colleagues. I found—painfully found—that I could not bring them together. I could not induce either of them to vary his resolution. Under these circumstances, I found it to be my duty to inform his majesty of the situation in which his government stood. I was compelled to make this known. I could not conceal it, if I would; and if I had attempted to do so, I should have been guilty of treachery to the king and to the country, and I should have compromised my own honour and that of my colleagues. I thought it my duty, frankly and without reserve, to lay before the king the state in which circum-

stances had placed the government at the head of which I had the honour of being placed. His majesty was constitutionally entitled to determine, under these circumstances, what was fit to be done, with a view to the promotion of the interests of the people whom he governed. The decision, to which his majesty came, was, to communicate with the noble duke who is now at the head of the government, and the result was, that I ceased to hold the situation in which I had the honour to be placed."

This statement of the late premier laid the dissolution of the ministry exclusively at the door of an irreconcilable difference between Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Herries regarding the proposed chairman of the Finance Committee; and, since that irreconcilable difference had caused the resignation of the minister, it implied an admission that his cabinet was so constructed that the removal of either of these gentlemen necessarily dissolved it. It remained to be learned from these gentlemen themselves, what were the grounds on which each had thought himself bound to adhere obstinately to his own opinion in a dissension where obstinacy was so fatal. They had taken their seats, and were remaining silent, when lord Normanby, on the 18th of February, formally called upon them to explain their conduct in the transactions to which lord Goderich had referred,—a course which he found himself, he said, compelled to adopt, in consequence of a previous evening, (which had been looked upon, in general understanding, as the occasion on which these explanations were to take place), having been allowed to

pass over without any explanation being given. Having repeated the statement made by lord Goderich in the House of Peers, lord Normanby said, that the principal question arising from this detail was, why did Mr. Herries not state at once the full extent of his difficulties, and the nature of his objection as resting on public grounds? Why did he leave lord Goderich secure in the opinion, that the matter was merely one of apparently personal slight, easily explainable, and then bring it forward unexpectedly at a distant period? Whence came, likewise, the extraordinary *non sequitur* of the minister, that, when this dispute took place, his business was, not to *decide*, but to *resign*? A far more important question, however, said lord Normanby, regarded the principles on which the new ministry had been framed, and the footing on which Mr. Huskisson, and those of his party, who had belonged to the old government, had been induced to join it. Mr. Huskisson, in explaining his conduct to his constituents at Liverpool, was reported to have said, that he did not consent to become a part of the new cabinet, till he had obtained "guarantees" that the public and domestic policy of the country was to continue to be conducted on those principles which he had so long maintained; and the duke of Wellington had already indignantly contradicted every supposition that such guarantees had been either asked, or given. His Grace's words in the House of Lords were "Is it to be supposed that the right honourable gentleman" (Mr. Huskisson) "ever used such expressions as are ascribed to him at the Liverpool election? If I had entered into any such

wholesale bargain, I should have tarnished his fame as much as I should have disgraced my own. But if I gave a guarantee to him, what have I done for the other members of the government? Is there nobody else in the government but him? Every minister surely forms a part of it. Every one of them is equally at liberty to state his opinions on every subject he may choose to propose for the consideration of government. I appeal to my noble friends, whether they ever belonged to a cabinet, in which questions were discussed more freely?"—Now, continued lord Normanby, the inference which I draw from this is, that the noble duke considers the right hon. gentleman correct in speaking of a guarantee, if he places reliance on the three or four members, who, with him, belonged to the preceding cabinet; but against this that noble lord has a counter-guarantee, in the seven or eight other individuals who go to make up the new one. The noble duke himself seems to have interpreted the meaning of the right hon. gentleman somewhat in this way; for he says—"It is much more probable, though I have not thought it worth my while to ask for any explanation on the subject, that my right hon. friend stated, not that he had concluded any wholesale bargain with me, but that the men, of whom the government is now composed, are in themselves a guarantee to the public, that their measures will be such as will be conducive to his majesty's honour and interests, and to the happiness of the people. That is what the right hon. gentleman said, if I am not mistaken; and not that I had given him any guarantee for the principles of the government."

Now, continued lord Normanby, as the right hon. gentleman could never have stated what the noble duke thus supposes he did state; as I am quite sure that the right hon. gentleman could never have stated, as the simple justification of his adherence to the government, his conviction that the members of that government would pursue such measures as would be conducive "to his majesty's honour, and interests, and to the happiness of the people"—the fact being, that a large majority of the members of the government had opposed the measures which the right hon. gentleman himself had declared were conducive to those ends;—as I am quite sure that the right hon. gentleman could never have said any thing like this, I now ask him, in the perfect spirit of candour and fairness, to state to the House, what it was that he really did say.

Mr. Huskisson, thus called on, first gave to the House his version of the events which had led to the dissolution of the ministry, agreeing in general with the statement made by lord Goderich, but supplying some deficiencies which his lordship, who had left the nomination of the chairman of the Finance Committee to such of his colleagues as were members of the House of Commons, had been unable to fill up. He said that, in the middle of November, Lord Goderich, in the course of a conversation on general business, casually mentioned to him, that Mr. Tierney had been suggesting the propriety of asking lord Althorpe to be chairman of the committee. Lord Goderich himself was perfectly satisfied with the proposal; but left it, and all other matters connected with the committee, to

the members of the government who had seats in the lower House. Mr. Huskisson, on the other hand, expressed doubts of the propriety of the nomination, not doubts as to the fitness of lord Althorpe to be on the committee, but doubts whether his industry and talents, however great they might be, had been specially directed to such subjects as would qualify him for presiding over a committee of that nature. "Turn it over in your mind," said lord Goderich; and they parted. This conversation, lord Goderich had communicated to Mr. Tierney; for a few days afterwards (19th November) the latter asked Mr. Huskisson, "whether he had turned over in his mind the conversation he had had with lord Goderich?"—Mr. Huskisson answered, that he had been considering the subject; and that, notwithstanding his first impressions, he now believed it would be for the public interest to endeavour to secure the services of lord Althorpe as chairman of the committee. This was on the 19th of November; and Mr. Huskisson heard no more of the matter till the 27th, when lord Goderich told him he had learned from Mr. Tierney that he (Mr. Tierney) had been sounding lord Spencer, lord Althorpe's father, as to the probability of the latter accepting the chair of the committee, if it should be offered to him. It was at this conversation that the name of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was mentioned for the first time. Lord Goderich said, Mr. Huskisson asked, "is the Chancellor of the Exchequer acquainted with this?" I immediately replied, that I did not know whether he was acquainted with it or not; and that I had not been desired, or author-

ised, to make any communication to him on the subject; but that I took it for granted, he had been made acquainted with it. My noble friend said, that, if he had not, it was an oversight. I remarked that it was not my oversight; and that I did not hold myself responsible for it. He then requested me to see the Chancellor of the Exchequer and state to him what had occurred. The next day the Chancellor of the Exchequer called on me at my office; and I stated to him all that had passed on the subject between me and my noble friend at the head of the government, as well as between me and my right hon. friend the master of the Mint. And here I am bound to say, that, when I made that communication to my right hon. friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he seemed to take the same view of the case that we had done. We then entered into a discussion on other matters, in the course of which, my right hon. friend the master of the Mint, quite unexpectedly, and by accident, called on me. I told him what had passed. He said, "I am going to Brighton to-morrow, and under those circumstances I called upon you to talk to you about this very affair of the Finance Committee." We then discussed the subject; compared lists of the members of the intended committee, and, as I supposed, advanced a good deal in the business. On the next day, however, the 29th of November, I received a communication from my right hon. friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, expressing a wish to see me; and, when we met, he informed me that he had some reason to take a different view of the subject from that

which occurred to him on the day before, with respect to the person to be appointed chairman of the Finance Committee. He expressed his regret, that the intention of appointing lord Althorpe chairman had become a subject of conversation about town, and he also mentioned, as a great inconvenience, that several other names of the intended members of the committee were publicly spoken of. Immediately on receiving this communication, I wrote to the master of the Mint at Brighton, expressing my deep regret at hearing that these matters had been divulged, and adding my earnest and anxious request, that the best means should be taken to prevent in future the repetition of any such improper disclosures, and that, above all, no other application should be made for any member to be upon the committee, without further consideration. A copy of this letter I sent, on the same evening, to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to show the feeling which I entertained upon these informal statements, and in order, as far as the means were in my power, to allay any unpleasant sensation which might have been raised in his mind, from what had passed upon this business. The master of the Mint answered on the 2nd of December, that he had never mentioned the name of a single member of the committee; and that, with respect to lord Althorpe, we were at perfect liberty, either to put him into the chair of the Finance Committee, or not, as we pleased; and, as a proof of this being the case, he enclosed to me an extract of a letter which he had received from lord Althorpe, in reply to one transmitted by him to the noble lord, to know

whether, in case he should be applied to, to become chairman of the committee, he would consent to fulfil its duties. Lord Althorpe's answer was, that, if, at the proper time, his name should be suggested by Mr. Tierney, and the suggestion be concurred in by the other members of the government, and if also certain arrangements were made in relation to the committee, he would not be indisposed to accept the chair. On the day of my receiving this answer, I transmitted it under cover to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who subsequently returned it to me, unaccompanied by a single observation. "This," continued Mr. Huskisson, "is the whole of what passed regarding the nomination of lord Althorpe, so far as I am informed or concerned. I beg to add, that the matter as it has occurred, strikes me as being of the most trifling and unimportant nature; and, although the Chancellor of the Exchequer might have felt that some slight was conveyed by the name not having been originally mentioned to him, I am persuaded, that every one, who impartially views the question at issue, will feel that it was only an apparent slight. It would certainly have been a slight, had it been so intended; but I solemnly declare, that, on my part, no slight whatever was intended."

Mr. Huskisson went on to state, that, from the 2nd up to the 26th of December, he never heard a word more about the matter. He allowed, that, in the interval, many circumstances had occurred to shake the stability of the administration—that the government was exposed to the greatest difficulties—that there "were to him

ominous signs which he could not mistake"—that he had determined, however, himself, and expressed his opinion to his colleagues, that it would be better to meet parliament than appear to shrink from the struggle. So late as the 26th of December, he had the firmest intention of remaining in the councils of the country. Of this he could not give a stronger proof than by stating, that, after that time, two persons of great eminence, politically opposed to him, had intimated plainly, that the embarrassments of the government were so evident, that some measures ought to be taken, and that they were disposed to address the king upon the subject. To this communication he had answered, that the point was one upon which he could give no opinion; but that, whatever resolution they might take, he thought they ought decidedly to state it first to lord Goderich. It was in consequence of this occurrence, that lord Goderich had waited on his majesty on the 8th of January; and at that time he had absolutely not been aware, whether the noble lord went to submit his grievances to the king, or to propose some plan by which those grievances might be remedied. It was in these circumstances, that, on the 26th December, he learned from lord Goderich the determination of Mr. Herries to resign, if the appointment of lord Althorpe were persevered in; and then indeed he did feel, and expressed his feeling, that the administration was at an end; that there was no prospect of that cordiality and co-operation, without which any endeavour on his part to promote the public interests must be useless—and that he could not, with-

out risking his character, continue a member of a cabinet so constituted. On the 28th of December, he stated to lord Goderich the conclusion to which he had come. Lord Goderich said distinctly, that the question as to the chairman of the committee was, in the abstract, of trifling importance. "But I could not dissemble," said Mr. Huskisson, "that the manner in which this obstacle had unfortunately arisen, could not, in my judgment, be easily overcome; and that, from the moment it was indispensably required that this particular arrangement should be abandoned, I could not recede, without admitting such a concession as I knew would be hailed by some as a subject of triumph—would tend to lower me in the public mind—would expose me even in this House to be taunted for my want of firmness—and would have consequently much diminished the measure of my usefulness in the official sphere which I then occupied. The abstract question was itself, I repeat, of no moment; but it became raised by accompanying circumstances into vital importance, and assumed a pregnant and imposing form." On the 29th of December, therefore, he informed lord Goderich, that he meant to tender his resignation, and had prepared a letter to his majesty to that effect. Lord Goderich immediately said, "Then, if you have come to this determination, my administration is altogether at an end; for if you retire, I will not remain an hour longer in office, and the inevitable consequence is, that there is an end of the administration." Lord Dudley, and the marquis of Lansdown, the Foreign and Home Secreta-

ries, to whom the communication had likewise been made, said the same thing—that what he intended to do, would be the dissolution of the ministry. He had been prevented from sending in his resignation as he intended, by the arrival of the Infant of Portugal, and his visit to Windsor just at that time. Then he had postponed sending it for a few days, for this reason, that it was very strongly suggested to him by those with whom he had communicated, whether, as the step he was about to take would necessarily break up the administration, it would not be better to request lord Goderich to consider of the resignation tendered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He yielded to this suggestion; and, on the 1st of January, wrote a letter to lord Goderich, requesting him to ascertain distinctly from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether he persisted in his resignation; and telling him that he would suspend any step, until the result was known. Lord Goderich carried on the correspondence with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, urging him to recall his determination, but without success. On the 8th of January, lord Goderich went to Windsor, waited on his majesty, and, telling, the whole difficulties of the case, opened to his majesty the situation of the government. In doing so, he did what he was bound in duty to do—he laid before his majesty fully, fairly, and honestly, the real state of the difficulties and perplexities into which the government was thrown—and the administration was at an end. “So far as regards myself,” said Mr. Huskisson, “up to the last moment of its existence—up to the

last moment when it could possibly administer the affairs of the country—I used every effort to keep the elements, of which it was composed, together. I appeal to every member of the late government, whether there has been any want of zeal or industry on my part—whether I did not sacrifice time, health, every thing that was dear to me, to the endeavour to prevent the breaking-up of the administration. I have been charged with having made a communication to all my colleagues, except the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with respect to the appointment of the noble lord as chairman of the Committee of Finance: and I have also been charged with having canvassed my colleagues to support that appointment against the feelings of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I state distinctly now, what must have been known to many persons before, that I never communicated on that subject with any person except lord Goderich and Mr. Tierney, before the transaction took a course which rendered further communication necessary.”

On the second part of the case, the footing on which he had joined the new administration, so soon as that to which he had belonged was at an end; and the nature of the guarantees which, it was said, he had assured his constituents at Liverpool, he had received from the duke of Wellington as conditions of his accession, Mr. Huskisson said, that he had been under great apprehensions from the very first, that the members of the new government were very likely to differ among themselves with respect to political principles, and the measures growing out of them. There were, no doubt, certain

measures and principles, in relation to which it was absolutely necessary to have an understanding, or it was impossible for a cabinet to agree; but still, if a fair and distinct understanding subsisted among the members of a government as to general principles, that was sufficient; and of such an understanding in favour of the general principles which he had always maintained, he had found an assurance in the very construction of the new government. Before joining it, he had sought explanations both regarding general principles and pending measures; and having received what seemed to him satisfactory explanations, he considered that the best guarantee, which could be offered for the execution of these measures, the furtherance of these principles, and the understanding that they would be adhered to, was, that the individuals, who were, in some respects, the framers of those measures, and whose duty it would be to carry them into operation, were to continue in the offices which they held. When the duke of Wellington applied to him to form part of the administration, he told his grace, that he expected that lord Dudley, Mr. Grant, and Mr. Lamb, should be members of it; but he did not ask for any stipulation on this point; nor communicate with any one of those individuals. He left it to the duke to do that, if he thought proper. The duke made a separate communication to each. If he had omitted to do so, he (Mr. Huskisson) should have considered himself at liberty to withdraw from any connexion with the administration. Each having received a separate proposal and

a separate explanation from his grace, they communicated with each other. Then all jointly requested an interview with his grace, in order that they might understand the explanations which they had received separately, in the same sense, one with the other. Up to the very morning when a list of the new government, by some accident, appeared in a newspaper, the duke of Wellington considered, that Mr. Huskisson was at liberty to wait (notwithstanding the explanations which had been given) until he should see the construction of the whole government, in order to judge whether that construction afforded the best security for the enforcement of the principles and measures to which he had alluded. It was that security, and that alone, that he had meant, when he used the word "guarantee," about which misconception and malice had been so busy. "Suppose for a moment," said Mr. Huskisson, "that the noble duke at the head of the government had communicated with me on the principles of a contract to be made—a bargain to be entered into—between parties, having between them opposite and conflicting interests—if they had thus bartered their own honour and character, how could they expect to keep the matter a secret? Is it to be believed that the noble duke would have sent to five or six gentlemen of untarnished honour and reputation, for the purpose of offering them such an insult? Can it be imagined that the duke of Wellington, with his exalted notions and nice sense of honour, was such a driveller as not to see that the offensive proposition, even if accepted, would



be useless; because it would destroy the value of the services of those who were base enough to lend themselves to so base a transaction? On the part of the noble duke, of my noble friend at the head of the Foreign Department, and of myself, I positively deny that any such proposition was originated, entertained, or ever in the contemplation of any one of them. Should I have displayed any prudence—using that word in its meanest sense—in going to Liverpool, and exposing myself to such an imputation, when it was positively certain, that, in a few days after, my statement would be contradicted by those persons to whom it had been applied? I say, therefore, that I do not retract one syllable of what I said at Liverpool respecting guarantees: I will not qualify it in the slightest degree. I used the word in the sense in which I have now used it: that my meaning was such, must have been obvious to every person at Liverpool; and that it was obvious to them, I know to be the fact. When I spoke of guarantee in the way I did, they were aware that I was not speaking of an instrument under hand and seal, covenanting for the execution of some particular engagement—that, in fact, I was alluding only to assurances and understandings, that my colleagues would not sacrifice any principle, or forego any measure, which they considered essential to the interests of the country. Having made this statement, I now declare, that I will not be compelled ever again to reiterate it, or to return to the subject by any means which may be selected to force me to do so.”

Mr. Herries next rose. Mr.

Huskisson had admitted distinctly enough, that, before the final difference between him and Mr. Herries, the ministry was tottering to its destruction: Mr. Herries now set out with averring broadly and boldly, that that difference was not the cause of the dissolution of lord Goderich's administration. “There is no truth whatever,” said he, “in the allegation that that difference caused the dissolution of the late cabinet. In all the rumours which have been propagated about design, and artifice, and stratagem, there is not one word of truth. I deny them all most unequivocally. They are false and unfounded in every particular, and have not even the slightest shadow of a foundation.” In regard to the cause of that difference, it was he himself, he said, who had proposed to Mr. Canning the Finance Committee, as he had previously proposed it to the government of lord Liverpool. It was a measure which he conceived to be of paramount importance, and in which, both officially and personally, he took a deep interest. As the meeting of parliament approached, numberless applications had been made to him regarding the chairman of the committee. To these he had either refused to give an answer, or had replied that he could not, and would not, give any information as to who was, or who was not to be the chairman of the committee. He himself had never deemed it necessary to think of a person for the chairman. So stood matters, when, a casual circumstance having taken him to Mr. Huskisson's office, it was suggested to him for the first time, that lord Althorpe should be chairman; but

the communication was by no means so distinct as he afterwards discovered it was intended to be. From this suggestion, he immediately dissented, and stated at once to Mr. Huskisson, that, with all the satisfaction which he might experience in acting with his lordship on any committee, he must object to his being appointed chairman. Mr. Tierney came in, and he, too, spoke of the committee; but the conversation, which was very brief, turned more on what were to be the subjects that ought to occupy its attention, than on who were to be its chairman or members. Instantly on leaving the Colonial office, he had requested an interview with lord Goderich, which he obtained the following day. "On that occasion," said Mr. Herries, "I declared to lord Goderich, my regret—first, that any step had been taken on a subject on which the step taken was not likely to lead to success; and secondly, that the steps taken had not been better adapted to promote the benefits which ought to be derived from the appointment of the committee; and lastly, not confining myself to the objections which I had to the appointment upon principle, I made a strong remonstrance upon the slighting manner in which I had been treated throughout the whole transaction. It was impossible for me entirely to lose sight, in this explanation, of every thing which had taken place previously to that communication having been made to me. There is not an individual whom I have the honour to address, in whose recollection the circumstances will not be fresh, which took place before my accession to the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer; not one, in whose recollection they are fresh, who will not

perceive, that those very circumstances made it, and could not but make it, unavoidable that I should be peculiarly jealous to maintain the dignity and character attached to my situation. It cannot have escaped the memory of the House, that there were individuals, who had made themselves so conspicuous in opposing my appointment to office, as to render any interference on their part against me a thing which I could not, as a man of honour, submit to for a moment. It was, however, more from reflection than from the impulse of the moment that I was induced to think seriously of the objection which I had started to the appointment of the noble lord; and, after reflection, without consulting with any person—a point which, in this instance, is most essentially material—I repaired to the noble lord at the head of the government, and represented to him all the objections, public as well as personal (and the public objections were extremely strong), which had occurred to me with regard to the proposition which had been made to me on the previous day. That noble lord expressed to me his sincere regret at what had taken place, and received the communication I then made to him with considerable agitation; admitting that a wrong had been done me, which ought to be repaired, and that no time ought to be lost in obviating the objections which I had so frankly and fairly stated." Immediately after this interview, he had communicated his objections in writing to Mr. Huskisson, who, next day, returned an answer expressing regret at any thing having been done of which Mr. Herries thought he had a right to complain, and accompanied by a copy

of a letter which he had written to Mr. Tierney, requesting that nothing farther should be done for the present regarding the Finance Committee. This was followed by a letter from Mr. Tierney, which Mr. Huskisson likewise communicated to him, disclaiming the having gone so far as he had been supposed to have gone, and stating how far he really had gone.

Thus stood matters on the 2nd December: and, matters standing thus, Mr. Herries maintained he had a right to conclude that nothing farther would be done in the matter without communication being had with him. He had openly and fairly stated his objections to lord Althorpe on public grounds, he had protested against the appointment, both verbally and in writing. In return he had received assurances that no slight towards himself, or any undue interference with his office, had been intended, and that the proceedings, so to speak, were stayed. He was justified therefore in allowing the matter to rest till farther communications should be made to him. Moreover the state of the government, between the 2nd and the 22nd of December, was such, that any communication on this subject from him would have been peculiarly ill-timed. During that interval there had been an abdication of the head of the government; the government itself had been in abeyance, till the mysterious restoration of lord Goderich on the 19th December. During that interval, there was no day, except the 3rd, 4th, or 5th (and he had received the copy of Mr. Tierney's letter only on the 2nd), on which he could have renewed his communications regarding the chair of the Finance Committee, without

unseasonably thrusting forward a topic of difference as if to hasten the destruction of the government, which was then in the agonies of dissolution. There was no person, in fact, to whom such a communication could have been addressed: there was no government in existence. Delay, therefore, on his part, there had been none. But so soon as a government was again completed on the 20th December, he addressed a letter to lord Goderich on the 21st, re-iterating his objections, and, above all, his objections to placing in the chair of the committee any person who was not entirely unconnected, or connected as little as possible, with any of the political parties in the House of Commons; stating that, to make the committee useful, all narrow political views, connected with particular and party influences only, should be disregarded in its formation; that on no other principle could he himself act in it; and if it were intended that it should be framed on any other principle, then, added he, "In order to relieve you from any difficulty, as connected with my situation, respecting the course which I may deem it expedient to pursue, I beg to assure you, that if, by putting my office into other hands, you can more satisfactorily execute this difficult measure, you may command my most ready and cheerful resignation of it. I place it (and I beg it to be understood as being done in the most friendly manner) entirely at your disposal." If the views stated in this letter proceeded on any misconceptions in point of fact, it was open to lord Goderich to correct them; if the principles laid down in it were unsound, the writer ought to have been told so, and the other principle, what-

ever it might be, on which the cabinet was determined to proceed, ought to have been distinctly asserted. But no such denial was given, no such assertion was made. In his answer lord Goderich said, that Mr. Herries had greatly misconceived "the degree in which he (lord Goderich) had been a party to the nomination of lord Althorpe to fill the chair of that committee;"—repeated the facts concerning it connected with himself, from the first casual mention of it by Mr. Tierney, down to his discovery that it had never been mentioned to the Chancellor of the Exchequer;—and begged Mr. Herries to take no step as to his resignation, till an opportunity should be given of bringing the whole matter under full consideration. The next communication between them on the subject was of a personal nature, on the 29th December, when lord Goderich requested to know from him distinctly, whether he had made up his mind to resign, if lord Althorpe were appointed chairman of the committee? His answer was "look to my letter, and you will there see the grounds on which you must determine whether I do resign or not." It was never mentioned to him, in the course of these communications, that the matter of the nomination was not concluded, that no engagement had been entered into absolutely binding on the parties. There was not even an approach to an adjustment, by a discussion of the merits of the question. He was only asked the bare question, do you intend to resign? If he had been informed at that time, that Mr. Huskisson had tendered his resignation on grounds likewise connected with this nomination, the case might

have been very different. But of this he was kept in ignorance, and first learned it from seeing the letter of the 5th of January. His answer to lord Goderich was to this effect, "if the matter be still open to discussion, let us consider it." "But," said Mr. Herries, "I was told in reply, that, though the question was not closed by any positive pledge, yet there was an understanding that it must be so considered, and that it was therefore, no longer open to discussion. I would put it, then, to any man of honour and feeling, if he had been placed in my situation, what else could he have done but what I did? I was told, on the one hand, that, as nothing was formally concluded, I had no just ground for resigning; and, on the other hand, I was also told, that the matter was not open to discussion. I could not consent to hold office upon such conditions." Notwithstanding Mr. Herries's reiterated declarations of his determination to adhere to the resolution which he had on mature deliberation adopted, lord Goderich still pressed him to depart from it—but there was no offer even to discuss his objections to that measure, the determination to persevere in which, though now acknowledged to be an open question, was the ground of his resolution. Mr. Herries made his final communication to lord Goderich in a letter of the 7th January, stating, that, since he had learned from his lordship's last communication that, instead of a concluded engagement, little more had been done than to ascertain whether lord Althorpe would accept the office, he could not but see that the determination to persist in the appointment and to refuse all discussion of the reasons

which convinced him of the measure being unadvisable, only increased the difficulty of his acquiescing in it; for in such circumstances he would have thought it might have still been an open question. He added, in reference to any opposition to Mr. Huskisson, "I feel that, where parties of such unequal weights are placed, by an unfortunate occurrence of circumstances, in two opposite scales, there ought not to be a moment's hesitation (with reference to the interests of the government) in so disposing of me as to retain the invaluable services of our common friend"—This was the last communication that took place—the government was dissolved.

These, said Mr. Herries, were the facts; and on these facts he maintained, first, that his objections to lord Althorpe were fair objections on public grounds, and the persisting in his appointment, a course of proceeding to which, as a public man, he was entitled to refuse to make himself a party. The principle on which he objected to it, and objected to it, he admitted, strongly, was, that to render the committee as useful as possible, it should be composed of persons connected in the least degree with party, and that of this character ought the chairman, above all others, to be, since he would have to hold the balance between conflicting opinions. But a person, who, if not the leader, was prominent among the leaders of a party, was the last to whom such a character could apply. On some of the points likely to be brought under the consideration of such a committee, lord Althorpe would have found himself pledged by the strongest previous declarations. Did not this alone render him

less eligible than one not so pledged and predetermined. As the objection itself was fair, and as the refusal to continue in a government, adopting the course which a perseverance in the thing objected to implied, was perfectly fair; so he had allowed no undue delay to intervene in stating of his objections. He had stated them from the beginning, and renewed them so soon as a restoration of the government enabled him to do so. But, which was the most important circumstance of all, he denied that any step or resolution taken by him had been the cause of the dissolution of the ministry. The state of the government between the beginning of December, and his letter to lord Goderich of the 21st, proved the contrary. "Circumstances," said Mr. Herries, "had shaken the government to its foundation before the 21st, when I wrote the letter I have read to the House, nay, had led to its dissolution before that time; but of which, to my extreme surprise, and very deep regret, my noble friend in another place, in giving his account of the causes of that dissolution, omitted to make any mention. I say that circumstances were known before the 21st, to those connected with the government, which made them foresee the dissolution that was about to take place. I further say, that this letter and proceeding of mine was taken advantage of, as a convenient opportunity for doing that which sooner or later must have happened. I say that I know it was so taken advantage of. I say that I know it was discussed, whether my letter should not be made use of in the manner it has been. I will speak out plainly in my own defence. No minister could take

such a trifling matter as this to the foot of the throne, and leave it there as a difficulty and embarrassment, unaccompanied by any advice as to the removal of it, without virtually giving in his own resignation of office at the same time. But I feel that, if I were to pursue this subject further, I should transgress the limits I have imposed on myself and which I hold it a sacred obligation not to pass." There was only one other point on which he had any explanation to give. It had been publicly stated that he had communicated, on this question, with parties out of the government, and that what he had done had been done in consequence of these communications. It had even been hinted that he had held communication on the subject with the highest personage in the state. "Now, I declare, upon my word of honour as a gentleman, and as I hope to be saved, that I have never had any communication on this question, with any individual out of the circle of my own colleagues. I declare, that I have received no advice from any man, and that I did not make the least communication in the high quarter alluded to; nor do I believe that any of the passing circumstances were known there, until they were made known by my noble friend. That I believe; but, with respect to myself, I can solemnly affirm, that there exists not the shadow of a reason for the insinuation, which has been thrown out against me on this point."

Mr. Tierney said that, in any share which he had borne in these proceedings, he had never thought of putting the smallest slight on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and had actually believed that he

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had that right hon. gentleman's concurrence in the proposal. He had proposed lord Althorpe, solely for the purpose of strengthening the government. Lord Goderich approved of the suggestion, but said to him, "consult the leader in the House of Commons, the Secretary for the Colonies, and what he decides on I will agree to." Mr. Huskisson accordingly was consulted, and intimated his approbation of the suggestion. Feeling, however, that he (Mr. Tierney) should be awkwardly situated, if, after the nomination had been agreed to by the government, the proposed nominee should refuse to act, he took means, through earl Spencer, lord Althorpe's father, to ascertain, whether, in the event of an application being made to the latter, he would accept the situation of chairman. Lord Althorpe's answer was such as must have rendered it impossible to imagine that any conclusive step had been taken. It was in these words, "I write to you in consequence of a message which you desired my father to give me. I understand your message was, that you had thoughts of proposing that I should take the chair of the Finance Committee; but before I give a definite answer, I wish to know whether certain arrangements will be agreed to by his majesty's government." Every thing therefore was open; and he had made no attempt to bargain with or influence lord Althorpe. On the 28th of November, when, before leaving town for Brighton, he called on Mr. Huskisson, he found him and Mr. Herries together; Mr. Huskisson said they had just been talking over the committee, and that he cordially concurred in the course which had been taken. He, Mr.

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Tierney, then produced a list of names from which he suggested the committee might be formed, and set off for Brighton, so utterly unsuspicious of any difference of opinion, that, if he had been asked on the road about the matter, he would have answered "every thing is settled; for I have with me the Premier, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer." On the 1st of December, however, he received Mr. Huskisson's letter, requesting that care should be taken to mention no names as connected with the committee: but that letter did not even mention the name of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, much less did it advert to his views or feelings. It came entirely from Mr. Huskisson as a suggestion of his own. He there stated, that it would prove inconvenient, if lists of those, who were intended to be placed on the committee, were shown about; and he expressed a wish, that no notice of the list should be taken to lord Althorpe himself. He was desirous that the matter should not be noticed, until they were nearer the meeting of parliament. That letter gave no information whatever, as to the sentiments entertained by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Although it subsequently appeared to have been written in consequence of information derived from him, yet it contained not a syllable with respect to his feelings on the subject. To that letter he, Mr. Tierney, answered that he had not shewn the list, or been asked to shew it, and that, in so far as lord Althorpe was concerned, he did not mean to say a word. This letter had been shewn to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 3rd or 4th of January; and how any man, after

reading it, could imagine that any definitive arrangement had been resolved on was to him inconceivable. These were the only three communications he had ever had on the subject of the committee—one on the 19th of November, the meeting at Mr. Huskisson's office on the 28th, and his letter to Mr. Huskisson on the 2nd of December. However surprising it might appear, the fact was, that he never heard one syllable on the subject till the 9th of January. Till that day he knew not that any resignation had been threatened or sent in—that any dissatisfaction had been expressed—that any intrigue was going on: yet, during the whole time from the 21st to the 30th of December, a correspondence had been going on with two members of the government, each threatening to resign, of which he was entirely ignorant. On the 19th or 20th of December, a cabinet council was held, at which the restoration of lord Goderich, as it had been called, took place. Mr. Herries was there—he made no objection—he made no observations as to what his own sentiments were, though, at that council, it was fully canvassed and settled, how far lord Goderich could be re-adopted as minister. Was not that the time to have advanced any objection, or to have put forward any observation which his mind might have suggested relative to the ministry. Unquestionably it was; but Mr. Herries said not one word on the subject. It looked just as if he had agreed to bolster up the government at night, that he might blow it up the next morning. Could that be called fair play?—He was bound to bring his opinions before the government, in order that he

might ascertain what the sentiments of the government were. He had said, that he was anxious, at the time, for discussion. Why, then, did he not introduce the subject? The cabinet was the place for discussion. There he might have had discussion to his heart's content, and information of every description. The last cabinet council, at which he, Mr. Tierney, attended, was held on the 29th of December. When coming out of the council-room, he asked the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, "Pray, Mr. Herries, what do you mean to do about the committee of Finance?" The answer was, "Oh, we must talk about the matter." He (Mr. Tierney) then said, "I have looked into the reports, and I find that the former committee was appointed by ballot." On which the right hon. gentleman observed, "Yes, after a debate." So far from his having any idea at the time, that things had come to such a pass, that gentlemen were about to resign in consequence of his proposition, he, in pure sincerity of heart, spoke to the right hon. gentleman on the subject of the Finance Committee, and the right hon. gentleman himself did not even then so much as insinuate to him, that he was opposed to the appointment of lord Althorpe. He did not mean to say that that gentleman cherished any wish to overturn the government; but that right hon. gentleman, he believed, felt some degree of hostility to it on certain matters—matters which were wormwood to him. He did not censure the right hon. gentleman's opinions; but it did appear that, for some reason or other, he was out of humour with the government; and indeed he had

said, that no man could be in a good humour with a government carried on as that had been. Viewing what had taken place, he would say, that the individual, who was at the head of the late government was a very good man, but he thought he was not sufficiently energetic to meet the times, and control the circumstances in which he was placed. Having said thus much upon dates and facts, so far as they had come to his knowledge, he would only repeat, that, for his part, he had never taken part in any proceeding which was intended as a slight upon Mr. Herries.

Lord Althorpe said, that he had received a message from Mr. Tierney, through lord Spencer, the purport of which was, to ascertain whether he would accept the situation of chairman. He had requested time to consider of the proposal, and then answered, that he was willing to accept of the appointment, on the clear understanding that he should nevertheless be at full liberty to support or oppose in the committee, the measures of government, as his judgment might direct. He had agreed to accept it much against his will, and only because he felt that he could not refuse consistently with his duty as a member of the House. The matter stood on this footing, that, if any objection should be made to the appointment in any quarter, and it should be thought expedient to name another person, so far from taking offence, he would feel himself relieved, as he had stated in his letter to Mr. Tierney, from a laborious duty in which he was by no means eager to engage. He heard no more of the matter till, from curiosity to know how it was going on, he put a question on the subject to



Mr. Tierney on the 14th December, when he was informed that the matter was still quite open, and that nothing further had passed, but that he meant to propose the appointment to the cabinet. This was all that his lordship knew upon the subject: but he begged to assure Mr. Herries, that he never for one moment conceived that that gentleman's objection to his nomination rested on personal grounds. He was quite satisfied he had not acted from any impulse of which he (lord Althorpe) had any right to complain.

Such was the history of the dissensions and dissolution of the cabinet given by those who had been the actors in it. In the discussion which followed, the attention of the House was directed to the character of the new government, and the conduct of the members of the former government who had joined it, more than to the bickerings which had occasioned the destruction of its predecessor; and the very existence of differences of opinion so irreconcilable as to occasion the breaking up of a cabinet, was represented as being sufficient of itself to excite surprise at the union, which immediately followed, between men who had thus overturned a government by their dissensions. Mr. T. Duncombe observed, that the House had still to learn how the irreconcilable difference between Mr. Herries and Mr. Huskisson had been made up, and how these members continued to sit in the same cabinet. The colonial secretary had still to explain, "how their pulses, which formerly were so irregular, could beat so soon in unison, by what means the quietus had been produced, and the direful wrath ap-

peased." Mr. Duncombe was inclined to impute all that had happened to a secret and powerful agency, which had not yet been unmasked, and which was exercised, according to the statement of the hon. member, by a Jew stock-broker, and a Christian physician. "It has been credibly affirmed," said he "that there is a mysterious personage behind the scene who concerts, regulates, and influences, every arrangement. There is," said the hon. gentleman, "deny it who can, a secret influence behind the throne, whose form is never seen, whose name is never breathed, who has access to all the secrets of the state, and who manages all the sudden springs of ministerial arrangement—

'At whose soft nod, the streams of  
honour flow,  
Whose smiles all place and patronage  
bestow.'

Closely connected with this invisible, this incorporeal person, stands a more solid and substantial form, a new, and formidable power, till these days unknown in Europe: master of unbounded wealth, he boasts that he is the arbiter of peace and war, and that the credit of nations depends upon his nod; his correspondents are innumerable; his couriers outrun those of sovereign princes, and absolute sovereigns; ministers of state are in his pay. Paramount in the cabinets of continental Europe, he aspires to the domination of our own; even the great Don Miguel himself, of whom we have lately heard and seen so much, was obliged to have recourse to the purse of this individual, before he could take possession of his throne. Sir, that such secret influences do exist is a matter of

notoriety; they are known to have been but too busy in the underplot of the late revolution; I believe their object to be as impure as the means by which their power has been acquired; and I denounce them, and their agents, as unknown to the British constitution, and derogatory to the honour of the Crown." Mr. Peel answered, that of the existence of such agency, he at least, had never discovered any trace.

Mr. Stanley, lord Milton, and lord Morpeth, the first of whom had been under secretary in the Colonial office with Mr. Huskisson, but had declined to retain his office under the new ministry, while they did not say that Mr. Huskisson had departed, by his accession, from principles of policy to which he had been long and publicly pledged, thought that he had been too easily satisfied with what he considered securities for the continued prosecution of that policy. "Paying homage," said Mr. Stanley, "to the talents of that right hon. gentleman, it is but justice to myself to say, that I look with surprise and regret at the associates whom he has selected to act with or rather under, at this moment. No man living, who looks at the present cabinet, can say, that they are an united and consistent government. Every one must see the strange medley of men and principles of which it is composed—such, indeed, as has seldom been seen under any administration. The words 'guarantee,' 'agreement,' 'understanding,' 'stipulation,' and 'pledge,' have been used, and have been all disclaimed. The right hon. gentleman is angry at having it said, that he made any stipulation whatever, and yet, in the next breath,

he tells us that he told the duke of Wellington it was a necessary condition of his accepting office, that his three friends should come in with him. And this, we are told, is not a stipulation. I agree with the right hon. gentleman, that it is not a satisfactory stipulation; because we have no security for the extent to which he means it to operate. But are we to be told that, having had one concession made to him by the admission of a new party to the cabinet, it was out of his power to obtain terms upon other points of great public importance?" No answer had yet been given to the question. "Is the policy of Mr. Canning to be acted on or not? Is the Colonial Secretary determined to adhere to that only, with or without a guarantee?" The intentions of Mr. Huskisson and his friends, who remained in office, might be excellent, but could it be forgotten that the leading members of the government were the men who, knowing that Mr. Canning was inclined and pledged to a certain line of liberal policy, withdrew from him at a time when he was about to carry it into execution, and gave up office rather than follow him as their leader in that course? The Colonial Secretary might be faithful to the principles of free trade; but was not the very duke of Wellington, who last year threw out the Corn-bill, now at the head of the government? Lord Milton said, that the accession of Mr. Huskisson to the cabinet was the only ground on which he hoped for a good administration of the public affairs; but, at the same time, he would have been much better pleased, if that hon. gentleman had obtained more substantial guarantees for

the prosecution of the measures to which he was pledged, than those with which he appeared to have been satisfied. The question was, how he came to be in office? And the only answer was, "I, and certain others are in office; and that circumstance is a sufficient guarantee that our measures will be carried into execution." This would be well, if the government in this country were divided into separate and independent departments. But such was not the case; there was but one government; and if men wished to understand its principles, they must look to the individual who was placed at its head. In regard to the Corn-bill, for instance, for which the country looked to Mr. Huskisson, and which it would be impossible for him to elude, who ever recollected the history of its last defeat, would not now look forward with much hope to its success. Even if it should be carried through the House of Commons, what would the country say, should it be defeated in the House of Lords? Would it not be thought that the Colonial Secretary had gotten but poor guarantees, in obtaining seats in the cabinet for himself and two or three others. It would be thought to be rather a barter for seats, than a means of carrying into effect the principles which were professed and proclaimed.

Lord Morpeth admitted, that, in relation to the words said to have been made use of at Liverpool, Mr. Huskisson had established his case most satisfactorily; yet he had heard his statements to-night with profound disappointment. When that right hon. gentleman, in common with those of his colleagues who were supposed

to participate in his views, separated himself from those members of the late government who had joined Mr. Canning in his utmost need, and allied himself to those who (it was now matter of notoriety, unless the country had been grossly deceived) had long differed from Mr. Canning on subjects of the most vital concernment, who had manifested only last year the strongest disposition to thwart the measures, and embitter the repose of that statesman, and had even declined to follow his remains to the grave; when the right hon. gentleman did this, it was expected that he would justify himself by demonstrating that he still maintained his principles, and that only a sense of what was due to the public interest had led him to sacrifice the natural feelings of a man, or rather of a friend, to the sterner duties of a patriot. With no small degree of surprise, therefore, and with yet greater pain, had he collected from the right hon. gentleman's speech, that the only security or guarantee for the perseverance of the present government in that policy, and those measures, was an impression, which the right hon. gentleman had been pleased to adopt in his own mind, that there was so perfect a concurrence of opinion between him and his new colleagues in office, as would have made any more actual or matter-of-fact bargain or understanding between them, not only unnecessary, but degrading. Such a statement was utterly unsatisfactory; and he could not refrain from looking upon the right hon. gentleman as one who, abandoning those who were most willing to promote his own enlarged and intelligent views, had gone over to a body inclined to thwart

and to discourage them; and had left the party of his late illustrious friend, without a leader, an existence, or a name.

Lord Palmerston, on the contrary, one of those members of the late government who had passed with Mr. Huskisson into the new one, maintained, that the securities, which he, and others in the same circumstances with himself, had received, were satisfactory and sufficient in every practical sense; and that their own situation, as well as the character of those with whom they had to deal, rendered it impossible that such stipulations as had been suggested, could have been, for one moment, proposed or entertained. Before agreeing to join the new government, they had ascertained by the most direct and explicit means, what were the views and opinions of the individuals with whom they were invited to act. When, for example, application was first made to himself, the only answer he could give to a proposal general in its nature, was, that he should wish, in the first instance, to know of what individuals it was purposed to constitute the government. But, when he found that it was wished that the Secretary for the Colonies, should retain his office—that his noble friend at the head of the Foreign Department, should continue in that post, to direct our foreign relations—and that the President of the Board of Trade should direct the management of our commercial interests, he felt it to be quite unnecessary to inquire further as to either the persons or the principles of the new administration, in respect either of our foreign relations, our commercial relations, or our general foreign policy. As to the Catho-

lic question, although unfortunately there were two parties, one for, and the other against, that measure, surely no man could conscientiously say, that this ought to be a barrier against their acting together—that this great question should be carried by the simple decision of ministers, or even of the House, without trusting to the opinion of the public. But even considering, in that point of view, the conduct of those members of the cabinet who had acted with the last ministry, and who had joined the present, they were fully justified in the part which they had taken. In the present cabinet there was a greater number of members who had voted for Catholic emancipation, than there was in that of lord Liverpool. His grace had stated, that it was his intention to observe the strictest neutrality on that point, and not to use his influence either in opposing or in forwarding the measure. He, lord P., and his friends felt perfectly convinced, that, on this question, and indeed on every other, whether connected with our policy, foreign or domestic, they had pursued a course which was strictly honourable, and which would bear the strictest investigation.

Mr. Peel said, that he could tell nothing, because he knew nothing, regarding the dissolution of the late cabinet, but he was ready to state every thing regarding his own accession to the present government. On the night of the 9th of January, he had received a letter from the duke of Wellington, stating that he had been commissioned by his majesty to form a new ministry, and requesting him to return to London without delay, that his grace might confer with him on the subject. He came to London

early next morning, and immediately waited on the duke of Wellington, who asked him, if he was willing to join a new administration, stating likewise, that his majesty intended to place his grace at its head. He (Mr. Peel) then expressed his perfect willingness to serve under him, it being understood that his grace was to resign the office of commander-in-chief; and he took the liberty, at the same time, of stating his opinion as to the manner in which the cabinet ought to be constructed, viz. that, from the state of the House of Commons, looking at the talents of public men there, and from the general condition of our foreign and commercial relations, he was convinced that the country could not be governed on any exclusive principles, and particularly, that it would be impossible to form a government founded either on the principles of excluding the Catholic question altogether, or of carrying it as a *sine qua non*. In these sentiments the duke of Wellington entirely coincided, and it was determined that an offer should be made to those members of the late government, who had also been members of lord Liverpool's. The duke of Wellington said, "let us put the matter to them fairly and freely upon public grounds." No stipulations were offered or required, but there was a spontaneous desire on the duke's part, to make such propositions to those individuals as must prove acceptable to all. The duke felt the importance of preserving unchanged the existing policy respecting the general affairs of Europe, especially as concerned the east; and he felt also, that it would be a great public advantage to secure the valuable assistance of

earl Dudley in the Foreign-office. On the 10th of January the noble duke had assured him, that no change should take place in the government of Ireland; and although some dissatisfaction had been expressed, in some quarters, respecting the appointment of the right hon. gentleman who was secretary for that country, he could only say, that if it were left to him to name any person to that office, he could not select an individual better qualified than that right hon. gentleman.—Respecting the Catholic question, every member of the present administration was at liberty to take what line of conduct he might choose: it was deemed to be an open question and the patronage of Ireland was to remain neutral, as it was pledged to be in Mr. Canning's government. The corn question had been referred to as a reason why a union never could take place between the remnants of the two former administrations. Now, whatever was the value of the objection, it did not apply to himself; he had never expressed any dissent from the principles of the corn-bill brought in by Mr. Canning. But he further denied that there was any evidence of the duke of Wellington being hostile to the principle of that bill. His grace had sat in the cabinet, when it was introduced; he had voted for the second reading; and there was nothing, as regarded principle, which could be objected to him for having altered the details. The amendment, which his grace had moved to the bill, formed no bar to his supporting another bill brought in upon similar principles. But the fact was, that a consistency and unanimity of opinion was called for,

or affected to be called for, in the members of the government, which it was folly to suppose ever could exist. In consenting to become a member of an administration, he did not surrender, or believe that he was bound to surrender, his opinions to any man. He never would enter the service of the crown, or of the country, if the terms were, that he was implicitly to adopt the views of any minister. Could it be supposed that any head of an administration ought to expect—or would any one who acted with him consent that he should be permitted—to lay down his personal opinions like a formula, to which every one about him was bound, without objection or qualification, to subscribe? If government were allowed to take its course, as much unanimity and exertion would mark the administration of the duke of Wellington as had distinguished any ministry that had ever existed in the country; certainly as much as could belong to any ministry capable of being formed in the existing state of parties. On only one other topic would he trouble the House. It referred to a subject which it was right should be fully understood, as connected with the dissolution of the late ministry, and the formation of the present. On the 8th of January, when his majesty had commissioned the noble duke at the head of affairs to form a new government, his majesty had accompanied his commands for that purpose with the following declaration:—"I commit to you the formation of a new ministry: the last administration has been dissolved. But it is my duty to inform you, that, if that administration had not been dissolved by

acts of its own, I would have remained faithful to it to the last." There were circumstances which made it expedient that this fact should be known. For himself, he believed it was impossible to attribute the dissolution of the late government to any other than the causes which had been brought before the House in the course of the explanations of the evening. He thought there had been discussion enough. If there was any point connected with his personal acceptance of office that wanted explanation, he was ready to give it to any member who might call upon him. But he thought his colleagues had gone as far as it was necessary, or possible, for them to go.

Mr. Brougham, on the other hand, said, that, though the House had heard a great deal on all other topics, it was still left nearly as much in the dark as ever, regarding the short substantial facts of the case which it was desirable should be known; and the whole transaction was another illustration of Oxenstiern's remark to his son, "You see with how little wisdom the world can be governed." It appeared that two members of the cabinet had been walking about in considerable uncertainty whether they belonged to the government or not; and the head of that government was chiefly distinguished for moving about with the resignations of two of his colleagues in his pocket, and for an apparent alarm, when they should leave him, as to what he should do to provide himself with new ones. Then the quarrel between the two resigning members was of the most extraordinary description. It was endless—hopeless. Walls of brass were raised to divide the

contending parties for ever. To communicate with each other was impossible. Both parties communicated to a third, but still, each with a caution that what he said was, on no account, to be repeated to the other. Every possible course had been resorted to, to avoid the possibility of an explanation which would have put an end to the difficulty altogether.—It was not surprising that lord Goderich had been distracted, surrounded as he was with such elements of discord as the House had seen that night. Unless he had been a military man as well as a politician, unless he had been a soldier, with a provost martial at his back, how could he reduce them to any shew of order? The only chance for a civilian would have been, to have carried them both to Bow-street, and have had them sworn to keep the peace, before he swore them in as members of the cabinet.

The explanations of Mr. Herries, in particular, Mr. Brougham said, gave him no satisfaction. That gentleman's shifting of his ground, first assenting, or at least, not objecting, to the appointment of lord Althorpe, afterwards protesting against it, and then attributing the dissolution of the ministry to a preconcerted plan on the part of others, all this left doubts remaining. There was still something untold, which would have explained the matter at once; and it would have been better to have said, "you wish for information as to the cause of the late break-up, but I will not tell you." It appeared from the letters which had been read, that, at the time when he complained of having been overlooked and neglected in the appointment of lord Althorpe,

he must have known that the appointment was not finally decided upon. It had been talked of, and with the approbation of lord Goderich. The letter of lord Goderich distinctly stated, not that he was not a party to the mention of the appointment, but that it was not final. Early in December, the right hon. gentleman was acquainted with the fact, that nothing was finally concluded upon. He was informed of what was done, and made no objection; and yet, three weeks afterwards, he talked of arrangements having been made behind his back, and of the caballing, planning, appointing, determining, and finally arranging, a matter in which he ought to have been, but was not, officially consulted. But another ray of light broke in upon them in this matter. That was the letter of lord Goderich in January. That letter, which went into a detail so long, that it might be called prolix, clearly showed, that the right hon. gentleman was mistaken. It admonished him on the subject of his mistake, and advised him to reconsider his offer of resignation. After all these repeated communications, the right hon. gentleman complained that it was intended to thwart him in his office. What object could the right hon. the member for Liverpool, or the right hon. the member for Knarborough, have in thwarting him? They both denied it, and declared that, from the time of his appointment, they had uniformly behaved towards him with the greatest kindness. What, then, could be meant by the complaint of being thwarted? Then, what were his objections to lord Althorpe? That his lordship was a party man? Why, the reverse of that

was the reason why he had been named, in the first instance. Lord Althorpe had never been recognized as a party man. He was at the head of a set of gentlemen who acted independently, without reference to the views of any party. But lord Althorpe, it seemed, stood committed on the bullion question, and had expressed a strong opinion regarding the Sinking-fund. Then where was Mr. Herries's consistency, for he had stated no objection to the nomination of sir H. Parnell to be chairman of the Finance Committee which had just been appointed. Now, sir H. Parnell was not only committed on the bullion question, but had written a book upon it, had spoken on the subject an hundred times, and always with effect—had moved finance resolutions over and over again, in which the Sinking-fund was mentioned,—was a political economist, at the head of a set of political economists, and was even a member of the Political Economist's club;—and yet, with all these qualities, so objectionable in the eyes of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, he had made no sort of objection whatever to his appointment; though, rather than consent to the nomination of lord Althorpe with only one of those objectionable qualities, he was prepared on the 21st of December to resign his situation. The right hon. gentleman could not consent to this appointment, as it derogated from his dignity; about that dignity he was so solicitous, as to be angry with lord Goderich's administration; and yet at a nod or a beck from the duke of Wellington he became mild as a lamb. The moment the field marshal gave the word of com-

mand, he was all obedience, resigned without a murmur the golden gown of his office, and retired to the less dignified, the less responsible, and certainly the less lucrative, office of master of his majesty's Mint.

As to Mr. Huskisson's lengthened statement, to prove that he had not got, and had never intended to say that he had got, a guarantee, Mr. Brougham considered it altogether unnecessary; for no man had ever meant or supposed that Mr. Huskisson had stipulated for and obtained a guarantee in the legal sense of the words, set down in a formal writing, and on a proper stamp. Still, however, that statement was the most important thing they had heard that night. If a man spoke to an audience of having had conversations, explanations, and understandings, with another on a particular subject, would they not apply those conversations, explanations, and understandings, to that subject, just as much as if it were written? Would it not be said, that explanation was the result of conversation, and that the result of that explanation, in the case before the House, was the acceptance of office by the right hon. gentleman? But it was said, that the guarantees were implied by the presence, in the same cabinet, of the Secretary for Ireland, the President of the Board of Trade, and the noble Secretary at War. Were these the guarantees? He was afraid the public would not so consider them. Let the House look to the situation of Ireland, and ask, whether a change for the better had taken place. A sentence of eighteen months imprisonment had just been pronounced against



Mr. Eneas Macdonnell, in Dublin, for a libel on archdeacon Trench. It was much more severe than the punishment of many atrocious libels against some of the highest personages in this country; and could any man doubt that the judges, who sentenced Mr. Macdonnell, considered, not that they had the author of a libel on Mr. Trench before them, but the active, and zealous, and persevering, agent of that hated body, the Catholic Association. Then it was said, that we had a guarantee for the foreign policy of the country in the person of lord Dudley. But, who sat on the same bench with him, as member of the same cabinet? A young nobleman, who certainly possessed hereditary claims to great sagacity, and yet, somehow or other, had not yet succeeded in establishing himself in the possession. That young nobleman had stated, that he had never been opposed to the foreign policy of Mr. Canning; yet he could not disguise the fact, that he had always been of opinion, and in that his opinion remained unchanged, that Mr. Canning was a dangerous man. Yet these were the discordant materials, of which the guarantees for the policy of Mr. Canning were made up! As to the guarantee for free trade in the person of Mr. C. Grant, the House would know what value to set upon it, when they recollected the events of last summer, and saw in them an efficient counter-guarantee in the policy of the duke of Wellington.

Mr. Herries, it has been seen, denied, in the course of these explanations, that his quarrel with Mr. Huskisson, or his tendered resignation, had been the true rea-

son of the dissolution of the government; he had ascribed that event to other, but still concealed, causes, which had already produced a resolution to put an end to the cabinet, and he had spoken of his own refusal to acquiesce in the nomination of lord Althorpe, as having been merely made use of as a pretext to execute that resolution already formed. On the following day (Feb. 19th) lord Goderich adverted to this statement in the House of Lords, and repeated in the strongest terms, that his ministry had fallen solely in consequence of the irreconcilable difference between Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Herries. It has been imputed to me, said he, that what I stated to his majesty was a false pretence; that I had a covert design to dissolve the government, and that I acted from some profound calculation. I should have thought, my lords, that what the world knew of me would have been sufficient to save me from any imputation of this kind; and I can hardly believe that such an imputation has been made; but if it has, there can be no justification for such conduct. It is imputed to me, that I went down to his majesty with a statement that was not correct; and that the immediate cause, which led to the precarious situation of the government, was not that which I stated it to be. If the immediate cause was not the resignation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as I stated it to be, then am I the basest of mankind. When I wrote to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the subject of the committee, I told him in the plainest terms what was the opinion of my right hon. friend. I stated that he considered it im-

possible for him not to acquiesce in the nomination of the chairman of the Finance Committee, which had been the subject of discussion. My right hon. friend stated, that, if the decision should be against that nomination, he would resign; and I stated also that, the resignation of the Secretary of State would dissolve the government. I added to this, that his own resignation would, in all probability, be attended with the same consequences. How, then, could the right hon. gentleman state—how could any man state—that I went down to his majesty with a false pretence, to procure the dissolution of the government? Whether my proceeding was right or wrong is, perhaps, of little consequence, but the statement which I made was the sole ground of my actions: and I defy any man to say that I acted from any other. On the next day I stated my opinion to the right hon. gentleman. I recommended him to reconsider his decision. I told him I could not accede to his opinion. I urged him not to take the step he contemplated. He said he would take it; and I foresaw the consequences. I added, that we owed it to ourselves, to the king, and the country, not to break up the government, unless it was absolutely necessary. It was our duty, I said, to meet parliament and wait its decision. All this proved ineffectual. What ground, then, was there for the declaration, that I went to his majesty with a false pretence? I say that the conduct of the right hon. gentleman was the immediate cause of the dissolution of the government. These were the motives for my conduct; and it is not possible for any person justly to impute to me any other. Your lordships will

also have seen it represented—though I cannot say whether correctly or not—that there existed a design, a plot, to break up the government. Who entertained it? When was it concocted? I positively deny that I knew any thing of it; and I deny that any person, as far as I know, had any such design. I will not say that circumstances had not occurred which might make the government not receive the countenance and support of parliament; but that there was a design to alter or change the government, or to break it up, is a most gratuitous assumption.

Lord Carlisle confirmed the statement of lord Goderich; expressing his surprise that the dissolution of the government should ever have been ascribed to any other cause than the disputed nomination of the chairman of the Finance Committee, and his entire ignorance of any secret machinery or intrigue having been employed to break up the ministry.

Mr. Herries, however, reiterated his assertion in the House of Commons (Feb. 21). It had been supposed, he said, that, in what he had stated, he had meant to deny the truth of the account of the noble lord at the head of the government, as to the causes by which that government had been dissolved. When any man of character, spoke of his motives, such a declaration was unanswerable; of his own motives he must be incomparably the best judge. But, at the same time, said Mr. Herries, nothing can alter my personal conviction, founded upon all that I know of the facts, that the trifling circumstance of the difference between the Secretary for the Colonies and myself—trifling, as compared with other

matters, and, I repeat, most trifling, because I had been ready to settle it in the most amicable way, by my own resignation—by the sacrifice, if there was to be any sacrifice, of myself—that a difference so easily disposed of never could be, and never had been, the true and operative cause of the dissolution of the late government. Other causes, and far more important ones, had been pressing with an embarrassing weight upon the administration; and I do believe, that no arguments will ever convince impartial persons, who take the trouble to advert to all the facts, that so trifling a circumstance as is alleged, had been the cause of so important a catastrophe.

Mr. Sturges Bourne, on the other hand, and Mr. Wynn, who had both been members of the late government, declared that they neither knew, nor had ever heard of any other reason for its dissolution than the irreconcilable difference which had arisen between Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Herries; and if there really were grounds for Mr. Herries's insinuations as to intention and design, the premier, at least, and his colleagues, had, they said, been ignorant of it from beginning to end. Lord Milton called on Mr. Herries to state what he knew of this design to dissolve the government. If he knew that it existed, and knew the parties who were concerned in it, that would be something, compared with which, all the explanations yet given would be but as dust in the balance. If he did know of this design, he must know the grounds of it, the objects of it, the parties to it; and on these heads it was his bounden duty, a duty from which he could not retreat, to give the House an explanation.—Mr. Brougham added, that, as Mr. Herries had solemnly

and explicitly denied the charge made against him, elsewhere, of having, in the course of these struggles in the ministry, consulted persons not belonging to the cabinet, he wished now to know from that gentleman, whether no person out of the cabinet had consulted him; whether his denial went to the fact of any individual having consulted with him, as well as to the fact of his having consulted with any individual?—Mr. Herries answered that he did not think any gentleman had a right to ask that question; that he doubted whether it ought to have been asked; at all events, it would have been more properly omitted. All he would say was this, that he entirely abided by his former explanations. He would enter into no more. On any subject relating to the dissolution of the late government, he should decline to go further.

When one looks at the admission of lord Goderich himself, that there were circumstances in the condition of the ministry which rendered it doubtful whether it would be safe for them to meet parliament, and at the declaration of Mr. Huskisson that there were many things in its prospects which were, in his estimation, signs of evil omen, he will probably arrive at the conclusion, that the averments of lord Goderich and Mr. Herries differed more in words than in reality. It may be perfectly true that lord Goderich, even embarrassed as he was, would not have broken up the ministry when he did do it, unless Mr. Huskisson or Mr. Herries had threatened a resignation; but this is by no means inconsistent with its likewise being true, that he would not have broken it up on account of Mr. Herries's resignation, had there not been pre-existing

causes which threatened it with speedy decay, and rendered the post of honour neither comfortable nor safe. Had there not been "something rotten in the state of Denmark," lord Goderich probably would not have seen the necessity of making its existence dependent on the continued adherence of a single member of the cabinet. If the ministry was otherwise sound and cordial, why did not lord Goderich accept of Mr. Herries's resignation? The space which that gentleman filled in the public eye, was by no means so large, that his loss could not have been supplied; and lord Goderich never gave any answer to the question, how happened it that your ministry was dependent on the continuance of Mr. Herries in office? Why did you not accept of his resignation, appoint a new chancellor of the exchequer, and go on with the government? The dispute between that gentleman and the colonial secretary may have been the last straw that broke the elephant's back; but if so, it must have been already sinking under the pressure of accumulated burdens.

Lord Goderich retired from office with the character of being an amiable, candid, and honourable man, but without the praise of being a firm and energetic minister. He had manifested no talent for commanding and controlling; he had shewn no confidence in his own resources.

Mr. Huskisson, too, suffered in public estimation, from the readiness with which he had fallen into the ranks of the new ministry. He had used strong expressions, when the late ministry was formed, as to his reluctance ever to take office with those who had deserted Mr. Canning on his elevation to the head of the government: in the

cabinet in which he now sat, these very men were his superiors and his colleagues; and the more attached admirers of Mr. Canning regarded him as having betrayed both the policy and the memory of his friend. When he said that the policy of the present cabinet was to differ in nothing from that of Mr. Canning, he was told to recollect, that its head and most influential members had refused to take Mr. Canning for their leader in politics, and had chosen to go out, rather than go along with him. When he pointed to other members of lord Goderich's ministry in the same situation as himself, as securities that all would be right, he was told that it was scarcely logical for a man, whose conduct was suspicious, to justify it by the conduct of others who were obnoxious to the very same suspicions. Although, too, it was perfectly true, that nobody imagined him to have meant, when he spoke of guarantees, a written instrument binding the premier; yet many people could not help thinking that the language, which Mr. Huskisson had used at Liverpool, conveyed, and was intended to convey, the idea that he had made special stipulations with the duke of Wellington regarding particular measures of policy, as the price of his accession to the ministry; and nobody could forget the instant and contemptuous disclaimer with which the duke of Wellington had scouted the supposition, or the submission with which Mr. Huskisson had acquiesced in the correctness of that disclaimer. The public were impressed with the belief that there were many very valuable things, which Mr. Huskisson would sacrifice, rather than abandon office, or the hopes of office.

## CHAP. III.

*FINANCE.—Appointment of a Finance Committee—Views of Mr. Peel and of Mr. Hume on this subject—Bill to Repeal the Life Annuities Act—Motion for a Grant to the Family of Mr. Canning—Bill to prohibit the Circulation of Scotch Small Notes in England—The Budget.*

WHILE these explanations were taking place regarding the share, which a dispute about the nomination of a chairman of a Finance Committee had had in dissolving a ministry, the committee itself had been named on the 15th of February. The motion was made by Mr. Peel. He prefaced it by a general review of the financial condition, and prospects of the country, and of the objects which it was proposed to gain by the appointment of the committee. He would attempt, he said, to consider the state of the finances, on precisely the same principles which an individual would apply to his private concerns. He would first determine what were the incumbrances to which we were liable; secondly, the nett amount of the income for some years past; thirdly, the nett amount of expenditure during the same period; and fourthly, what reasonable prospects there might exist as to the future amount either of our expenses or of our income.

On the first point, it would, he said, be quite sufficient for his purpose, if, taking the amount of the general debt, funded and unfunded, at a recent period, he should compare it with the amount of debt in the first year after the late peace, looking likewise at an interme-

diate period between that year and the present. He would take, therefore, the years 1815, 1822, and 1827, premising that he would call the year 1815—but which ended on 5th Jan. 1816—the year 1816, as being a more compendious way of describing it, and so of the other years which he might name. Now, the total capital of the unredeemed funded debt in the year ending on the 5th January, 1816, was 816,310,000*l.* In 1822, the total amount of the unredeemed debt was 796,530,000*l.* Last year, the amount or capital of the unredeemed debt was 777,476,000*l.*, omitting the hundreds, and stating it in round numbers.

The next matter to be considered was the amount of charge. The amount of charge for debt to which the country was annually liable, included the amount of interest payable to the public creditor, on account of the funded debt, and the cost of management. This charge amounted,

In January 1815 to ....	£. 28,278,000
1823 to ....	24,419,000
1827 to ....	25,500,000

But this statement alone did not comprise a fair view of the aggregate amount of the public debt, and the charge upon it. In the first place, some of the annuities payable

in the public funds were terminable in point of fact; but at so distant a period as scarcely to warrant the introduction of any calculations founded on their expiration. In the next place, a portion of this charge was permanent, and a portion temporary only. To ascertain the total amount of charge occasioned to the country by reason of the unredeemed funded debt, at the first period—the year after the peace—the intermediate period 1822—and in the last year, he proposed to add to the charge of the unredeemed debt, the amount of the charge in the shape of annuities; in order to show the total amount payable by the country, in consequence of the unredeemed debt and annuities taken together. The annual amount of charge on the funded debt and annuities was,

In January 1815 .....	£. 30,488,000
1823 .....	28,596,000
1827 .....	28,381,000

Thus the diminution of the public expenditure, on account of interest, was last year, as compared with the year 1815, 2,106,000*l.*, but, as compared with 1822, only 216,000*l.*

This regarded only the funded debt. As to the encumbrances to which the country was liable, on account of the charge of the unfunded debt, including Exchequer bills (under various classes), public works, Irish treasury, deficiencies, and outstanding monies; it might be stated that—

In Jan. 1815 it amounted to .....	£. 44,544,000
1823 to ....	42,209,000
1827 to ....	34,770,000

The total annual charge, therefore, for these three years, namely, 1815, 1823, and 1827, for funded debt, annuities, and unfunded debt, was—

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In January 1815 .....	£. 33,679,000
1823 .....	30,037,000
1827 .....	29,264,000

The total decrease of the capital of the unredeemed funded debt, since the year 1815 had been 38,835,000*l.*: that is to say, such was the amount of stock, which, since 1816, had been purchased with the sums appropriated for the redemption of the funded debt. The unfunded debt, last year, on a similar comparison, was lessened by the sum of 9,770,000*l.*: so that the total diminution of the funded and unfunded debt, since the year 1815, amounted to 48,608,000*l.* The total decrease of the annual charge of the funded and unfunded debt and annuities, since 1815, amounted to 4,424,000*l.*: The total charge of the unredeemed debt and annuities in 1815 amounted to 30,488,000*l.*, of which sum the total amount in annuities was 1,924,000*l.*: the total charge in 1822 amounted to 28,596,000*l.*, of which sum the total amount in annuities was 1,892,000*l.*: and the total charge in 1827 was 28,381,000*l.*, of which sum the total amount in annuities was 2,602,000*l.*

This being the amount of the incumbrances, it was necessary to look next at the revenue and expenditure; and he intended, in the mean time, to keep out of account what was called the “dead weight;” though he would afterwards give a statement including it. He would state, then, the gross amount of the expenditure of the country, under all the ordinary branches of out-lay—the interest of the national debt, the services of the army, navy, and ordnance, miscellaneous services, and civil list,—including the charges arising upon both the funded and unfunded

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debt, but exclusive of certain expenses which he should particularize as he went along,—for each of the last five years, ending on the 5th of January, 1828. In the year 1823, the total expenditure of the country, exclusive of the advance of 5,000,000*l.* paid to the commissioners for liquidating the national debt, but including the interest upon Exchequer-bills, was 47,692,000*l.* In the year 1824, it was 49,527,000*l.* In the year 1825, it was 48,061,000*l.* In the year 1826, 49,585,000*l.* And in the last year, 1827, 49,219,000*l.* Now, supposing that he deducted from this general amount of expenditure, the sums payable on account of the debt, the difference would show what the expenses of the country were, independent of what might be called the fixed incumbrances—in short, what were the charges for the public service. The nett expenditure, then, of the country, exclusive of the charges of the national debt, of the naval and military pensions, and of the “advances on account of public works,” (which he left out, because such advances could not be considered as part of the permanent service), for the year 1823, had been 18,477,000*l.*; for the year 1824, 20,461,000*l.*; for 1825, 20,000,000*l.*; for 1826, 21,509,000*l.*; and for 1827, 21,529,000*l.* Taking, again, the total expenditure and income for these five years, the account stood thus.—The total income, including all sources of revenue, and the repayment of advances made for public works, for the five years last past, was 261,000,000*l.* The item of re-payments of advances made upon public works in England and Ireland, had reference to sums advanced, from time to time, for the

promotion of works in both countries, security being taken for the interest and re-payment at convenient periods; and this sum of 261,000,000*l.* included within it such sums as had been repaid during the five years. On the other hand, the total expenditure during the five years, omitting, as in the statement of the income, the naval and military pensions, and including all advances made for public works, and deducting the repayments, was 249,000,000*l.* Deducting 249,000,000*l.* from 261,000,000*l.* the total surplus revenue, applicable to the liquidation of the national debt, during that period of five years, appeared to have been 12,000,000*l.* But, under the existing arrangement, what was called the dead-weight added to the income on one side, and to the expenditure on the other. Including it on both sides of the account, the result for the last five years would stand thus: Income 284,149,000*l.*, expenditure 263,005,000*l.*; making a total surplus, in round numbers of 21,000,000*l.*

The next point to be attended to was, the amount paid by the commissioners of the Sinking-fund, as directed to be annually appropriated by act of parliament for the last five years. The total of these payments was 29,414,000*l.*; exhibiting an excess over the surplus income of 8,360,000*l.* The difference had been made up, partly by money raised for that purpose, and partly by reduction of the balances in the Exchequer on the last day of one year compared with those balances on the last day of another. Supposing, for instance, the amount of balances to have been five millions in the year 1823, and the amount now to be only

two millions, a larger sum by three millions than the actual surplus of the income over expenditure might have, during the intervening period, been applied to the reduction of the debt.

To state the probable future revenue would more properly belong, Mr. Peel said, to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he should come to open the budget; but, to assist in furnishing a correct view of our prospects in that respect, it might not be amiss to refer to the ordinary expenditure and income of the last two years. The total ordinary revenue

For 1826, was .... £49,625,000  
For 1827 ..... 49,581,000

exclusive of naval and military pensions, casual revenue, and the repayment of advances on public works. The income for the year 1827 being therefore 49,581,000*l.*, and the expenditure, 49,487,000*l.*; the excess of income was 94,000*l.*

The expenditure for the two years was

For 1826..... £49,513,000  
1827..... 49,487,000

As to the expenditure of the present year, the estimates were not yet all made up in a form fit to be presented to the House; but he might say, without binding himself down to complete accuracy, that they would be about 17,575,000*l.* The Finance Committee of 1817 had estimated the sums necessary for the same services at 17,350,000*l.* The estimates of the present year were thus greater than those of 1817 by 227,000*l.*; but they were less than those of 1825 by 6,140*l.*; less than those of 1826 by 365,843*l.*; and less than those of 1827 by 1,168,260*l.*

Having taken this general view of the financial state of the country,

Mr. Peel said, that his colleagues and himself would listen most willingly to any suggestions or recommendations from the committee, the appointment of which he was now to move. In regard to the constitution of the committee, nothing could be more painful than to have the nomination of such a body, from the necessary duty which it imposed of excluding a number of persons whose assistance would be in the highest degree valuable. To make a selection, however, was necessary; and he had endeavoured, without regard to party, to choose those persons whose talents were the most generally admitted, and whose attention had been longest directed to the consideration of financial subjects. Of the powers to be given to the committee, it was not so easy to speak; in fact, to define those powers very closely in words, would hardly be practicable. On the one hand there could be no doubt that the executive government of the country must remain chiefly responsible for the amount of the establishments proposed to be kept up; but, on the other hand, to say that the committee should be precluded from all consideration of the fitness of those establishments, would be almost absurd. In truth, the course adopted in the year 1817 was the right one. The committee then appointed had been allowed to call for every information which could throw light upon the existing public establishments; as, for instance, the amount of establishments kept up by the country in former years. But it had not been forgotten at the same time, that the government of the country must necessarily be in possession of many circumstances, important in the consideration of the extent



of public establishments; and that it might even be in possession of facts, such as could not be disclosed, and for which the committee must merely give credit—upon which the decision of such a question would entirely depend. For example, to take the case of the secret article in the recent treaty of London, which bound this country to maintain a certain naval force in the Mediterranean. None but the government of the country could be aware of the existence of that article, and of the pledge which it contained. Government, if a Finance Committee had been sitting, could not have communicated the information. And yet, without it, it would have been impossible for such a committee to come to any competent opinion as to the extent of naval armaments necessary to be appointed or maintained. The proper course, therefore, was to give the committee every means of inquiry, as to the expediency of maintaining the public establishments.

There was one subject, however, which he intended especially to refer to the committee, and upon which he would for a moment request the attention of the House; it was a subject of very high importance, and he looked for infinite benefit from the consideration of it:—he alluded to the question of the simplification of the public accounts. If the committee should be able to propose any plan for the attainment of that object, they would confer a most valuable and lasting obligation upon the state. For himself, he saw no reason why, in this point, as well as others, we should not avail ourselves of the example of foreign nations—of France, for instance, the public accounts of which were peculiarly clear; or of the United

States of America, where the work was performed with equal plainness and facility. He then moved, "That a select committee be appointed, to inquire into the state of the public income and expenditure of the united kingdom, and to consider and report to the House, what further regulations and checks it may be proper, in their opinion, to adopt, for establishing an effectual control upon all charges incurred in the receipt, custody, and application, of the public money; and what further measures can be adopted for reducing any part of the public expenditure without detriment to the public service."

The motion passed without opposition, except from Mr. Hume, who objected to the appointing of only one committee, whereas, if any good was to be done, and to be done in good time, there ought to be many. He had taken the trouble, he said, to prepare a statement of the different branches of inquiry connected with the public revenue and expenditure of the country, and he must say, that, if the committee were to direct its attention to all, it would be impossible for it to terminate its labours in even so short a time as two or three years. What he therefore would suggest to the right hon. gentleman would be, the appointment of ten or eleven Finance Committees. He was quite aware that this was a novel thing to propose, and he was prepared to expect objections—there were so few in the House disposed to take any trouble or labour on themselves. But he must contend, that, if ministers were serious in proposing a consideration of all the points which ought to be considered, it would be quite impossible that

they could be gone into by one committee consisting of twenty or even thirty members. It would be impossible, that, with any chance of effect in this or the next session, they could go into an inquiry or make any report, not merely respecting one, but twenty departments which ought to be submitted to their consideration. The last committee appointed, that which was called Sir C. Long's committee, had been occupied for five years with the Customs and Excise alone. The Finance Committee made thirteen or fourteen reports, and yet not one of them referred to the many departments into which he contended inquiry ought to be made: he meant the Crown lands, the hereditary revenues, the civil list, the expenses of our law courts and of the colonies. To consider those important matters with effect, he repeated that the labours of one committee could not be finished in less than two or three years. If the House were in earnest in the disposition to inquire, they ought to divide the labour by the appointment of many committees, which, by sitting from day to day, might be enabled, by the end of the session, to present reports respecting the several departments connected with the revenue and expenditure of the country. By that means they might be enabled to point out many reductions, which it would be impossible otherwise to make. The committees, which he should suggest, should be small in number—not exceeding seven members for each committee, of whom five should be a quorum. All who were acquainted with the mode of doing business in select committees, would agree with him, that it was done in a more regular, orderly, and efficient manner by a small

committee than by one very numerous. To one of those committees he would refer the consideration of Customs and Excise: the changes which it might be necessary to make in some of the duties, and the substitution of one duty for another would be sufficient to employ that committee for three or four months, and their report would be attended with considerable advantage to the country. Another committee would find sufficient employment in inquiring into the departments of stamps, taxes, and hackney-coaches. There was a department under the latter head, kept up at an expense of some 10,000*l.* or 15,000*l.* a year, which might with advantage be transferred to the board of stamps and taxes. He stated this because he knew that a board of stamps was kept on several years with seven commissioners, and during that time three commissioners were never in attendance at once. To another committee, he would submit an inquiry into a department which was, perhaps, the best conducted of any under the government, but in which there yet remained much to be done, if they looked to what took place respecting it in Ireland. He would have a committee appointed to examine into the Post-office department of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and he had no doubt that the country would derive great benefit from the result of that inquiry. The next subject of inquiry, which he would refer to another committee, would be the nature and management of the land revenue, which from a report made in 1777, appeared to have been then very productive, but had since been squandered in useless establishments. The hereditary revenue of the Crown would of

itself give ample employment to the investigations of a select committee for six months. Another committee might be most usefully employed in inquiring into the manner in which the civil list was expended, in England, Scotland, and Ireland,—the salaries of judges,—the pensions and allowances to officers of state,—the expenses of palaces and parks—and all the other charges which went to make up our miscellaneous expenditure. To the investigation of another committee he would submit the revenue and expenditure of those colonies which did not possess legislative assemblies, and the amount which the maintenance of such colonies cost Great Britain. He would have a committee to inquire into the expenditure of the army and ordnance abroad and at home. Another committee would have to consider the navy, and all the expenses of dock-yards, and marine establishments, the several items of which would fully occupy the attention of a committee for three months. Besides the miscellaneous payments, he would also inquire into the expenditure under the head of civil contingencies—the expenses of Downing-street—the Board of Works—the amount of law charges, which particularly required investigation—the expense and application of Irish charities,—the expense of convicts, and several other items, which made up the long list in that very costly department. He had no doubt, if a strict and impartial inquiry were instituted into these matters, that a saving might be made of 500,000*l.*, or 600,000*l.* out of the 2,000,000*l.* which they cost the country. He would also have a committee to inquire into the amount of our

funded and unfunded debt, and the cost and charges of its management; and he had no doubt it would be made apparent, that the amount of the annual charge reduced since 1816, had been mistaken by the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Peel). The committee would also have to inquire into the nature of the sinking fund, and the source from which it was derived; into the arrangement respecting the half-pay and pensions; and likewise into the arrangements respecting the Savings' banks, on account of which so great an expense was undertaken by government. The committee would also have to consider why the South Sea Company was continued at an expense of about 12,000*l.* a-year, for no other purpose but that of paying a few hundred thousand pounds. The investigation of these matters would fully occupy the committee for three months, and the public, he was sure, would derive much advantage from its labours. Those matters would afford abundant occupation for the eleven committees; but if some of them should prove too heavy for a single committee, subdivisions might be made of the matters referred to one committee. If the House seriously intended to benefit the country by inquiring into its income and expenditure, they would adopt this subdivision of labour, by the result of which the public might be freed from much of that burden of taxes by which they were oppressed.

Mr. Hume's plan of thus dividing labour received no countenance, except from Mr. Brougham, who said, he thought it might be acted on to a limited extent, by the committee dividing themselves into separate committees of seven members, to inquire into particular

subjects, if it should be considered necessary. The Chancellor of the Exchequer observed, that, if there should be any particular branch of the expenditure,—that of the colonies, for instance—which the committee might think they could not adequately inquire into, he would have no objection to delegate that particular subject to a separate committee.—A committee of twenty-three members was then named.\*

One of the first fruits of the appointment of the committee was the discovery, that the public was regularly losing a considerable sum of money by the system on which the government annuities had been granted. Mr. Herries had submitted to the committee, a statement of the finances which lord Althorpe described as “able, clear, and satisfactory;” and it appeared from that exposition, that these annuities had been sold at a considerable loss. The evidence of this was found in certain calculations made by Mr. Finlayson, who was said to have communicated the fact to lord Bexley, in 1819, and subsequently to lord Goderich,

\* The following were the members of the Committee: The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Herries, Sir John Newport, Mr. Ward, Lord Althorpe, Mr. Ashurst, Lord Lowther, Mr. Hume, Lord Howick, Sir Edward Knatchbull, Mr. Maberly, Mr. Home Drummond, Mr. Bankes, Mr. Baring, Mr. Robert Palmer, Mr. Littleton, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, Sir Henry Parnell, Mr. Wilmot Horton, Sir M. W. Ridley, Mr. Stanley, and Mr. Secretary Huskisson. Mr. Huskisson's name was not in the list originally handed in by Mr. Peel: he had declined serving, on the ground, that, as his whole time was occupied by his official duties, he could not be an efficient member of the Committee. He consented, however, that his name should be added, on the urgent representations of several members.

and who stated the rate of the loss to be 8000*l.* per month. It arose thus.—These annuities, which had been granted in pursuance of a bill introduced by Mr. Perceval in 1808, had been calculated on the duration of life as given in Dr. Price's tables, and those tables had long been the foundation on which all annuities were granted. But it was now ascertained, either that these tables were originally inaccurate, or that human life, in consequence of the increase of comforts and conveniences, extended in general to a longer period than it had done thirty or forty years ago. The duration of life, especially of female life, was found to be much longer than had generally been assumed. The rate of mortality had decreased from one in forty to one in fifty-six. Thus the annuities had been sold at too low a price. When Mr. Finlayson first stated his suspicion that loss was sustained, in 1819, he had been directed to prosecute his inquiries, so as to ascertain where the error lay; and these inquiries led to the conclusion which convinced the Finance Committee and the House that the life annuities were a losing bargain. Mr. Finlayson, on looking to the annuities which were outstanding on the 5th of January, 1827, and the 5th of January, 1828, conceived, upon a comparison of the two periods, that the public would lose about 95,000*l.* per annum, which sum would be equivalent to a loss of about 8,000*l.* per month. The mode in which he arrived at his deductions was this:—He assumed the amount of the existing annuities, and calculated that the whole amount of them about sixty years from the present would not be extinguished, until time; that is, that the last of

longest life would, in all probability, subsist for sixty years to come. His calculation, therefore, respected the final result of this financial operation at the end of such period of sixty years. He assumed the average duration of each life to be so many years, and the interest of money to be four and a half per cent. Working his calculation upon these data, from the 5th of January, he assumed, that, at the end of sixty years there would be redeemed 32,000,000*l.* less of the national debt, through the operation of this measure for granting life annuities, than would have been redeemed if all the stock which had been given for effecting this measure, had been accumulating during the whole of the same period under the working of the Sinking-fund. Upon a similar calculation, as to the 5th of April, he reckoned that in sixty years from that day, the public would be still the worse by 95,000*l.*; that is to say, that there would be 95,000*l.* less redeemed of annuities; the amount redeemed at the close of that period, would be less than would have been redeemed by the Sinking-fund, by an aggregate sum of 32,000,000*l.* *plus* this 95,000*l.*

The Finance Committee soon convinced itself, that the annuities occasioned loss. Nothing could be done to alter those which had been already sold; but, on the recommendation of the committee, a bill was brought in, and speedily passed, to suspend the operation of the Act under which they had been granted, so that no new annuities might be created, until a more correct system should be settled.

During the session, the committee reported on various matters which had been brought under their con-

sideration; but not early enough to allow their recommendations to be carried into effect. In a report on the state of the Ordnance Department, they recommended the abolition of the office of Lieutenant-general of the Ordnance; but the ministry dissented from their opinion; and, when the Ordnance Estimates were before the House (July 4), a motion to give effect to the recommendation of the committee was lost by a large majority.

The detail of the estimates for the year produced as usual long and tedious discussions, broken down into minute inquiries regarding individual items—extremely proper and useful in the actual conduct of public business, but not fitted to interest the general reader. The sums voted, and the purposes to which they were appropriated will be found in another part of our volume. One grant of money met with unexpected and ungracious opposition. Mr. Canning had died a poor man. He had begun the world without fortune; he had spent his life in public service; the emoluments of the offices which he had held at different times, even added to the income of his wife's property, had scarcely sufficed to cover the expenses of his station, much less to enable him to accumulate wealth. In 1822, he had been on the point of proceeding as Governor-general to India, from which in a few years, he would have returned with an independent fortune, when the death of lord Castlereagh, and the necessities of government, detained him at home as Foreign Secretary. He held no sinecures; and his sudden death left his family unprovided for. On these grounds, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (May 13), brought before the House a

proposal for granting to one of Mr. Canning's sons a pension of 3000*l.* a year. This was the only mode of giving it which the peculiar nature of the case admitted. When the sinecure places, which had been usually bestowed along with the high offices of government, were abolished by the 57th of Geo. the 3rd, that statute had empowered his majesty to grant pensions, not exceeding in all 40,000*l.* to the holders of public offices, who should have filled their offices for a period not less than two years. To one of these pensions Mr. Canning would have been entitled if he had lived; but the Act contained no provision for granting it to his family on his death. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, therefore, moved, in a Committee of Supply, that the chairman be directed to bring in a bill to enlarge and amend the 57th of Geo. the 3rd. All he proposed was, to give his majesty the power of granting to Mr. Canning's son, the pension to which, under that Act, Mr. Canning himself would have been entitled—a mode of providing for the family, which seemed to him much less onerous than voting a large sum for the payment of debts.

The proposition was vehemently opposed by lord Althorpe, sir M. Ridley, Mr. Hume, Mr. Bankes, Mr. Monck, colonel Sibthorpe, sir R. Ferguson, Mr. Powlett Thompson, and Mr. D. W. Harvey. While all these gentlemen admitted the splendid talent of the deceased, they opposed the grant, some of them on grounds of economy, some of them on the ground that it had not been deserved. The former said, that although the sum was small, yet it was extravagant at a time when much smaller savings were held to be of im-

portance. Every class of the community was suffering under such pressure, and the finances of the government were involved in such embarrassment, that it was unjustifiable to vote a single shilling which was not called for by imperious necessity. The proposal, it was said, was one without precedent, and would only become a bad precedent itself. The Pension-act had been intended to fix the mode of remunerating public servants; a case which did not fall within its provisions, was a case which parliament had considered as justly excluded from remuneration: to provide, by a new bill, for every case for which that act had not provided, was the same thing as to repeal the act altogether. It was a dangerous doctrine to hold out to public men, that they might be negligent of the interest of their families during their lives, because parliament would liberally provide for them after their death. But even if Mr. Canning's family were to be rewarded, why impose a new burthen upon the country? Why did not his majesty grant a pension out of the civil list? If ministers were so strongly inclined to remunerate Mr. Canning's merits, there was an annual fund of 200,000*l.* out of which they could do it. There was the English pension-list of 95,000*l.*; the Irish pension-list of 70,000*l.*; and the Scotch pension-list of 30,000*l.* If that list were looked at, no persons would be found upon it whose claims could stand a moment's competition with those of Mr. Canning. Let Mr. Canning's family be placed upon that list, and let not the country, which was already overburdened with pensions and places, be called upon to make provision for it. The

very language of Mr. Canning's friends, when they spurned the proposed grant as an act of charity or compassion, and demanded it as a debt of justice and gratitude, was turned against themselves, and they were asked by Mr. Hume, "were, then, the finances of the country in such a state, that the House could feel itself called on to force a large sum of money on a reluctant family?" Mr. Bankes went still further. He stated a regular account between Mr. Canning and the country, and debited the deceased minister with the expense of all the measures which he had advised, and which Mr. Bankes thought bad measures. Would any man, said he, deny that Mr. Canning had incurred very great expense in endeavouring to realize those vast and magnificent schemes which he had projected for remodelling the policy of Spain, Portugal, and America? Did the House know, that, besides the expense of sending out the armament to Portugal, not less than 160,000*l.* had been expended upon the extraordinaries attendant on these movements? True, they were to have a claim for this part of the amount upon the Portuguese treasury; but if the Chancellor of the Exchequer should call upon Don Miguel to liquidate this debt, he would be glad to know what chance there was of a farthing of the sum finding its way into our coffers. Then, again, look to his measures towards Turkey. He certainly could not fairly put to Mr. Canning's account the value of the loss of lives of those brave men who were sacrificed in the unfortunate and disastrous battle of Navarino; but with the general expense of the expedition, he was certainly chargeable, and in this

branch of the calculation must be necessarily comprehended the losses and damage of the fleet. Why not place that to his account, as he was undoubtedly chargeable with the cost of that particular and unfortunate expedition? There was one other thing in the way of expense, with which Mr. Canning was more peculiarly and personally chargeable. Within the short space of two years he had expended 42,000*l.* of the public money solely upon his private and personal residence, in Downing-street, at the Foreign-office, which he had converted into his domestic dwelling, for his own personal accommodation, and no other. He did not mean to say that his successor had not the benefit of these improvements; but still the expense was uncalled-for and unjustifiable. To this new mode of meeting the pecuniary claims of public servants the House did not listen without many expressions of strong disapprobation.

Others, who opposed the grant, admitted, that the finances were by no means in so miserable a state as to disable the country from being either just or generous where a public reward had been deserved; but they denied that the public life of Mr. Canning had been such as to entitle his family to the remuneration which was now demanded. In this view the claim was resisted on contradictory grounds. One member held that the errors of Mr. Canning's later years had cancelled all the merit of his earlier life; another maintained that the errors of his earlier life had not been blotted out by the merits of his later years. In addition to Mr. Bankes, who was for visiting on Mr. Canning's head all the consequences of the perfidy

of Don Miguel in Portugal, and of the ambition of Russia in the East, sir M. Ridley declared, that if he were called upon to agree to this vote on account of the excellence of Mr. Canning's policy in regard to Portugal and Greece, he would have no hesitation whatever in giving it a direct negative. Lord Althorpe, and other members of the old opposition, while they admitted that his general policy, from the time when he became foreign secretary, had entitled him to respect, could not forget the character of all his former measures, which had insured their constant resistance; and Mr. D. W. Harvey denounced him as a statesman, than whom "no man had ever more directed his untameable eloquence against public rights," and who, moreover, had "enticed nearly the whole stream of opposition to his own side of the House." Mr. Monck, the member for Reading, opposed the grant for this reason among others, that it proceeded on the principle of no civil services being entitled to reward, unless they were performed by men in office. Now, said he, we of the opposition have performed services quite as efficient; we have wasted our time and talents in useless opposition to extravagant expenditure, and unjust and unnecessary wars!

The ministers were unanimous in supporting the proposition,—perhaps not the less so, that the late schism between some of them and Mr. Canning might be supposed to have given their feelings some tinge of personal animosity; and they were supported by many of the most active leaders of the opposition—by lord Milton, sir James Macintosh, sir Robert Wilson, sir John Newport, sir James

Scarlett. To the charge of the grant imposing a new burden on the people, they answered, that it could have no such effect. The arrangement introduced by the act of the late king, when the sinecure offices were abolished, was simply this:—The Crown was empowered to grant six pensions, not exceeding in the aggregate 40,000*l.* a year, to ministers who had performed eminent public services, according to their different stations and degrees. If the Crown were now paying the whole of this sum (which was not the case), the public would have no right to complain, according to the strict terms of the agreement; for it was a compensation given by parliament in exchange for the surrender of a much larger and more valuable amount of patronage. The only limits were six offices, and 40,000*l.* What was the present proposition? To grant one of these for life to the son of Mr. Canning, in consideration of services for which his father could unfortunately no longer receive reward in his own person. This entailed no increase upon the principle of the fund: it gave to one claimant instead of another—it merely substituted one life for that which had been withdrawn.

The merits of the question, again, they placed on this broad ground, that Mr. Canning, throughout a long life, had devoted talents of the very first order to the service of his country, and, in following that service, had not merely lost the means of improving, but had positively deteriorated, his private fortune: in short, that he was a most meritorious public servant, whose labours for the public good had been most undeniably under-paid. What had he not surrendered,



when he gave up the government of India, to fill the unprofitable office of foreign secretary?—and this sacrifice he had made solely from a principle of public duty; he abandoned what was almost necessary to himself to follow what was esteemed, and had been found to be, more beneficial to the country. “I regret,” said Mr. Huskisson, “to be obliged to make reference on such an occasion to information derived from the privacy of confidential intercourse; but I can state, upon my own personal credit, that, whatever were the feelings of others, who were justly near and dear to Mr. Canning, it had for years been his own warm and anxious wish (owing to circumstances that were likely to press upon the acute and sensitive mind of such a man) to be placed in some public situation, however it might sacrifice or compromise the fair and legitimate scope of his ambition, which, while it enabled him to perform adequate public services, would enable him also to place upon a better footing his wife’s private fortune which he had lessened, and the inheritance of his children which he had impaired. I will not go so far as to say, that this was a prospect fixed upon Mr. Canning’s mind, or an object that he was bent upon pursuing, for it is difficult to trace the springs of so susceptible a temperament; but under the circumstances, it was quite natural, considering his means and his family, that, while he honourably sought a situation to render service to his country, he should not be unmindful of the means of repairing the family fortune which he had diminished while in the service of his country.” But it had been said, that, when Mr. Canning preferred the foreign office to

the government of India, he had exercised his option, and must have considered what he received as an equivalent for what he abandoned. That was to say, that no man in public life sacrifices his own pecuniary interest to the public service; for if it were meant that Mr. Canning found in the office which he assumed a due equivalent in so far as ambition was concerned, still, on what principle was a man’s family to be left in poverty, because his ambition had been exerted for the public good? “Why should the gratification of ambition,” said Mr. Peel, “in holding high situations in the state, form of itself a sufficient reward. When they saw individuals acquiring high honours and great emoluments at the bar and in other professions, why should they turn round to the family of a minister now no more, and say to them, ‘The gratification of ambition was his reward. It is true he gave his services to the state, but we will not listen to your claims for reward from his country, because your parent was satisfied with the gratification of his ambition.’ This would be a low and niggard way of dealing with public men. In the present case there was every thing which could make out a claim, and nothing which could make it suspicious as an example; for, alas! similar talents, so employed, would but rarely appear. Mr. Canning, for twenty years, had held high stations in the government—he had brought to the service of the state, according to his views of policy, most splendid talents,—and he had discarded, during his whole career, all feelings of private and personal interest. There was here arrayed, therefore, that combination of circumstances which would prevent the present from

being drawn into any inconvenient precedent hereafter.

To the opposition founded on disapprobation of Mr. Canning's policy, or of the policy with which he had been officially connected, it was answered, that the proposition touched no political principle, did not imply the abandonment of any one political dogma. If the motion were, to vote Mr. Canning a monument to commemorate his services, members, who did not believe that he had performed any services to be commemorated, would do right to oppose it; but when the motion was only to reward his family, they had merely to consider the fact, whether he had devoted his splendid talents to the public service to the detriment of his private interests. Sir James Macintosh said, that the question, in his view of it, did not depend on, and did not compromise in any way, the political opinions of any man. The terms upon which he would be content always to entertain a claim for compensation to any public man were these:—he would allow it to every man who could be shown to have employed illustrious talents in that course of policy which he believed to be beneficial to the country, for a time so long, and in a situation so elevated, that no fair difference of opinion could arise as to his pretensions. This was the principle upon which he should be disposed to try every public officer's claim to honour or reward; and if this principle was not admitted by the House, and if he was asked how he came forward to support the vote in discussion, having himself been often opposed to Mr. Canning, the objection taken would amount to this—that no national honour hereafter could be conferred upon any man; because, in a free coun-

try like ours, if difference of political opinion was to justify difference upon a question like this, it was utterly impossible that any man of sufficient power to command attention could ever get through a political life without doing a great many acts which must clash with the interests or affront the prejudices of some of the parties who surrounded him. If this cause of opposition was recognized, there was an end to the fair expression of public feeling as to any man. That which was done must be the result of the numerical force of party. A victorious faction might have power to give a monument to its chief; but the country at large would no longer have the power to evince its impartial sense of the talents and merits of its servants. Death, the thought of departed honour, and the memory of departed genius, these were subjects which no good or generous mind could approach without sentiments of respect. They were recollections before which party quarrels would fade, in company with which the thought of personal differences could not be maintained. On the claim of merit alone, therefore, he would judge of such grants as that now proposed; and who had ventured to deny to Mr. Canning the praise of merit. "That he was a man of the purest honour," said sir James, "I know. That he was a man of the most rare and splendid talents, I know. That he was a man renowned through Europe for his brilliant genius and philosophic thinking, not a member of this House can be ignorant; or that, with his best zeal, as well as with success, he applied that genius and those views of policy, to advance the service and the glory of his country. If there were those from

whom he had differed,—and can it be doubted that every politician must have some opposed to him?—if there were some from whom he had differed, even widely,—politically or personally—this is not an hour when those differences ought to be recollected. A friendship of thirty-six years with him, has given me, I confess, and I am not ashamed to own it, a deep interest in any measure which is intended to do honour to his memory. An humble place in his friendship was all that Mr. Canning had ever had the opportunity of bestowing upon me; but I feel that it was the greatest boon and the most honourable, by which I ever could have been distinguished. But, though private friendship,” continued he, “was a fair auxiliary ground for influencing the vote of any man, he would not listen to it as a main ground. The claim of merit, above all considerations, was that on which such a vote should rest, and was the only thing which such a vote required. Principle having clearly pointed out the duty, friendship sweetened its performance. On the other hand, personal enmity ought not to be allowed to have the slightest weight in such a decision. It was a feeling always, heaven knew, which the infirmity of man found it hard to curb: but it ought to be restrained—it must be—in a discussion like the present. The distribution of posthumous honours ought peculiarly to be sanctified by the waiver of all spirit of passion or dislike. *Mors obruat iras* was a maxim, which the least temperate would hardly gainsay. In the same way, the opinion, which an individual might entertain of the measures of any great statesman, would have its weight, as an auxiliary influence, in a question like that

before the House. But this influence ought to be tolerated, only where it exerted itself in favour of the party. Approbation of a statesman's measures would and might fairly operate as an additional inducement to give a favourable voice upon such a vote: but it was only in a very extreme case indeed—such a case as certainly could not be supposed in the present instance—that our mere disapprobation of measures could justify a negative. The present vote seemed one of little possible difficulty. The main ground of granting it was one of general principle and clear. The auxiliary grounds might be various: some would be inclined to support the vote from approbation of one part of Mr. Canning's life,—others, from admiration of another. Any one of those grounds might fairly be admitted as an influence in voting for the grant; but let hon. members recollect that it was only some strong and unequivocal cause of disapprobation, which could justify their voting against it.

The motion for bringing in the bill was carried by a majority of 161 to 54. On the motion for bringing up the report, after the bill had passed the committee, Mr. Hume again divided the House on an amendment, that the report should be received that day three months. The amendment was negatived by 73 against 14, and the bill passed both Houses without further opposition.

As Mr. Canning's eldest son was in the navy, and his life consequently exposed to many casualties, the pension was granted for the life of the second son. It was a happy foresight, for, in the course of the year, the eldest son perished by an accidental death on a foreign station.

Connected with the financial:

arrangements was a measure regarding the circulation of small notes. The act of 1826 had prohibited the issue of notes under 5*l.* in England, after 5th April, 1829, but the small notes of Scotland and of Ireland had been spared. It was now found that small notes of the Scottish banks were getting into circulation, especially in the north of England. The character of the establishments from which they issued inspired confidence, and they were not prohibited by any positive law. As the object of parliament had been, to substitute a metallic currency for the small paper currency, and as to gain this object they had restrained the English country bankers, it would have been at once partial and inconsistent to have allowed the notes of Scotland and Ireland to travel out of their own country, for whose exclusive benefit they had been spared, and fill the place from which the English bankers had been excluded. The chancellor of the Exchequer, therefore, brought in a bill to prohibit the circulation of small Scotch notes, to be enforced by a fine, summarily leviable. The motion was opposed by the members who had been hostile to the measure of 1826, not so much from any strong desire to secure the partial circulation of the notes of their neighbours, as from a wish to challenge the principles on which the abolition of small notes in England had been justified, and to bring about, if possible, the re-establishment of the former system, or of something like it. Sir James Graham met the motion for bringing in the bill by moving, as an amendment, "that a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the state of the circulation of promissory

notes under 5*l.* in England, and to report their opinions and observations thereupon to the House, with reference to the expediency of making any alteration in the existing law affecting those notes." The amendment was supported by Mr. Liddell, member for Northumberland, by sir Francis Burdett; Mr. Maberly, sir M. Ridley, sir John Wrottesley, Mr. Bankes,—generally, in short, by those members who had been originally opposed to the destruction of the English small notes; and the arguments and illustrations which they pressed differed little from those which had been urged in 1826. They described the war of extermination which had been declared against small notes, as characterized by the thoughtlessness and precipitation incident to the mercantile panic which had given it birth. Nothing, they said, was fairer or more prudent, than now to re-consider the subject, when the pressure had passed away, and the minds of men were capable of weighing it with calmness and deliberation. The circulation of small notes had not been found to be so radically bad, that it might not be usefully regulated, without being destroyed; and the relations produced by its long continuance as a part of our currency were such, that it could not be destroyed without injustice as well as mischief. Whether the evils of 1825 and 1826 were, or were not, to be ascribed to over-trading, it was in small notes that the source of over-trading was to be found. Instead of producing panics, they had been applied on more occasions than one, as remedies to remove panics. Both in 1793 and in 1825, the one-pound notes had been resorted to in order to check the pre-

vailing alarms, and they had accomplished that end after other means had failed. The latter instance was fresh in the recollection of every man. In 1793, when the run had drained the very coffers of the Bank, recourse was had, on the fifth day, to a supply of old one-pound notes: the issue of these notes checked the rush of money, and a better state of things ensued. On the other hand, however, it was far from being certain that the execution in April, 1829, of the act of 1826, would not produce a mighty revulsion. It was doubtful, in the first place, whether there would be gold to fill up the gap left by the withdrawal of the small notes. Government stated, indeed, that the gold in circulation amounted to no less than 22,000,000*l.*; but, although that amount might have been issued, it did not follow that they were all in circulation; it was not known how many had been melted down, or carried abroad. Whatever the sum in circulation might be, it was circulating along with the one-pound notes, and an additional quantity would be required to take their place, when they should be removed. Estimating then the issues of the country-banks in one-pound notes at 8,000*l.* each, they would amount to 4,800,000*l.* To this were also to be added the amount of deposits, for which the banks would have to provide gold. These, taken at the average of 5,000*l.* each bank, would not be less than 3,000,000*l.*, all of which the country banks would have to pay before April next. Here, then, was a diminution of the circulation to an amount exceeding 7,000,000*l.* For the supply of this deficiency, the country would have to depend upon the

Bank of England; and thus the twenty-four gentlemen who managed that establishment, would be the arbiters of the prosperity of the country, as far as it depended on a proper supply of the circulating medium; for if they did not re-issue the notes paid in by a purchase of Exchequer bills, or on discounts, they had the power to contract the currency to that amount. There were also certain contingencies to be taken into consideration. Suppose there should be a bad harvest, how was this to be made good but by a sudden importation of corn from abroad, and how could that be met but by a corresponding exportation of goods from this country? Here, then, would the want of a currency be felt; and what was certain on the one hand would be uncertain on the other, for the intended limitation of the small paper currency would prevent the re-issue of the notes, and this would bring about such difficulties as were felt in 1825; the only difference being, that, in the one case, the demand for gold was domestic, in the other, would be foreign, but the results would be the same. If the sum required should appear too small to warrant any apprehension how could the continuance of so small a sum in paper, lost amid a circulation of nearly 70,000,000*l.* be pregnant with danger? It was an utter mistake to imagine, that the continuance of the small notes was an object of personal interest to the country bankers. Four-fifths of these bankers had sent deputies to London; at the meetings of these deputies, and in their interviews with the members of government, so far were they from expressing any desire to return to the issue of

small notes, that they had not so much as raised the question. It was on the ground of the public interest, and on that ground alone, that the continued circulation of these notes was now defended. The petitions presented to the House in support of them, were the result of an inconvenience actually felt by the parties who signed them. They proceeded from Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, and North Wales, all great coal and mining districts, in which a large capital was actively employed. The abstraction of one-pound notes from the currency in London would not be felt as an inconvenience, but in these districts it would be a serious one. It was extremely unwise, unless a paramount necessity prevailed, to withdraw from those districts the capital which was employed in feeding the labouring part of the population. In short, as a currency which excluded paper was, at least, as impolitic and impracticable as one which should exclude gold, the question came to be, whether a paper currency could not be placed, in its lower denominations, no less than in its higher, on such a foundation, and in such relations to the standard metallic currency, as to supersede the inconvenience and injustice of suppressing it entirely—for unjust it would be to deprive the people, and especially the lower orders, of the small notes, since it was just compelling them to pay in a currency of a higher value the interest of a debt which had been contracted in a currency of a lower value. All this, it was said, was proved by the very fact of such a bill as that now in question being proposed. It was a bill which admitted that a small-note circulation

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might be so organized and regulated as to serve the purposes of commerce more conveniently than gold; for it was a bill introduced for the very purpose of preventing such a circulation from getting the better of the metallic medium which parliament was attempting to force upon the country. At all events, it was a grave question, whether, even as it now stood, it produced danger, and if it did, whether it might not be so regulated as to avoid all danger. Inquiry, therefore, was necessary and proper, and inquiry was all that was asked.

If it was proper, then, that the general question of restriction, even in regard to England, as it at present stood on the act of 1826, should be re-considered, it was doubly proper that the existing restriction should not be carried farther by allowing the bill now proposed to be introduced. The effect of that bill would be to impose a new and most grievous hardship on the northern counties of England, by abolishing a currency to which they had been long accustomed, which had been acknowledged on all hands, even in parliamentary reports, to be attended with no danger, and which, because it was so secure and convenient, had been left untouched by ministers. The districts, on which it would bear most heavily, were those adjacent to Scotland. One of those districts had sent up a petition signed by people of all classes, who never agreed, probably, on any other subject of a political nature, but who now came forward as one man, and declared, that no greater inconvenience could befall them than the introduction of such a measure as that now proposed. For seventy

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years they had possessed the advantage, which it was now sought to deprive them of,—the advantage of the Scotch currency. In many instances, seven-eighths of the rents of estates had been paid in the paper currency of Scotland; and no loss had been sustained in that district in consequence of failures of persons issuing this currency. This general diffusion of Scotch currency had also weakened the banks in the neighbourhood. They had no bankers like the Scotch bankers. They could find no twenty-five men who would associate themselves together as partners,—all being responsible for the claims upon them; and yet, for a theoretical evil, they were asked to pass a measure which would produce these fatal consequences. The effect of the present system of currency being of a mixed nature in the northern parts of England was, that there was an interchange of one species of currency for another constantly twice in each week, just in the same manner as draughts and bills were exchanged every day at the clearing house in London. Thus all the paper of the Scotch banks had to be taken out of circulation twice in each week. The prevailing habit of bringing every thing at night to the different Scotch banks to secure and invest it, through the extreme caution of that people, was in itself a means of checking the too great issues of Scotch bank paper. The operation of this check was not only felt in the counties of Scotland, but also in the counties of England bordering on Scotland, which had adopted the benefit of the Scotch system. The restriction of the currency of these notes would be extremely prejudicial to

the interests of trade and commerce in the counties on the borders, while no danger would arise, under the circumstances of the continued check which these issues were of necessity subject to by the present system.

Ministers, on the other hand, repeated the arguments, by which they had supported the bill of 1826, and by which they maintained the prudence of getting rid of the small notes, unless it could be shown that the want of them would be productive of some great and counterbalancing inconvenience. There was a manifest tendency in parties who issued paper, to issue as much paper, and to keep as little gold, as they could; whilst it was the possession of sufficient gold to meet the demand, on which the value of the paper depended. It was an essential part of the banking system, for bankers to depend on one another, and it was utterly impossible to take sufficient security for the conversion of their notes into gold. Then, let a panic come,—and it was impossible to say from how small a cause it might arise,—the notes issued would be in the hands of those classes upon whom the panic would first seize; and who could venture to say what would be the extent of the evil? The whole mass of the circulation would rest with the Bank of England, and the entire responsibility of providing gold for the circulation of the country would devolve upon one establishment. If there was not a sentinel continually watching over it, there was a constant tendency in paper to an over issue; that sentinel was the metallic sovereign, continually issuing. The act of 1826, therefore, would be a proper measure

to be enacted, even if the question were, whether it should now be adopted; and there was further the consideration, that, on a subject like this, an apparent absence of fixed and firm opinion was itself an evil. Nothing could give rise to more serious evils, than to keep the public mind in a perpetual state of uncertainty as to the intentions of the legislature. If they resolved at one time that the issue of small notes should cease, and, at another time, that they should continue,—if they went on vacillating between one course and another, and finally gave up the principle to which they had repeatedly pledged themselves, they might depend upon it that this country would not for the future place any reliance on their decisions. The question ought to be decided upon the ground of expediency; and the evidence of expediency should be very clear, that could warrant them in retracing their steps, and undoing what they had done with respect to the issue of small notes.

Now, no such expediency existed; for the dangers apprehended from the sudden withdrawal of the small notes, and the want of coin to supply the deficiency, were imaginary. It was true that inconvenience might be felt, if all the small notes were to be withdrawn from circulation on a particular day. But this was not what was enjoined by the act of 1826, and would not be an effect

of it. The act stated, that a country banker should not, after the 5th of April, 1829, issue notes under the value of 5*l.*; but it provided that notes issued since February, 1826, might be circulated from hand to hand with the same facility as at the present moment. It had only the effect of gradually—it might be said, imperceptibly—cancelling these notes. When the law provided that those notes should remain in circulation so long as they endured,—when it only prevented the issue of them by the bankers into whose hands they might return,—then the question bore a very different aspect. Accordingly, a gradual extinction of them had been going on since the date of the act. Since February, 1826, there had not been a single country bank-note stamped at the Stamp-office. There had been, therefore, a gradual reduction of the issues in operation since that period; and if the total reduction was likely to be attended with such effects as had been described, the partial reduction going on since that time ought to exhibit some indications of the evils apprehended. But hitherto, at least, no symptom had appeared—no pressure, no stagnation, which any man had ever thought of ascribing to the diminished circulation of one-pound notes, and the increased circulation of sovereigns.

The views of the ministers prevailed.



## CHAP. IV.

*Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts—Motion for a Committee to consider these Acts, carried—Resolution that they be repealed, carried—Declaration to be taken instead of these Oaths—Discussion in the House of Lords—Motion in the House of Commons for a Committee on the Catholic Claims, carried, and referred to the House of Lords for their concurrence.*

NO subject discussed in parliament during the session excited greater interest, than the progress of a bill for repealing the Test and Corporation Acts, which excluded Dissenters from offices of trust and power, and shut the doors of all corporations against them, unless they consented to take the sacrament according to the ritual of the church of England—a necessity from which they were relieved only by the passing of the Annual Indemnity bill. On the 26th of February, lord John Russell moved, "That this House will resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of so much of the Acts of the 13th and 25th of Charles 2nd, as requires persons, before they are admitted into any office or place in Corporations, or having accepted any office, civil or military, or any place of trust under the Crown, to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the Rites of the Church of England." To these he subsequently added, the 16th of Geo. 2nd, for indemnifying from penalties individuals who had not qualified according to law for certain offices. His lordship prefaced the motion by a review of the history of the statutes in question, from which he

inferred that they had been originally enacted for reasons which no longer existed; and he maintained its justice and expediency on the ground, that, while these tests were an infliction on the Dissenters, which only the most imperative necessity could justify, they did in truth afford the church of England no protection, but exposed her, on the contrary, to dangers to which she otherwise would not be obnoxious. Without serving any good purpose, they made the Dissenters irritated enemies, smarting under the continual sense of injustice, instead of converting them into peaceable and amicable companions, if not into cordial friends. It was notorious, he said, that the Presbyterians and Independents formed the main force of that party which carried through the struggle against Charles 1st. It was natural, therefore, when his son recovered his regal rights, that one of the first steps, which he took, should be, to endeavour to apply a check to the power of those who had contributed to the dethronement and death of his father. In the preamble of the Corporation Act it is stated, that, "notwithstanding all his majesty's endeavours and unparalleled indulgence in pardoning all

that was past, nevertheless many evil spirits were still working." It was to counteract the working of these evil spirits, that the Corporation Act was introduced; providing that commissioners should be appointed to see that no persons should be allowed to enter into any Corporation, without taking the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, renouncing the Solemn League and Covenant, and making oath, "that they did not consider it lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king, and that they abhorred the traitorous position of taking arms, by his authority, against his person, or against those who were commissioned by him." In the course of discussing the measure, however, some difference took place between the two Houses of parliament. The House of Lords wished to put the corporations in the power of the crown. This the House of Commons resisted; and at length successfully; consenting, however, to a clause, which provided, that no person should be admitted into any office or place contemplated in the bill, without previously taking the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rites of the church of England. But so far was the act from contemplating the exclusion of Dissenters generally from situations of trust and honour, that there were then about fifty Presbyterians sitting in the House, of whom only two scrupled to take the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England. No doubt, when the Presbyterians ceased to partake the Communion of the church of England, they properly came within the scope of the statute; but still the general fact was true, that it was not intended to exclude the Presby-

terians as a body, but only the "evil spirits," who refused all reconciliation, all compromise, with the church.

The Test Act, again, was passed at a time when the nation was irritated and terrified by the knowledge that it had a king who was a concealed Papist, a successor to the crown who was an avowed Papist, an odious alliance with France formed against the liberties of England, and an army encamped at Blackheath to overawe deliberation. Under these circumstances, the Test Act was passed, and there could be no dispute as to its object; for it is intitled "An Act for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish recusants, and quieting the minds of his majesty's good subjects"—minds disquieted, not by the Dissenters, but by the Roman Catholics. So well was it known that this act was not intended to be directed against Protestant Dissenters, that, when it was under deliberation, and many persons were inclined to vote against it because it would affect the Dissenters, a well-known Dissenter had said in the House, that "the Dissenters would rather lie under the severity of the law, than clog so necessary a work." The House of Commons, in fact, had attempted on various occasions to relieve the Dissenters; but the king had always contrived to evade the measure. The Commons were strong to persecute the Catholics, but not to relieve the Dissenters; and the king, unable to relieve the Catholics, consoled himself with retaining the Dissenters under the same constraint. The policy then of the two acts had been this: when parliament wished to exclude the Dissenters, they gave the king the power of purg-

ing the corporations, and imposed a test to exclude members who might be elected by a Dissenting majority; but they did not exclude them from offices under the crown, because they did not suspect the crown of any partiality towards Protestant Dissenters: but when they wished to guard against the Catholics, they put up their bar against the entrance to office, and closed the road to the royal palace, because the king was suspected to be a Papist. Now, with the security of a king attached to the church of England, by law, by affection, and by principle, what need had we of keeping up the barrier that was erected, not to defend the throne from the people, but to defend the people from the throne? At the Revolution, king William came down to parliament and openly expressed his wish, that all Dissenters, who were "willing and able to serve," should be admitted to offices and places of trust; but those who had to conduct the government, considering that the Revolution had changed the dynasty, and that the church was greatly offended by the introduction of the Toleration Act, did not think it safe, if it was meant that the establishment should last, to grant any further liberty to the Dissenters at that time. Affairs continued in the same situation during all the changes of parties, till the time of George the first, when earl Stanhope, a zealous Whig, proposed to introduce a clause for repealing certain parts of the Test and Corporation Acts into a bill brought into the House of Lords. The clause met with serious opposition in the House of Lords, and failed, but, at the same time, it was supported by some of the men most eminent for loyalty

and public spirit, and likewise by some of the most learned among the bishops, by the bishops of Gloucester and Lincoln, but more especially by Hoadley, bishop of Bangor, and Kennet, bishop of Peterborough. Parliament thought and continued to think, that the House of Hanover would not receive the support of the church, if they gave further relief to the Dissenters; and the Dissenters, who, in the reign of Charles 2nd, had subjected themselves to a severe law rather than endanger the public liberty, remained contented to endure their privations for the sake of the inestimable blessings which they found to flow from the expulsion of the Stewart dynasty, and the establishment of the family of Brunswick. The feeling of the government, however, and its wish to favour the Dissenters, though not to remove all their disabilities at once, had introduced an anomalous state of things. In the reigns of George 1st and 2nd four Indemnity acts had been passed, to protect Dissenters against the consequences of having violated the Test and Corporation Acts—a proceeding indefensible in principle; for, if the Dissenters were dangerous, they ought to have been excluded altogether, and if they were not dangerous, they ought to have been fully admitted. The practical absurdities that followed were monstrous. During the Rebellion in 1745, many non-conformists took arms in defence of the crown, fought gallantly by the side of the royal troops, and bore a large share in triumphantly quelling the enterprise. But did the crown shower honours upon these men? Did parliament vote them thanks? Did the people express to them their

gratitude? No: the sovereign gave them no honours, parliament no thanks, the people no gratitude. For their useful and glorious services, they received from the munificence of king, parliament, and people—a full and free pardon. Yet this act of 1747 was not singular: since that period it had been the principle of our legislation on this subject. The annual Indemnity Act was a pardon of the same kind, but not so complete and unconditional, by which good men were forgiven for having done good service to their country.

From the history of these acts, therefore, his lordship said, it clearly appeared, that they had been enacted to guard against a particular danger; and the true question was, does that danger still exist? Now, who was so extravagant as to suspect the Dissenters of disloyalty? It was possible to conceive why things might have gone on upon the footing of the Indemnity Act for a few years; government might have said, “wait a little; we are not yet assured of the loyalty of these persons: do not give them freedom all at once, but see first how they will act.” But that parliament should go on with acts of indemnity for eighty-five years—that they should not, at this time of day be satisfied of the loyalty of the Dissenters, was a thing against all rules of justice, of policy, and of prudence. Another mighty objection arose from the nature of the test, which made it a shameless abuse of the most solemn of all religious rites. The sacrament of the Lord’s Supper was held by the church to be most sacred; and yet it was prostituted by law to be a mere qualification for civil office. It was stated in historical works that it was

the custom for persons to be waiting in taverns and houses near the church, not going in until service was over. The ceremony used to be called “qualifying for office;” and an appointed person called out, “Those who want to be qualified will please to step up this way.” Persons then took the communion for the purpose of receiving office; and with no other intent. Such were the consequences of mixing politics with religion. You embitter and aggravate political dissensions by the venom of theological disputes; you profane religion with the vices of political ambition, making it both hateful to man and offensive to God. Who would say, that legislation of this kind was calculated to induce men to entertain a greater respect for religion, or to induce Dissenters to believe that the church, from which they differed, was pure and blameless.

The only answers, which could be made to these objections, were, that the Dissenters, in consequence of the Indemnity Act, suffered no real hardship, and that the law in its present state was useful or necessary to the security of the church. Neither of these positions was true. The practical grievance suffered by the Dissenters was much heavier than the legal grievances appearing on the face of the statutes. Even the indemnity was given on the ground that the omission to qualify had proceeded from ignorance, absence, or unavoidable accident, and thus refused all relief to those in whom the omission flowed from conscientious scruples. The fact was, that many Dissenters refused to take office on these degrading terms; they refused to attain by a fraud upon the statute

honours and emoluments which the law declared they should not be able to attain in any other way. Besides, it was always in the power of any corporation, actuated by bigotry, by personal animosity, or by party spirit, to carry the Corporation Act into effect against obnoxious Dissenters. The records of the courts of law furnished many instances of persons who had the smaller number of votes, having been declared duly elected to corporation offices in consequence of notice having been given, that the persons voted for by the majority were Dissenters; and in how many more cases must the dread of this have prevented Dissenters from coming forward as candidates? The result was, that not one tenth of the Dissenters, who in proportion to their numbers ought to hold office, did at present hold it.

Equally unfounded was the position, that these laws were useful or necessary to the security of the church, which must always find its true protection, not in exclusion, but in its moderation, its fair temper, and its decent worship, conformable to the sentiments and consciences of the majority of the people. The Dissenters could have no views against church property; for they did not hold that great wealth was a recommendation of a church, and therefore they would not seek to aggrandize themselves. So long as they were excluded by law from their civil rights, on account of the established church, it was impossible that they could regard that church with feelings of good will; but when it laid down the character of a persecutor, it would cease to be an object of jealousy. The question as to the safety of the church was not one of mere

theory; it had been practically decided in the other parts of the kingdom. If the security of the English church was founded solely on the Test and Corporation Acts, what was the security for the church of Scotland? By the articles of Union, the Presbyterian was declared the established church of that country, and yet no Test or Corporation Acts existed there. Nay, in order to diminish still further the security of the northern church, persons of the church of Scotland could not come to this country and take office, without being liable to the penalties of these acts, although they were members of the church established by law in another part of the kingdom. If these laws were necessary for the security of the church of England, they ought likewise to be enacted for the security of the church of Scotland. Then, as to Ireland: if the Corporation and Test Acts were necessary to the security of the church in England, it would be supposed that they must necessarily exist in Ireland. That, however, was not the fact. The Corporation Act never existed in Ireland. The Test Act was introduced there in the reign of Anne; it had been abolished some forty-eight or forty-nine years ago, since which time it had not existed in that country.

In conclusion, said his lordship, I have shewn that history will not justify you in maintaining these acts. The first of them was raised as a barrier to the throne against a party who had recently overturned it; but whatever the Dissenters of that day might feel towards the House of Stuart, the Dissenters of the present time feel nothing but loyalty towards the House of Hanover. The Test Act, again, was

intended as a barrier against the king, who was a converted Papist; you have now a sovereign who is firmly attached to the established religion. For a long period these acts were maintained for fear of driving the church into the arms of the Jacobites: there is now no fear that the clergy will look for promotion or favour through any other than the legitimate channel of his majesty's Treasury and Chancery. I have shown you that all grounds of necessity fail, the acts having been suspended for more than three quarters of a century. I have proved that they violate the sacred rights of conscience, and are of the nature of religious persecution. — I have shown, that, so far from not inflicting any hardship on the body upon whom they operate, they are fraught with great mischief, irritation, and injustice. I have shown, that they are totally at variance with our own policy in Scotland and Ireland, as well as with the enlightened legislation of all the Christian countries of Europe. If I am asked what advantage the country is to derive from the abrogation of such laws, I answer, that the obvious tendency of the measure, independently of its justice, will be, to render the Dissenters better affected to the government, to inspire them with dispositions to bear the heavy burthens imposed on them by the necessities of the state, with cheerfulness, or, at least, with resignation; and, above all, it will be more consonant to the tone and spirit of the age than the existence of those angry, yet inefficient and impracticable laws, which are a disgrace to the Statute-book.

The motion was seconded by Mr. J. Smith, one of the leaders of

the Dissenting interest in the House of Commons, and was supported by lords Milton, Althorpe, and Nugent, Mr. Brougham, Mr. Fergusson, and Mr. R. Palmer. They set out from this general principle, that they were required to prove nothing except this position, which every one must admit—viz. that to exclude a man from office for not doing what his purely religious opinions forbade him to do, was a limitation of his political rights as compared with those of his fellow citizens who professed a different creed. This limitation and inequality could be justified only by political expediency; and it was the business, therefore, of those who maintained that they should be continued, to make out that such an expediency existed. The evils inflicted on the Dissenter were neither few nor light. In the first instance there was the forfeiture of the place which the offending individual held. Next, he was rendered incapable of holding any other. Again he was disqualified from maintaining a suit at law. Still further, he was prevented from accepting the office of guardian. To crown all, he was rendered incapable of inheriting a legacy; and after being thus robbed of his property by the sweeping injustice of the act, he was visited with a penalty of 500*l*. No one had maintained that these were provisions which ought actually to be enforced: on the contrary, the only argument for continuing them was, that, in consequence of the Annual Indemnity bill, they were not enforced, and therefore occasioned no actual grievance. But, was it no grievance for an Englishman to hold his rights by an annual lease, instead of holding them as he ought, for the term of

his natural life? Was it no grievance that he should have his rights dependant on the caprice of any branch of the legislature—that he should owe it to their forbearance, that he was not overwhelmed and crushed by the persecution of the laws? The evil which emanated from these exclusive laws did not so much consist in the actual deprivation of place which they inflicted, as in the stigma and degradation which they fastened on those who suffered under them, and in the insolent superiority with which they armed those who were the orthodox opponents of all concessions to their fellow subjects. It was equally false that the Protestant Dissenters were indifferent to the repeal of them. The petitions laid on the table of the House on this subject,—which, if not more numerous than any other petitions ever were on any other subject, had rarely been surpassed for the information and liberality of sentiment of those who signed them, was a sufficient answer to that argument.

Mr. Ferguson, one of the members for Scotland, desired the House to look at these laws, as they affected, not merely a minority of Englishmen, but even the established religion of a constituent part of the empire. Scotland had a national religion as legally as England. At the Union, on the meeting of the commissioners, it was provided by the parliament of England, that no alteration should be made in the principles, doctrine, or discipline, of the church of England, as by law established. The Scotch parliament, true to their own particular doctrines, imitated the precaution of their neighbours, and immediately issued orders to their commissioners, that any clause should

be null and void which militated in any way against the discipline, principles, or doctrines of the true Protestant Presbyterian religion. The religion of Scotland was therefore a state religion, as well as that of England, yet its members were affected by these penal laws, and prevented from serving their king, but at the risk of incurring these penalties, or renouncing their religion. Why this proscription of a whole nation, upon the notion that this mode of exclusion was the best way of defending the church and state as by law established? Why deny a community of privileges to those who confer equal services and encounter equal danger? On what occasion had the people of Scotland not contributed their full share in support of Great Britain? Were they no longer wanted? Did the church of England desire to be left to defend the empire exclusively? If so, let the Dissenters be plainly told to withdraw, and quit a defence which they could only remain to make under exposure to ignominy. Take the battle of Waterloo, which had crowned the renown of the most illustrious leader of their times. What would have been the fate of that battle, and that leader, if the army, which had conquered, had been filled only by the sons of the church of England? Take from the field the Scottish regiments—take away too the aid of those sons of Ireland, the proscribed Catholics; what then would have been the chance of their arms, divested of the Scottish and the Irish soldiers who filled their ranks, who served their navy in every quarter of the globe? If they had the assistance of such men, when the hour of peril came upon them, surely they ought not

to deny, their confidence in a time of tranquillity and peace. Did the government believe they could successfully wage another war, and prolong these exclusions? The thing was quite impossible; they must conciliate that large and integral portion of the population, without whose active aid in the field the country would be undone.

Ministers had determined to resist the motion, and the opposition to it was conducted by Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Peel. They took up, however, very narrow ground, and did not fight the battle with much determination. They abandoned the principle on which the laws in question were founded, and defended them as being provisions which led to no actual hardship. The evidence of this they sought in the Indemnity Acts, and in the long silence of the Dissenters themselves, from whom it was to have been expected that the constant infliction of a permanent grievance would have drawn forth incessant complaints. Mr. Huskisson said, he was free to confess his objection to these acts. He was no friend to the principle of religious tests in reference to civil rights: he should be glad to see all such tests abolished. But he doubted whether the present motion was calculated to remove any urgent grievance. The grievances complained of were of an imaginary character; for he had yet to learn what obstacles existed against the honourable ambition of the Dissenters. They were qualified to fill the first offices in the army and navy, and they had their full share of the civil power of the country. Forty years had elapsed since this subject had been last agitated in parliament; that period had been marked by many eager

discussions on another great question involving the principles of religious liberty. Could it be credited that the petitioners now before the House, many of whom possessed acute intellects and elevated minds, enjoyed the highest consideration in the country, and were deservedly respectable, if they knew there was any thing in the state of the law to impede the fair, useful, and honourable, exercise of their talents, would not have long since respectfully, but firmly and unanimously, called upon the House to remove the grievance? If an oppressive grievance existed, if a wrong of some nature were committed, would they have failed to remonstrate against the continuance of the system? The fact could not be so; for, during the long period of forty years, the parties most interested had preserved a total silence. The question had not been discussed since 1791, and the happiest results had been the consequence. All those distressing feuds, which formerly existed, ceased: an end was put to those differences which had sprung up in society, and had interfered with all the relations of public and private life. Men came together in society, without any reference to those religious doctrines and dogmas upon which they happened to differ honestly and conscientiously. The members of the church of England formed a cordial union with their Dissenting brethren: in that work of conciliation and of charity none were so conspicuous as the ministers of the established church, and none were more ready now to continue and foster that spirit which they had been the first to promote. It was plain that so happy a state of things must now be interrupted by



the agitation of this motion, because it would at all events tend to renew discussions which had better be avoided.

But Mr. Huskisson's principal objection to the motion was founded on this, that its success would be unfavourable to the Catholic claims. However anxious he might be to see religious tests removed, yet when he found them in existence, he was bound to look at the system as a whole, one part of which could not be properly dealt with, unless reference were made to all the rest. The principle, which the question then before the House appeared to him to involve, was this—that, whereas, up to the present hour, as the law stood (he would not say in its practice, but certainly in its principles), the rule was to render conformity to the established church the condition of holding civil offices, an attempt was now made to remove some of those laws, leaving others in existence which bore upon a different part of the population. If, then, they repealed those laws which were the object of the noble lord's motion, and left other laws untouched, which were considered by many of an oppressive nature, what became of that general rule? He contended, that, from the moment such a course was adopted, the rule was entirely changed, and they created an exception. And who formed that exception? The Roman Catholics alone. The exception, it was quite clear, would, under such circumstances, be levelled and directed against the Catholic faith alone. They would, by acting as the noble lord desired, make that an exception, which was now only part of a general rule. Having stated this, he would ask of those, who, like himself, were

anxious for the success of the Catholic question, whether the making of such a change in the position, in which the Roman Catholics were placed in the eyes of England and of the world, would not be the means of giving some countenance and some support to the doctrine, that the Roman Catholics were not, and ought not to be allowed the same privileges as other non-conformists, unless they were prepared to do away with the spiritual authority of the see of Rome, and thus to remove all idea of a divided allegiance? He was not prepared, he confessed, to take a step, that was likely to make an unfavourable impression with respect to that great question—the Catholic question—to which he had always been a friend. He was not abstractedly unfriendly to the proposition of the noble lord; but he could not assent to it, because he was sure, that, with reference to the Catholic claims, it would make a bad impression. He was supported in this by the high authority of Mr. Pitt. From the recently published correspondence between his late majesty and Mr. Pitt in 1801, it would be seen how anxious that minister was to modify the laws which affected the Dissenters, and it would be also seen, that, notwithstanding his great anxiety upon that head, he was opposed to any modification whatever of them, until the Catholic question had been settled. Then, and not till then, did Mr. Pitt conceive that a proper opportunity would arise to take those laws into consideration with a view to their revision and modification.

Mr. Peel acknowledged, that the question was attended with considerable difficulty. He was not prepared to say, that it was essentially interwoven with the interest

of the church of England ; he did not think that the two were so connected, that the church of England must fall, if the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed : but, in considering how to deal with such ancient laws to argue thus—"should we enact them now?"—was not a fair mode of viewing the question. Whether we should or should not enact such laws in modern times, was not the test by which to judge of the propriety of repealing laws in an ancient monarchy like this, where manners and customs might often have grown up and become interwoven with the laws. The principle, on which he was disposed to look at these laws, was this ; was there that great practical grievance—that insult resulting to the Dissenters from these acts,—which called upon the House to repeal them ? Was there any thing so absurd as to make the repeal of them necessary ? Or were they of such a nature, that, if repealed, the Dissenters would be in a better situation ? So great was his respect for that large and respectable body denominated Protestant Dissenters, that, if he could be satisfied that they did labour under such grievances as had been described, he should be very strongly induced to consider the repeal of the acts complained of. But he did not think that the great body of Dissenters looked at them, together with the Indemnity act, as so great an evil as hon. gentlemen had described. They had been told to look at the number of petitions that had been presented to the House. Now, if he were sure that these petitions had been quite spontaneous, and not set in motion by any external influence, he candidly declared that he should be

disposed to pay much more attention to them ; but he could not consider them as such. At all events, if the number of these petitions which had lately been presented was insisted upon as a strong argument, ought not the silence of the Dissenters to be taken in account the other way ? It had been said, "Look at the hundreds of petitions which have been presented this year,"—and he was therefore tempted to ask, how many had been presented at former periods ? On inquiry he found that only six petitions had been presented altogether during the ten years between 1816 and 1827. Nay, what had been the impression of parliament itself ? In the discussions on the Catholic question, the gentlemen, who now supported this motion, had never urged upon the House the grievance and the insult of which they now complained. In 1813 Mr. Grattan had introduced a bill to remove the disabilities of the Roman Catholics, and the professed end of that bill also was, to do away with every civil disability, of whatever kind, on the score of religion. But what was the effect of that bill ? It professed to do what he had stated ; but what did it do ? Why, the bill actually subjected Catholics in this country to the operation of this very act, which was now said to be an insult and a grievance. The last bill, which was introduced in 1825, professedly removed those disabilities altogether ; but that bill also left the Roman Catholic subject to the operation of this act in England. The preamble of that bill stated its object to be, "that all his majesty's faithful and dutiful subjects may grow into one nation, whereby there may be an utter oblivion and extinguishment of all former dissensions and dis-

cords between them, thus consolidating the union between Great Britain and Ireland, and uniting and knitting together the hearts of all his majesty's subjects in one and the same interest, for the support of his majesty's person, family, crown, and government, and for the defence of their common rights and liberties." Now, when it was considered that a bill, which was to have all these admirable effects, never proposed to relieve the Roman Catholics from the operation of the law, of which the Protestant Dissenters were now complaining, he thought he was entitled to assume, that the grievances suffered from that law were rather of an imaginary than a practical and real nature. And of the fact that there was nothing in the provisions of that bill to repeal the law in question, there could exist no doubt. Upon a question raised as to that point, Mr. Canning, the warm supporter of the bill, had said,—“Sir—This bill does not tend, as is imagined by the petitioners, to equalize all religions in the state, but to equalize all the dissenting sects of religion. I am, and this bill is, for a predominant established church; and I would not, even in appearance, meddle with the laws which secure that predominance to the church of England,—I would not sanction any measure, which, even by inference, could be shown to be hostile to that establishment. But I am for the removal of practical grievance. And in this view of the subject, what is the fact with respect to Protestant Dissenters? It is this,—that they labour under no practical grievance on account of their religious differences from us,—that they sit with us in this House, and share our councils,—

that they are admissible to the offices of the state, and have, in fact, in very numerous instances, been admitted to them; but they hold these privileges subject to an annual renewal by the annual act of indemnity: so with the Roman Catholics, if this bill should pass. They will be admitted only to the same privileges, and they will hold them liable to the same condition." This, then, was sufficient evidence that the Roman Catholic relief bill of 1825 had never contemplated the relieving the Catholics from the operation of the Test and Corporation acts, as mitigated by the Annual Indemnity acts. Nor was it wonderful that it should be so; for what was, in point of fact, the operation of these acts? what was the extent of exclusion which they actually inflicted? The House had been told, that, in Scotland, they acted as a proscription of a whole nation. Where, then, were the complaints of that country? From the whole population of Scotland there was not one solitary petition; so slight and impalpable was the real practical amount of this fancied grievance. We had shed the blood, it was said, of the Scotch regiments in the peninsula, and at Waterloo. Well, what office of naval or military command had been closed against their officers? But your Test acts shut them out from the higher offices of government. For an answer, look at the ministry. Of the fourteen members who composed the present cabinet, three, viz. lord Aberdeen, lord Melville, and the President of the Board of Trade, were Scotsmen, and good Presbyterians, whom these acts nevertheless had not succeeded in shutting out. Then, even in England, what was the

fact as to corporations? He believed that Dissenters were not practically excluded; that, last year, the lord mayor of London had been a Protestant Dissenter: and he was convinced that, in general, the law was not found to be a practical grievance. The fact was, that the existing law gave merely a nominal predominance to the Established Church. A predominance of some sort would be admitted on all hands to be necessary, and the present was as slight a one as could well be imagined. He heartily wished, therefore, that this question had been allowed to remain quiescent; practically offensive as he was convinced the law complained of was to no one. All the arrangements and intercourse between the Dissenters and the Established Church, had been marked, of late years, by the most perfect cordiality; and he regretted that any chance should be hazarded, by which it was possible that that temperate and candid feelings should be broken.

In answer to the views, on which ministers defended the existing law, Mr. Brougham maintained that these acts were daily and positively felt to be a most depressing grievance. Was it no grievance to bear the mark of the chain (to use an expression of the late Mr. Canning) remaining, after the fetter had been knocked away? Was it no grievance for a Dissenter, wherever he went, to look like, and to be treated like, a different being?" "We," said the other party to the Dissenter, "are in possession of the good things; you are a different and a degraded, and an insulted being." This was the very language of the act of parliament. But it was said, that temporal interests were not

concerned: this he denied. No Dissenter could stand for a corporation. It had been stated, that the late lord mayor of London had taken the sacrament, notwithstanding he was a Dissenter. But that statement made in favour of his argument. With respect to Scotland, he knew that not one Presbyterian in a thousand would take the sacrament, would not even go to a place of worship where there was an organ, would consider it idolatry to kneel at an altar. If they conscientiously thought so, was it to be wondered at that they evinced a repugnance at what they considered a mixture of idolatry with Christian worship? In Liverpool, two individuals had lately chosen to spend 10,000*l.* each, to obtain the office of mayor; it had been one of the hardest fought contests ever known: but, if one of these persons had had the misfortune to differ from the Established Church as to the thirty-nine articles, and the other party did not, the Dissenter would have lost his election. So in the recent contest in the Vintry Ward, if one of the candidates had differed from the other as to transubstantiation, or any thing of that sort, there would be an end to this legal controversy; the court of King's-bench would never have heard of it, and the churchman would have been elected. Was this no grievance? Had every grievance of this kind, which existed, reached the House? The knowledge of this act operated so, that, though the Dissenter might walk on in his course, when not opposed, yet even if he aspired to a corporation, and no individual opposed him; if he was unanimously elected, and actually filled the place, a single malicious individual might upset

his election, and out he must go. The consequence was, that he would not go to seek that place; he would go to his library, to retirement, to private pursuits, with what appetite he might towards the government and the constitution; he was condemned to privacy, because he was of a different religion from the state, and because he would not sacrifice his religion for his place. Was this the way to conciliate three millions of Dissenters, who must feel their incapacity because they knew it? It was uncandid to argue that the Dissenters had felt no practical inconvenience, because they had so long been silent. Their silence had been wise, it had been generous. When the French revolution had broken out, it would have been insanity in them to have pressed their claims, and they had not said a word from 1793 to 1805. It was consistent with his own knowledge, that Mr. Fox intended to have brought forward their claims in 1805, and was restrained only by the fear of its injuring the Catholic cause. But still the decision of the House on the subject now before it would not, in his opinion, either injure or forward the Catholic question. He had consulted the most distinguished advocates for the Catholic question, and was also aware of the sentiments of the Catholic leaders themselves, which all accorded with the most perfect unanimity in thinking that those two questions should be decided on their respective merits, and kept totally distinct from one another. In short, said Mr. Brougham, the sum and substance of all the argument is this: if it is little for them to ask, it is likewise little for us to give. By deciding this

question in favour of the Dissenters, we shall discharge our duty to our country and to the Church establishment, which these acts profane.

Lord Palmerston joined in the opinion of Mr. Huskisson, that it would be an act of injustice to the Catholics to repeal this minor grievance, while they continued to suffer under much severer enactments. Sir Thomas Acland proposed a middle course, which he thought would afford immediate relief, and would still leave the theoretic principle of the law untouched for the present. Government, on the next passing of the Annual Indemnity bill, might also introduce a bill for the suspension of the Test and Corporation acts *pro futuro*, say for one year or more, and renew it periodically, until the time should arrive for a more permanent and satisfactory settlement of the question. The principle of the laws would not be abandoned, and the power to call them again into operation, in case of danger or necessity, would exist as fully as it now did. He was not disposed to part with one security even in the abstract, without obtaining another—but, by suspending these bills, we should part with no security—we should rid ourselves of the present anomaly—we should simply substitute a plain, intelligible, and prospective mode of relief for the retrospective, clumsy, and in some instances, precarious, protection now afforded by the Annual Indemnity.

On a division, the motion for a committee was carried by a majority of 44, the ayes being 237, and the noes 193; the first successful blow that had been aimed at the supremacy of the Established Church since the Revolution.

The House went into a committee *pro forma*, reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again on the 28th, the second day after. On that day, the House having gone into a committee, lord John Russell stated, that he found it impossible to accede to sir T. Acland's proposal of suspending the acts instead of repealing them. That, he said, was a measure, which he was convinced would please neither party; because, while it would give the Dissenters the power of connecting themselves with corporations and other establishments, it would still leave them in that state of precarious tenure which formed the great objection to the existing system; and, on the other hand, it would interfere so far with the securities provided by the Test and Corporation acts, as to create dissatisfaction in the Church of England; for those, who were favourable to the present securities, would fear, that, when once suspended, they would never again be carried into effect. The only proposition which he could make was for their simple and absolute repeal; and if the House or the committee should differ from him, he could not bring himself to agree to a proposition of any other kind. He therefore moved, "that so much of an act of the 13th of Charles 2nd, entitled, 'An Act for the well-governing and regulating of Corporations,' and so much of an Act of the 25th Charles 2nd, entitled, 'An Act for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish recusants', and of another act of the 16th Geo. 2nd, for amending the last mentioned act, as require the person or persons in the said acts described to take or receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the

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rites or usage of the Church of England, for the purposes therein expressed, or impose any penalty, forfeiture, incapacity, or disability, by reason of any neglect or omission so to do, be repealed." Ministers, on the other hand, to whom the short interval, which had elapsed since their unexpected defeat, had not left leisure to select deliberately the line of conduct which they ought now to follow, objected to the motion as being too precipitate in a matter which involved such grave interests. Many members, they said, who had voted for going into the committee, and thus expressed an opinion that relief should be afforded, were by no means prepared to grant that relief in the form of a simple repeal; and, to insure the continued support of these members, it might be worth while to consider, whether some mode short of repeal might not advantageously be adopted. At all events, the mode, in which relief ought to be given, was matter of grave deliberation, both on its own merits, and with a view to securing the co-operation of the other House of Parliament; much too grave to be settled after only a few hours consideration. Mr. Peel, therefore, wished that the further consideration of the subject should be delayed for a few days. The friends of the repeal were opposed to all delay; they thought its expediency too clear to admit of any question, and that postponement would only do harm by creating the appearance of doubt. "Away with these pretences," exclaimed lord Milton, "those who make them know they are but pretences. Their only object is, to regain the vantage ground which they have lost, and by defeating the Dissenters, to defeat

the best interests of the Church." Mr. Peel, with great warmth, repelled this very unwarrantable tirade. He said, that, after suspicions like these had been insinuated, he would not only not propose suspension, but would not even accept delay; although that delay was proposed for purposes, which, if his proposition had been accepted in the spirit in which it had been made, might have turned out satisfactory to all parties. He would leave the noble lord to take the course which his judgment pointed out to him, declining any delay, but reserving to himself the right, at any future stages of the bill to adopt such measures as might appear to him advisable. The resolution was then agreed to, the ministers having left the House before the question was put.\*

Government, if it could not bring itself to agree to simple repeal, had now one of two courses to adopt; either to employ all its influence still to stop the measure *in toto*, if not in the Commons, at least in the House of Peers, or to endeavour to engraft upon it some security for the church in lieu of

the religious test which had been so generally denounced. They preferred the latter; to have adopted the former, after the opinion of the House of Commons had been so decidedly expressed, would have been neither politic nor gracious.

The bill, founded upon the resolution, was allowed to be read a second time without opposition; and on the motion for the House going into a committee (March 18), Mr. Peel brought forward the views of government by proposing to insert in the bill a Declaration to be taken by all persons appointed to any of those offices which fell under the purview of the Test and Corporation acts. After the decision to which the House had come, he was prepared to dismiss at once from his mind, any idea of adhering to the existing law. The proposal of suspension he would likewise dismiss, for he was convinced it would be no better than the Indemnity act—that it would still leave the Dissenters to feel that the law was held over them in jealous distrust. The wisest and best course, he thought, would be to come to such a final arrangement, as, while it should not affect the fair and conscientious scruples of the Dissenters, would give a reasonable proof to the Church of England, that, in the repeal of these long-established tests, which were considered as a much-valued security, her rights were to remain sacred. A recorded opinion should be given, in the form of a Declaration, for the security of the predominancy of the Established Church. With this view he thought that the committee should be instructed to introduce a declaration to the effect he had alluded to, to be taken as a substitute for the Sacramental

\* Mr. Peel, after saying this, left the House. Some members thought that he had withdrawn in bad humour; and sir George Warrender was declaring that such impatient conduct would almost tempt him to withdraw his support from government, when Mr. Peel returned. Having fasted, he said, since nine o'clock in the morning, and having resolved, as he had told the House not to vote on the motion, he had been very agreeably employed up stairs, when intelligence was brought to him of sir George's threatened defection. He was afraid, however, that he could not secure the baronet's allegiance; for assuredly, if the question had not yet been put, he would again leave the House so soon as it should be put.

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Test, by the parties who were now liable to take the latter. He would not make it an oath, for that would be perhaps to arouse again the distrust of the Dissenters, and subject them to an inconvenience which he thought could not follow the imposition of a Declaration; and particularly when they looked at such an affirmation as interwoven with the principle of the constitution, and as requiring neither the renunciation nor the expression of any religious principle, or any religious feeling. He would propose, therefore, the following clause:—"And be it enacted, that all persons who shall hereafter be elected, or chosen to fill the office of mayor, alderman, or magistrate, or to fill any office of emolument and trust in any city or town corporate in England or Wales, shall, previous to his admission, make and subscribe the following Declaration:—"I, A. B., do solemnly declare, that I will never exert any power or any influence which I may possess by virtue of my office, to injure or subvert the Protestant church, by law established in these realms, or to disturb it in the possession of those rights and privileges to which it is by law entitled."—And be it enacted, that the said Declaration shall be made and subscribed in the presence of the persons, who, by the present charters and usages of cities and towns corporate, administer the oath to Dissenters on entering into office there; and that in counties corporate such Declaration shall be made and subscribed in the presence of two justices of the peace.—And be it further enacted, that where any person shall omit, on being chosen or nominated to the said office, to subscribe such Declaration, such elec-

tion and nomination, and all the acts of such officer, are hereby declared null and void." He did not deem it necessary to attach any penalty to the omission farther than the nullity of the election and of the subsequent acts. There was a difficulty, however, as regarded persons holding offices under the Crown; for, if all such persons were required to take the Declaration, the provision would only throw ridicule upon the whole proceeding. But that difficulty, he imagined, might be got over, by giving the Crown a discretionary power, by a clause of the following kind:—"Be it enacted, that it may be lawful for his Majesty to require of all persons who shall be appointed to civil offices of trust, or who shall hold commissions under his Majesty's government, and by whom, according to the present law, the Sacramental Test is ordered to be taken, to make and subscribe the Declaration above-mentioned, preceding the admission of such persons to offices of civil trust, under such regulations respecting the time and manner of subscribing such Declaration as his Majesty should please to appoint." If these clauses were introduced into the bill, he thought himself warranted in saying that they would insure its success, and the question in the course of the present session would be settled satisfactorily and for ever.

The supporters of the simple repeal were all opposed to the Declaration in point of principle. They described it as both useless and unnecessary; the best thing about it, they said, was the option given to government to require or not to require it from persons taking office under the Crown, for that held out a hope



that it would be allowed to go into a disuse. They united, however, in recommending that Mr. Peel's suggestion should be adopted, rather than the loss of the bill hazarded. Lord John Russell, therefore, complied, and the House went into a committee with Mr. Peel's clauses as an instruction, it being understood, however, that the detail of these clauses was still to be an open question. In the committee, however, no alteration was made. Lord Nugent suggested an exception, which was not adopted, in regard to the office of Privy Councillor. All Privy Councillors had been bound, under the old system, to take the Sacramental Test, and, under the new act, would have to make the Declaration. By that Declaration they bound themselves, not to exert any power or influence which their office might give them, to injure the Established Church, or disturb it in the possession of those rights and privileges to which it was by law established. "Now," said lord Nugent, "there might be cases, and these not extreme ones, in which a man, not nicely scrupulous, but only properly conscientious, might find the Declaration to be at variance with the oath which he had taken as a privy councillor. The oath which a privy councillor took, bound him to advise the king according to the best of his discretion, and to observe, keep, and do all that a good and true councillor ought to do to his sovereign lord. But cases touching the disposal of church property might arise, in which the Declaration, which bound him not to employ the influence of his office to weaken the church establishment, might be in direct opposition with the oath of a privy councillor, which bound

him to advise for the king's honour and the good of the public. It might be supposed in such cases by conscientious men, that the Declaration was to supersede and ride over the oath which they had taken."

The bill, having passed the Commons, was introduced into the House of Peers by lord Holland. There was here no ministerial opposition to be encountered: government had taken its part, and the bill was now, in some measure, the bill of the cabinet. The duke of Wellington said, that the principle, on which the members of government, in the other House of Parliament, had originally opposed the measure was, that, although they did not approve entirely of the existing law on the subject, they had found it to conduce so much to the advantage of church and state, without impairing the religious peace of the country—a peace which had been enjoyed by this country in a greater degree than by any other—that they conceived we might risk the loss of our present advantages, if the system, under which those advantages had been attained, should be inconsiderately abrogated. Afterwards, however, on finding that a large majority of the House of Commons agreed to the bill, and that many who opposed it, opposed it on grounds not applicable to the present measure, they adopted it with an amendment, which seemed to them to afford ample security to the church, and to be calculated to improve, instead of impairing, the religious peace which the country had so long enjoyed. To these sentiments he thought it the duty of their lordships to accede, taking the chance for religious peace which the majority of the House of Com-

mons considered likely to arise out of, and to be continued by, the present measure, conjoined with some degree of security, perhaps all the security necessary, offered to the church. In truth, however, he did not conceive that the security of the church depended either on the law about to be repealed, or on the measure which was to come in its place. It depended on the oath taken by his majesty, to which in their several stations they were all parties, on the Act of Settlement, and the different acts which provided for the inseparable union of church and state.

Of the spiritual lords, the representatives of the interests and feelings of the church, none spoke against the bill. The archbishop of York, and the bishops of Lincoln, Durham, and Chester, spoke in its favour. They denied that the laws in question had originated from any unjust or oppressive principle, or had failed to effect any good purpose. They had been measures of self-defence, they had been the result of state necessity, they had given to the church substantial protection. They admitted, however, that a test could be justified only as a defensive measure, and they thought that a defence, so objectionable in its own nature, was no longer necessary, especially when it was acknowledged to have been so long ineffectual, and to have been annually made ineffectual by the legislature itself. At the same time, the church was entitled to demand some security from her ecclesiastical opponents; and they thought the Declaration contained in the bill, altered as it might be in the committee, furnished a political security infinitely less objectionable, and in all likelihood more effectual, than the reli-

gious test. "I wish the bill to pass," said the bishop of Chester, "if for no other reason, yet for this, because the present laws do not answer their purpose. If the declaration now proposed be taken by a conscientious Dissenter, it will prevent him from endeavouring—at least from directly endeavouring—to injure the establishment, and that is more than the Sacramental Test, if taken, could effect; if it be taken by a person who does not conscientiously intend to observe it, that person would not be kept out of office by any test whatever."

The earl of Eldon gave the bill his most decided opposition. He had heard, much he said, of the march of mind, and the progress of information, and of persons changing opinions which they had held for years; but he had not thought it possible that the march of mind could have been so speedy as to induce some of the changes of opinion which he had witnessed within the last year; least of all did he expect that such a bill as the present would ever have been received into their lordships' House, even under the idea of making amendments in it. The principle of the bill was "expediency," a word used by all who had nothing else to say; and as for the Declaration, an unqualified repeal would be more consistent than this bill, every clause of which militated against the constitution. The preamble set forth "Whereas, the Protestant Church of these realms is established and inviolate," but how was it so, except by the existing laws? If then, these laws constituted the defence and inviolability of the church, surely the repealing of these laws could not be the way to keep that church

established by law. But what was the substitute for the Sacramental Test? A simple declaration. Instead of making the taker of office describe himself as belonging to some sort of religion—whether a Unitarian, a Catholic, or a Free-thinker, it did not require him even to say—he had only to answer, that he was of the Christian faith; neither did it call on him to observe the Declaration by such phrases as “I am a Christian,” or “as I stand in the presence of my God.” The confidence to be reposed in the proposed Declaration did not rest upon the faith of a Christian, or on the confession of any faith whatever. Then, while the Declaration was to be extended, not merely to corporate offices, but to all offices of trust and emolument under the Crown, the bill left it entirely to the king to say, with respect to these latter functionaries, whether his majesty would require such a Declaration or not. He could not but object to the provisions of such a bill, the object of which was, to take away the Sacramental Test, merely on the ground of “expediency,” and to substitute in its place a Declaration, which, in some instances, might or might not be taken, according to the will of the sovereign. He differed extremely from all he had read and heard respecting the propriety of omitting to maintain the great principle of the constitution—that the Church of England was not an establishment erected for mere purposes of convenience, but was essentially and inseparably a part of the state. The Sacramental Test was well calculated to effect that great object, and it signified not what they substituted for it,

so long as what was substituted was of inferior efficacy. Further, he maintained that, in compliance with our existing constitution, the Church of England must be supported; and could best be supported by the admission of only its own members to offices of trust and emolument. Such had been the principle of the constitution of this country for ages. Their lordships should take good care that they did not disunite those whom the constitution had joined together; and if they did any thing towards disjoining them, they should be equally careful to use some sort of cement, and enable the Church and State Establishments to protect each other by mutual service and support. The ground of expediency, set forth in the preamble to the bill he could not help thinking afforded a low principle on which to legislate. But the acts were now said to be useless; parliament had acknowledged them to be so by passing, from year to year, bills of Indemnity; and why then not abolish them at once? However, he maintained that those Indemnity acts, passed year by year, were neither more nor less than acknowledgements and recognitions on the part of the legislature, that the Corporation and Test-acts ought not to be dispensed with. He desired to know whether the passing of these acts from year to year, was not rather confirmatory of the opinion of parliament, that the law should not be repealed, than that it ought to be abolished? In 1787, the question had been brought forward in the other House, and was rejected by a majority of that House. In 1789, the question was again discussed, when the majority against it was

20; but in 1790, on its being once more introduced, its opponents out-numbered its supporters by 187. The question had not since been brought forward, until the present occasion. The majority, by which it was rejected in 1790, was not extraordinary, when it was considered that its opponents, who then constituted the supporters of our happy establishment, found that mines had been laid under the Established Church, which only waited for the match to explode them. If any joy could be felt at the unfortunate events that occurred in other countries about that period, it arose from the consideration, that those events rendered Englishmen more alive to the attempts made to disjoin the Church and State; and, accordingly, the parliament of that day voted to prevent the destruction of the alliance which had hitherto subsisted between our establishments. What was to prevent Corporations from being made up entirely of members of the Church of Rome, if nothing more than the Declaration now suggested was required? He had examined the question deliberately, and in detail, for the purpose of ascertaining whether he had been wrong or not. The result of his investigation was, that he had been right; and he could not, therefore, consent to give up the Constitution, as well as the Church Establishment, to the extent that the present bill proposed. He could not do this: it must be the work of others. Be they within or without the Church, it mattered not to him. His prayer to God was, that the individuals, who promoted this measure, might have afterwards the satisfaction of thinking, that, as they had intended no

mischief to the Church, no mischief had ensued. But at the same time, that he gave them credit for sincerity, he claimed a similar allowance for himself, when he solemnly said, as he then did from his heart and soul, "Not-Content" to the present bill.

As the ministry and the bishops had expressed their favourable opinion of the bill, all opposition to its principle was of course useless. Nothing remained for its adversaries, but to render the Declaration as strict and effectual as possible in the Committee. There, accordingly, various amendments were moved, and some were carried, which did give the Declaration a more solemn and explicit character. The want of any more solemn expression of avowal, than the simple phrase "I declare," was specially objected to. To the principle of substituting such a Declaration for the Sacramental Test, said lord Falmouth, I never can assent. It is positively good for nothing. Even the words "in the presence of Almighty God," appear to have been studiously avoided, as if to discard all solemnity. The earl of Harewood, too, said, that it did appear to him curious that, in the Declaration contained in the bill, no notice was taken of this important question; namely, whether a man, to whom the Declaration was about to be administered, was or was not a Christian? He should be sorry to exclude the Dissenters from those privileges which they enjoyed under the Indemnity bill; but when they came to that House with a new Declaration, their lordships ought to see that it was a proper one. In forming a Declaration suitable to such a bill, it ought to proceed on this simple

proposition—that the man taking it, thereby declared himself to be a believer in Christianity. The answer to this, he knew was, that it was useless to provide such a Test; for persons, who did not believe, would take any oath that might be propounded to them. But, notwithstanding that, he did not wish to see a Declaration that did not contain some provision of this nature standing on the records of parliament. He wished merely that a clause should be inserted in the Declaration, from which it would appear, that every man who took it, believed in the Christian religion. It was not because he expected any great security from the Declaration, that he was desirous of having it thus altered; but he wished it so to be worded for the credit of parliament. Moved by these sentiments, the words “I do solemnly declare,” were, on the motion of the duke of Wellington, replaced by “I do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of Almighty God, testify and declare.” This did not meet the objection; and the bishop of Llandaff moved, that there should be farther added the words “upon the true faith of a Christian;” and that, too, was carried. An attempt, however, made by lord Eldon, to convert the Declaration into an oath, “by substituting “I swear,” for “I declare,” was lost by a majority of 100 to 32; and an amendment of lord Winchelsea, intended to exclude Unitarians, by introducing a Declaration that the person taking it believed “in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,” was lost by 113 to 15. The bishop of Llandaff, on the ground that it was absurd to require from a member of the church of England, an as-

surance that he would not employ his office to its injury, proposed that from such persons no other Declaration should be required than this, viz., “that he was in communion with the church of England as by law established;” but the proposition was rejected, because it went to mark a distinction between Churchmen and Dissenters. The bill passed, by a large majority, on the 28th of April. The Commons agreed to the amendments. Mr. Brougham said, it would be impolitic to throw away the bill on account of them, although he was of opinion that they made the bill worse; and yet these amendments consisted simply in this, that the man, assuming a public office in a Christian country, should declare that he was a Christian, or, at least, that he was not an infidel.

In the discussion on this bill frequent allusion had been made to the Catholic question. The opponents of the bill had found an additional argument against it in the consideration, that it was in truth but the first step in a course which was to terminate in Catholic emancipation. Those of its supporters who were adverse to the latter measure, denied that it could have any such tendency. The duke of Wellington, to shew that he might vote for the bill, and yet be a determined enemy of the papists, said “there is no person in this house whose feelings and sentiments after long consideration, are more decided than mine are with regard to the subject of the Roman Catholic claims; and until I see a great change in that question, I certainly shall oppose it.” The friends again of Catholic emancipation, did not admit that it would be favoured by the Repeal

of the Test and Corporation Acts ; they professed to regard the latter, as leaving untouched every principle on which the decision of the former question might depend ; and Mr. Huskisson, it has been seen, opposed the relief of the dissenters, because it would create a new obstacle to the admission of the Catholics. Now it was perfectly true, that all protestants might insist on being equal to each other, and yet all unite to keep out their common enemy the papist ; but it likewise did seem to be very clear that the principle, on which the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts had been maintained and carried through, would as successfully justify the removal of the Catholic disabilities. The principle amounted to this, that dissent from the established Church in matters of doctrine, and of church government, ought in no degree to affect a man's capability of being appointed to office ; and the Catholics might plausibly represent themselves as being merely Dissenters, separated by a wider gulph, from the church of England. Accordingly, the Catholics had been petitioners for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts ; and the measure for repealing them was immediately followed up by a motion for removing the Catholic disabilities.

On the 8th of May Sir Francis Burdett moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into a committee of the whole House for the purpose of taking into consideration the state of the laws affecting his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, with a view to such a final and conciliatory adjustment as may be conducive to the peace and strength of the united king-

dom, to the stability of the Protestant establishment, and to the general satisfaction and concord of all classes of his majesty's subjects." The debate was continued on the 9th and 10th. The principal speakers in support of the motion were Mr. Brougham who seconded it, Mr. M. Fitzgerald, sir J. Newport, sir J. Mackintosh, Mr. C. Grant, Mr. North, and Mr. Huskisson. It was opposed by the Solicitor and Attorney General, sir R. Inglis, Mr. Moore, Mr. Leslie Foster, Mr. Banks, and Mr. Peel. It would be tedious and useless to give even the substance of a debate, every thing contained in which had been so often said before in every possible shape. The speeches were merely repetitions of former arguments, every one of which had already become common-place. The removal of the disabilities was claimed as matter of right, unless some strong ground of expediency could be established against them, and the existence of any such ground of expediency was denied. They had been originally imposed when every thing was to be dreaded from a Catholic prince concealed or avowed ; nothing was now to be dreaded from a royal family, which, by the necessity of the constitution, must be protestant. They had been imposed to guard against danger from the pope and a pretender ; now a pretender no longer existed, and the pope was impotent. There was nothing in the Catholic religion, to disqualify its professors from holding power in a Catholic country ; for their allegiance to the pope regarded only their political faith ; to persecution they were not inclined, for the spirit of popery had changed and been mitigated ; and, even if they

should attempt to persecute, the attempt would be futile in a protestant country. Above all, it was absolutely necessary to grant the demands of the Catholics; because otherwise the Catholics would not allow Ireland to enjoy a moment's repose, and, exposing us every moment to the danger of rebellion, would render that part of the united kingdom—what, indeed, it already was—the source of alarm, of discord, of expensive compulsory government in peace, and, in war, a source of positive weakness. It was added, that the concession was due, as being only the fulfilment of what had been stipulated for in favour of the Catholics in the Treaty of Limerick, and as being the consummation in the hope of which alone the people of Ireland had been brought to consent to the Union.

The answers made to these arguments were necessarily not more novel. On neither side was there any want of talent: but every thing which could be said had already been often so well said, that it could not now be expected to be said better. The opponents of the bill maintained, that, from the Reformation downwards, it had been the policy of this country to exclude the Catholics from power, because their admission would be pregnant with danger to its political liberty, and to its protestant church, and would be utterly inconsistent with that fundamental arrangement of the constitution, which knits the Church and the State together. The exclusion had been adopted, solemnly established at the Revolution, and ratified in the union with Scotland, on this simple and undeniable ground, that political power in the hands of men, professing

certain principles, would not be exercised beneficially for a protestant constitution; and if these principles remained the same, the reasons for exclusion could not have altered. Now, that the principles and policy of the Catholic Church have continued unchanged, was the boast of that Church. Its tyrannous, and, for the human understanding, most degrading, spirit, had been restrained by the course of events, but had not been mitigated. It had remained quiescent from want of opportunity and power; to keep it quiescent, therefore, let power and opportunity be still withheld. To refuse them was no violation of right. In civil society, no such thing as abstract political right existed; the public good was the only standard of political right. In this country, the people had determined, as the result of a revolution which changed the dynasty of their kings, that the public good should be the good, not merely of a free constitution, but of a free protestant constitution. No class of men could claim as a right any thing which would be injurious to either; and political power in the hands of papists would be of evil omen to both. The events of the few last years in Ireland, and especially the last general election, had shewn that power in such hands, would be power at the absolute disposal of the Catholic priesthood, to be directed by them to whatever object they might select, though at the sacrifice of public concord, and in defiance of all the ordinary civil ties, which ought to bind together the different classes of the community. Who was so credulous as to hope, that the power of a Catholic priesthood would be employed to foster and protect a protestant constitution?

In the words of Mr. Peel, "If Roman Catholics are admitted to the full privileges of British subjects, we may still have a bench of bishops in the House of Lords, but the only link between the protestant religion, and the constitution and government of this country will be gone. That ascendancy which was given to the church of England at the Revolution will be gone."

In regard to Ireland itself, concession, it was argued, would remove none of the evils which afflicted it, for none of them had been caused by exclusion. It would not dispel their ignorance; it would not make them less the instruments of violent and reckless passions; it would not increase the fertility of their soil; it would not teach them to be provident; it would not remove famine; it would not clothe their nakedness. Its utmost effect would be to open a new path to the ambition of the few; but the misery of Ireland resided in the condition of the many, from whom emancipation would not remove one single privation. Accordingly, the turbulence which Ireland had displayed had not been the natural result of any political pressure upon the people; it was commotion factiously created for their own ends, by the interested turbulent few, propagated and maddened by the authority of the priest, who could have no wish to maintain civil franchises, but as instruments to be afterwards used in attacking protestant heresy. In vain, moreover, would we think of permanently tranquillizing Ireland by granting what was now asked. There still remained behind, the throne and the property of the church. Exclusion from the former was not

a whit more justifiable than the exclusion which we were now called on to abolish; and to defend it would be doubly difficult, after the principle now asserted should once have been established. The property and franchises of the church, again, were, to Roman Catholics, the property and franchises of heretical spoliation, to be prudently submitted to, only till the power to reclaim them should have been attained. They would be demanded by Irish papists, under the absolute control of a popish priesthood, with the very same turbulence, discord, and virtual threats of rebellion as the alternative, with which it was now demanded that the doors of the legislature should be thrown open.

On a division, the motion for a committee was carried by a majority of six; in the preceding session it had been lost by a majority of four. In the committee the resolution "that it is expedient to consider the state of the laws affecting his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, with the view of affecting such a final adjustment of them, as may be conducive to the peace and strength of the United Kingdom, the stability of the Protestant Establishment, and the general satisfaction and concord of all classes" was agreed to, and here the Commons stopped. Instead of farther and more detailed resolutions being moved, or a bill being brought in to give effect to the general resolution which had been carried, it was resolved to ascertain, in the first place, whether the sentiments of the House of Lords had undergone the same change with those of the Commons. Therefore, on the 16th, it was agreed, on the motion of Sir Francis Burdett,



that the resolution should be communicated to the Lords in conference, and their lordships' concurrence required thereto, and that a free conference with the Lords should be requested accordingly.

The conference was held on the 19th, the managers for the Lords being, earl Bathurst, the duke of Devonshire, earl Grey, the marquis of Londonderry, the earl of Eldon, the bishop of Durham, and lord Colchester. These peers having received the resolution, it was forthwith read in the House, and ordered to be taken into consideration on the 9th of June.

The debate lasted two days. It was opened by the marquis of Lansdowne, who moved that the House should concur in the resolution which had been adopted by the Commons. Besides the dukes of Sussex and Gloucester, he was supported by lord Goderich, lord Plunket, marquis Wellesley, the marquis of Londonderry, earl Darnley, and the earl of Haddington. On the other hand the motion was strenuously resisted by the duke of Wellington, the lord Chancellor, and earl Bathurst, the only ministers who spoke; by the earl of Eldon, the earl of Falmouth, the earl of Winchelsea, the earl of Dartmouth, lord Manners, the marquis of Salisbury, lords Colchester and Redesdale; and by the archbishops of Canterbury and Tuam, with the bishops of Durham, Lincoln, and Landaff. The discussion necessarily had still less of novelty than that which had preceded it in the lower House. The sentiments delivered by the duke of Wellington were the most important, as this was the first time he had spoken at length on the subject as prime minister. He considered the question, he said, merely as one of expe-

diency, and he grounded his opposition to the motion, not on any doctrinal points, but on the Church government of the Roman Catholics. Nobody could have witnessed the transactions which had been going on in Ireland during the last thirty-five years, without being convinced that there was a combination between the laity and the clergy, which was daily gaining ground. Hence sprung the confusion that distinguished Ireland. If the aristocracy had been rendered powerless, and political authority transferred to the people, who, again, were the creatures of the priest, it was to this combination that it was owing. Emancipation, they had been told, would cure all these evils. But, in addition to emancipation, they would also be obliged to give to the Catholic church the whole establishment of the Protestant church, after which the country would be exposed to the same evils which now prevailed. On all former occasions, too, it had been proposed to grant political power only in connection with effectual securities for the Protestant constitution in church and state: but now securities were not even hinted at. He wished to see real distinct securities proposed, before he would consent to give any vote in favour of these claims. He denied that any inference could be drawn from the example of other countries, except this, that the Roman Catholic religion, in its natural state, was not a religion favourable to good government in any country. He begged their lordships to observe, that, in the very countries of Europe where the sovereigns possessed great power, the governments were under the necessity of calling in the aid of the pope

to govern their subjects, either through the means of a concordat, or some treaty granted by His Holiness, by which they obtained that authority which it was necessary for a government to possess over the clergy of the country. Now it was utterly impossible for the government of this country to enter into any arrangement of that kind. He did not mean to say that there was no other arrangement by which His Majesty might have the power of appointing the bishops in Ireland, and of controlling and superintending the intercourse between them and the see of Rome; but in his opinion it was utterly impossible, under the present constitution of the country, to make any such arrangement with the pope as prevailed in foreign states. The discussion of the question, he thought, would lead to no practical result, and would tend only to disturb the public mind. From 1781 to 1791, although many momentous questions had been agitated in Ireland, the Roman Catholic question was never heard of. So little indeed had

it been heard of, that his noble friend, who sat near him, had brought into the House of Commons a bill respecting the Roman Catholics, and it was a fact that the lord Lieutenant of Ireland was never consulted respecting it, and indeed knew nothing of it, till it was before the House, so little did the Catholic question at that time disturb the public mind. He did not, however, expect that such a state of tranquillity would again occur; but it would be well to allow the public mind to rest, and in the end it might be possible to do something, for he was most desirous of seeing the subject brought to an amicable conclusion.

The motion was lost by a majority of 44, the contents being 137, and the not-contents 181. The friends of emancipation, however, professed to augur a less obstinate and uncompromising opposition to their wishes in future, from what they termed the "conciliatory tone," in which the prime minister had delivered his sentiments.

## CHAP. V.

*Motion on the state of the Law—Commissions for inquiring into the state of the Common Law and of the Law of Real Property—Bills connected with Elections of Members of the House—New Corn Bill passed—King's Speech at the Close of the Session.*

**E**ARLY in the Session (7th Feb.) Mr. Brougham had directed the attention of the House of Commons to the state of the Common Law courts, and of the Common Law itself, in a speech which had been rarely equalled, either in the time consumed in its delivery, which is said to have been upwards of six hours, or in the miscellaneous variety of subjects, on which it touched. Professing to exclude from his consideration, for different reasons, Equity-law, Criminal-law, Commercial-law, and the law of Real Property, he examined the constitution of the Common-law courts, and the mode in which business was divided amongst them, and conducted by them; and, without much accuracy of detail, or profoundness of thought, or soundness of principle, contrived to detain the attention of his hearers by skimming over nearly all the topics of popular speculation, and trite complaint, connected with the administration of justice.

He concluded with moving, "that an humble address be presented to his majesty, respectfully requesting that it may be his majesty's pleasure to cause a commission to issue, to inquire into the abuses which have been introduced, in the course of time, into the administration of the laws of these

realms, and of the courts of common law, and to report on what remedies it may seem fit and expedient to adopt for their removal." On the suggestion of the Solicitor-general, the further consideration of the question was adjourned for a fortnight. The discussion was resumed on the 28th of February, when the Attorney-general and the Solicitor-general pointed out the fallacy and errors of many of Mr. Brougham's notions and suggestions. All concurred in the opinion, that there was no subject more worthy of attention than the improvement of the law. The only question was, how improvement could be best attained: and it was very obvious, that the unbounded nature of the inquiry, which Mr. Brougham seemed to recommend, would prevent it from producing any practical good. In the course of the session two commissions issued: one to inquire into the state of the Common-law; the other to take into consideration the state of the law of Real Property.

This session of parliament was distinguished by giving birth to a variety of attempts, to alter, and, as was therefore supposed, to improve, the mode of electing members of the House of Commons. The House had before it, at one time, seven or eight measures all bearing

more or less directly on different parts of the system. In the preceding session an act had been passed, which, among other things, prohibited the candidates at an election from distributing ribbons. An attempt was now made to repeal it, as being more injurious to the silk weavers of Coventry, than it could be beneficial to the constitution; but leave was refused to bring in the bill. The Commons having convicted the burgesses of Penryn, in Cornwall, of gross and prevailing bribery, passed a bill disfranchising the borough, and transferring its right of electing two members to Manchester: but the lords threw out the bill as not being supported by evidence of corruption sufficient to warrant disfranchisement. In the lower house East Retford, too, in Nottinghamshire, was found guilty of corruption, and a bill was brought in to transfer its franchise to Birmingham. The House, however, having resolved that instead of the borough being disfranchised, the right of voting should be thrown open to the adjoining hundred. Mr. Tennyson, who had brought in the bill, refused to take any farther charge of it, and the measure was allowed to stand over till next session, on an agreement that in the mean time no new writ should be issued for East Retford. In England there are many districts, which have been separated, at different times, from the counties to which they belong: the freeholders resident in them have thus lost the right of voting for the county members, without having gained, in several instances, the privilege of voting for the representatives of the boroughs to which they had been attached. Thus, Kingston upon Hull had been severed

from the county of York; and its freeholders could vote neither for the members for Yorkshire, nor the members for Hull. A bill was brought in to enable the freeholders of such districts to vote at the election of knights of the shire, for the counties from which they had been separated, but it did not make its way even through the House of Commons. A proposed bill for regulating the time and manner of admitting freemen in boroughs, was not allowed to be brought in; another for registering the voters in similar places was thrown out, after it had been brought in;—and the same treatment was extended to a third for registering the freeholders in counties. The House of Commons, however, passed a bill to prevent corporations from employing the corporate funds for election purposes—a measure which originated in certain complaints regarding the conduct of the corporation of Leicester, at the last general election; but the bill was rejected by the House of Lords. An act regulating the manner of taking the poll at city and borough elections, and whose principal feature was that it cut down the duration of the poll from fifteen days to six, was the only one that passed into a law.

The plan for a permanent settlement of the corn-laws had failed in the preceding session, in consequence of ministers giving up their bill, because an amendment, which they reckoned hostile to its principle, had been engrafted on it by the duke of Wellington. The subject was again introduced by Mr. C. Grant (31st March) on the very same principle, but with some alteration in the proposed duties. He would assume, he said, that the

House was inclined still to adhere to the principle which it had so distinctly adopted in the preceding session, viz. that agriculture was to be protected by duties, not by prohibition;—whether these duties should be fixed or varying,—if fixed, at what rate,—and if varying, how the fluctuations should be regulated,—were points of minor importance. Government was still convinced, that a scale of varying duties was the best expedient for doing equal justice to all parties interested, but the rate of duties was to be subjected to some modification different from what the bill of last session had contained. On the failure of that bill, a temporary act had been passed, to continue in force till the 1st of May in the present year, permitting the importation of corn on the conditions contained in the bill which had been abandoned. The opponents of the bill had then predicted that the effect of this measure would be, to depress the price of British corn, and to bring Foreign corn into the market. He thought, for his own part, that both of these circumstances might be accounted for in another way; yet, it could not be doubted that they had excited very strong feelings, in the minds of those accustomed to indulge in such predictions. If it was just to take into consideration at all the alarms of those most nearly concerned, the necessity of considering them was strengthened by late facts. The House ought not to forget the fact, that, under a duty of 1*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*, and a duty of 1*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.*, five hundred thousand quarters of foreign corn had, in the months of July and August last, been admitted into the market, and that, too, when the price of

British corn showed that no foreign supply was necessary. He was very well aware, that it would be in vain to attempt to convince by argument those who were interested, that this was not owing to the law; but he could convince them that the fact was not forgotten, and that the House meant to take it into consideration. It had been taken into account in the resolutions now to be introduced, and the duties at some points of the scale, would be found to be higher than those formerly proposed; an additional protection, in comparison with the bill of last session, being thus afforded to the agricultural interest. It was proposed that wheat should be subject to a duty of 32*s.* 8*d.*, whenever the price of British wheat was at 54*s.*; and it was also proposed that the duty should be decreased by 1*s.* for every increase of 1*s.* in the price of British wheat: so that at 56*s.* the duty would be 30*s.* 8*d.* This scale advanced by diminutions of 1*s.* in the duty for every increase of 1*s.* in the price, until the price reached 67*s.*; then by a diminution of 2*s.*, until the price reached 69*s.*; by a diminution of 3*s.*; until the price reached 71*s.*; and by a diminution of 4*s.*; until the price reached 73*s.* It would be seen, therefore, that at 59*s.* and 73*s.*; the scales of the two bills coincided; but, as they proceeded by different means, the difference between them at the intervals was considerable. The proposed scale was as follows:

*Wheat—Imperial Measure.*

			<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
52 and under	53	.	34	8
53	54	.	33	8
54	55	.	32	8
55	56	.	31	8

56	—	57	. .	30	8
57	—	58	. .	29	8
58	—	59	. .	28	8
59	—	60	. .	27	8
60	—	61	. .	26	8
61	—	62	. .	25	8
62	—	63	. .	24	8
63	—	64	. .	23	8
64	—	65	. .	22	8
65	—	66	. .	21	8
66	—	67	. .	20	8
67	—	68	. .	18	8
68	—	69	. .	16	8
69	—	70	. .	13	8
70	—	71	. .	10	8
71	—	72	. .	6	8
72	—	73	. .	2	8
73	—	74	. .	1	0

As to the Winchester measure, it was proposed to impose a duty of 30s. whenever the price in this country was at 54s.; and that the duty should decrease in the same manner as in the scale for the imperial measure.—With respect to other grain, applications had been made for an augmentation of the duty on barley and oats, but especially on oats. After considering the subject, however, he had thought it would be better to make no alteration in these duties. Various applications had been made both for an augmentation of the duties, and for limiting the quantity of foreign corn that should be admitted. Government, however, after taking these applications into consideration, did not feel that it would be proper to comply with them, and thought it would be better to take a duty at once on these kinds of grain, rather than suffer it to be continually fluctuating. The present resolutions, therefore, were in principle the same as the bill of last session, though the scale of duties was somewhat different: and they were presented to the House, not as the best that

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could be framed, but as being likely to pass into a law, and, if they did pass into a law, to be beneficial to the public. So far as the legislature was concerned, they were permanent, until the minds of men could be led to entertain juster notions upon this subject; and they would be changed only as the notions, which at present prevailed, were altered for the better. They were offered to the landed interest as a resting place, as firm and solid ground on which time and experience might accumulate a richer soil. They were a compromise between conflicting interests and opinions. He himself thought them imperfect, inasmuch as they fell short of the bill of last year; but they had been brought as near to that measure as was consistent with the likelihood of their being passed into a law.

The opposition which had been made to the bill of last year was immediately renewed, from the same quarters, and on the same grounds; the agriculturists struggling for still higher duties, and their adversaries maintaining that those proposed were a great deal too high. The vehemence of the former, however, was somewhat abated by the increase of duty over that of last year's bill, introduced in deference to their opinions or to their power: but that very alteration furnished to the latter a new ground of complaint and opposition. Other members of the government, besides Mr. Grant, distinctly described the measure as one which did not satisfy their own ideas of what was right and expedient; and what they called a compromise of conflicting opinions was in reality, it was said, nothing less than a sacrifice of what they admitted

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they knew to be for the public good, to the partial views of a particular interest which they were afraid to displease. Every person who had opposed the bill of last session was much more bound to oppose the present measure, which avowedly receded still further from correct principle; and to oppose it on the admissions of the very men who supported it—that they themselves deemed it bad in proportion as it differed from its predecessor.

The resolutions moved by Mr. Grant were agreed to; but when the House went into a committee, Mr. Calcraft moved as an amendment, that the scale, which had been adopted by the House of Commons last year, should be substituted for that which was now proposed; and the amendment received the support of many members who were by no means disinclined to shew favour to the agricultural interests. For, although the alterations in the present bill from that of last year, had avowedly been made for the purpose of conciliating the landed interest, by affording it greater protection, the effect of them, it was said, would be just the reverse. The bill of last year had the feelings of the country in its favour, which fixed the pivot price at 60*s.*; but the present bill, departing from that precedent, had fixed it at a lower rate, and upon a principle less calculated to operate as a certain protection. In the year 1815 we had been told that the average price of corn for several previous years had varied from 78*s.* to 80*s.* We had then been told in the year 1822, that, in consequence of the peace, and of the reduction of taxation consequent on the peace, and of certain other causes, 70*s.* was the proper

average price as calculated upon the prices during the years intervening between 1815 and 1822; and we were next told, in the year 1827, that 60*s.* was the proper average price, as calculated upon the prices during the years intervening between the years 1822 and 1827. Now, if we took into our consideration the price of corn during the last year, we should find that the proper average price was somewhat lower than 60*s.* Why then should we jump all at once, and without any express reason, to an average price above 60*s.*? Was it gracious to the people? Nay, was it gracious to that large majority of the House of Commons, which, in the last year, had affirmed a lower price, in compliance with the wishes of his majesty's ministers, many of whom were still filling the same places in the cabinet which they then occupied? Without any reason whatever—for they would do Mr. Grant the justice to state, that he had had the modesty not even to attempt to give a reason for the altered resolution which he had this year proposed to the House—without any reason whatever, he jumped above the price on which Mr. Canning had fixed in the bill of last year. The great object was, to secure the corn-market from all excessive fluctuations, and that was the very point in which the present bill was undeniably and notoriously deficient. It was a bill of false pretences, when it was held out to the agricultural interest as a premium on the bill which had been proposed last year: it was the most palpable fallacy that was ever attempted to be palmed upon a House of Commons. True it was, that at a certain price it afforded greater protection to the

agricultural interest ; but it was exactly at that price to which corn had never arrived in the last year, and to which it was not to be expected that it would ever arrive again. Up to 58*s.* there was less protection for the agricultural interest under the bill of this year, than there was under the bill of last ; and so far it was favourable to those who stickled for low prices. The great fault, however, of the present bill was, that you had prohibition when you did not want it, and protection when you needed it least ; for it gave you protection under high, and withdrew it under low prices. The bill of last year proceeded upon a consistent and intelligible principle : the bill of this year proceeded on no other than an *ad captandum* principle, seeking to conciliate one side by the offer of low, and the other by the offer of high prices, and making them both liable to the danger of fluctuating prices. From 50*s.* to 58*s.* we were worse off than we were before ; and that was exactly the point at which the people at large did not feel any inconvenience. You thus had corn let in, when the people did not want it ; but when it rose above that price, and its dearness began to inconvenience them, you threw every possible obstacle in the way of its importation. It was only natural for the duke of Wellington to say that 64*s.* was the proper average price, for he had said so last year ; and though it might be convenient for those who held seats in the cabinet to compromise their former opinions on this subject in order to retain those seats, why should the House of Commons imitate their example ? The ground on which it had been de-

fended, as a bad measure which ought to be adopted because the other House of parliament would not agree to pass a better, was equally derogatory to the rights and to the duties of the Commons. This spirit of compromise was becoming a great deal too common. The House of Commons ought to send every measure up to the House of Lords in the shape which it deemed would be most advantageous to the interests of those whom it represented : it was for the House of Lords to suggest any amendments which they deemed expedient upon such a measure ; and then it was for the House of Commons to decide, whether they would deviate from the strict line on which they had first proceeded, in order to pass a particular measure, rather than none at all, upon any particular subject. There might be reasons of policy and expediency, why gentlemen, holding responsible situations in the cabinet, might make concessions to their colleagues on points of national importance ; but those reasons were no grounds for the House of Commons, nor for individual members who were bound by no ties, except those of conscience and equity, to alter the vote to which they had deliberately come in the last session of parliament by a large majority.

Ministers answered, that, in truth there was no inconsistency between the two measures, when the common principle on which they both proceeded was rightly understood. The object and principle of the present measure were precisely the same as the object and principle of that of last year. The bill of last year afforded protection up to 60*s.* : a greater degree of protection, from 60*s.* to 64*s.*, was given by the



present proposition. The object was the same, the principle was the same, as the measure of last session. The object was, to give protection up to a certain point, and to exclude the introduction of foreign corn as much as possible. The pivot price, however, it was said, had been raised to 64*s.*, while the House of Commons had last year deliberately fixed it at 60*s.* But, in point of fact, the pivot price had not been changed. The pivot price was that point in the scale, at which on one side the duty ascended, and on the other descended—it was the level where the ascending and descending duties met. The pivot in the bill last year was fixed at 60*s.* the Winchester, and at 62*s.* the imperial measure. In the present bill, the same level was taken, and at 62*s.* the imperial, and at 60*s.* the Winchester measure—the scale ascended on the one side, and descended on the other. The difference between the two bills was not as to the pivot which had been fixed upon as affording a sufficient protection to British agriculture, by the imposition of a certain duty when the price of corn ascended above that point, and diminishing the duty when the price of corn fell below it. The point, which had been agreed to last year by parliament as affording a sufficient protection to British agriculture, was still preserved; but the question now was, whether the scale which had been last year adapted to that point afforded a sufficient protection. The object of Mr. Canning, in the plan of last year, had been, to give an efficient protection to the British corn-grower up to 60*s.* the Winchester, and 62*s.* the imperial measure. With that view, he had proposed a scale of duties,

which remained stationary between 60*s.* and 64*s.* the Winchester measure, and 62*s.* and 66*s.* the imperial measure, and were increased or diminished as the price of corn rose or fell above this standard. The scale then proposed was, considered adequate for the purpose. The question now before the House was, not to change the price at which that scale had been fixed, but whether the protection, thereby afforded, was a sufficient protection to the British corn-grower. In deciding that question, they should look at what had happened since the session of last year. They would find that a quantity of corn amounting to 500,000 quarters had been admitted into the market. Without adverting even to the circumstances under which this corn had been admitted, when they found that such a quantity as 500,000 quarters had been admitted in one month, it must appear evident that the scale of duties, proposed in the bill of last year, did not afford a sufficient protection to the agricultural interest,—in fact that protection which had been contemplated by the bill of Mr. Canning. That minister, when introducing the temporary bill, after the intended permanent measure had been thrown out in the other House of parliament, had distinctly stated, that it was a measure to be tried by the test of experience, and that in the next session they would be enabled to judge from the working of it, whether it was calculated to afford the desired protection to the agricultural interest. Government had acted upon this suggestion; and, taking experience for their guide, had felt themselves bound, in consistency of principle, to propose the present amendment on

the bill of last session. In the interim, the quantity of foreign grain already mentioned had been taken out of bond; and it was evident, that, under the bill of last session, a similar influx of foreign corn might occur, so as to oppress the British corn-grower. The first object, then, of ministers had been to remedy that defect, and to afford a sufficient protection when the price of corn was from 60*s.* to 65*s.* That object, they conceived, would be effected by adding 4*s.* to the duty proposed last year, when the price of corn should be at 62*s.* Other corresponding changes had been made in the ascending and descending scale of duties, which appeared to them calculated to remedy the defects of the bill of last year.

Equally unfounded was the objection that the duties did not afford sufficient protection when the price of corn was low. The duties, when corn was between 58*s.* and 59*s.*, were as high as it had been intended they should be in the bill of last year; and they were so high as to be equal to a prohibitory duty. When corn was 58*s.* and up to 59*s.*, the intended duty would amount to 28*s.* 8*d.* Did any body imagine that foreign corn would be imported under that duty when corn was at 58*s.*? Notwithstanding the circumstances, which, during the last year, tended to encourage the importation of foreign corn, yet, when the price was at 58*s.*, the duty under the bill of last session prevented, though it did not altogether exclude, the importation of foreign corn. Notwithstanding the fall in the price of corn, and the alarm thus created in the minds of the holders of foreign grain, when the duty was at 28*s.* 8*d.*, what was

the fearful quantity of foreign corn taken out of bond? two hundred and seventy-seven quarters only; when the duty was at 30*s.*, four hundred and twenty-six quarters were taken out; when at 32*s.*, one hundred and six quarters were taken out; when at 34*s.*, one hundred and one quarters; when at 36*s.*, fifty-three quarters; at 38*s.*, sixty-one quarters were taken out; and when the duty was at 40*s.*, four quarters were taken out in one week, fifty-two in another, twenty in another, and two in another: altogether about one thousand quarters were taken out during an entire quarter of a year; and a great portion of these dribblings had been ordered to be sold out by the foreign merchants even at a loss, as the article would not pay for the rent of the warehouses. It was plain, then, that the duty of 28*s.* 8*d.*, when corn was from 58*s.* to 59*s.*, amounted nearly to a prohibition duty. Government had, therefore, made out from the experience of last year, from the reports which had been received from foreign countries, and from the evidence taken before the House of Lords,—that, by the imposition of a duty of 28*s.* 8*d.*, when corn was at 58*s.*, there was no risk of any quantity of foreign corn being imported into this country. The scale under the present bill, in short, when compared with that of last year, afforded a better protection to the agriculturist. When the price of corn was from 60*s.* to 65*s.*, under the proposed duty, the importation of foreign corn would be checked. When the price was above 65*s.* the corn from our colonies would come in free; and when the prices were higher, the duties would operate to prevent the importation

of an overwhelming quantity of foreign corn.

The amendment was lost by a majority of 202 to 58 ; and various other amendments moved in the committee, for the purpose of increasing the quantity of protection against foreign grain, all shared the same fate, being opposed not only by the friends of the ministerial measure, but by all who were the enemies of the ministerial measure, on the ground that the protection bestowed was excessive, and rested on an erroneous principle. The bill passed in its original form.

In the House of Lords, it was opposed by lord Lauderdale, the earl of Malmesbury, and earl Stanhope. An amendment on the motion for the second reading, that the bill should be read that day six months, was lost by 86 to 19. On the motion for the third reading, amendments were moved similar to those which had been proposed in the Commons, but with no better success ; and the bill was finally carried without alteration.

On the 28th of July, the session was closed. On that occasion, the following Speech of the Lords Commissioners was delivered to both Houses by the lord Chancellor :

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ We are commanded by his Majesty to acquaint you, that, the business of the Session having been brought to a close, his Majesty is enabled to release you from your attendance in Parliament.

“ His Majesty commands us at the same time to return to you his warm acknowledgements for the zeal and diligence with which

you have applied yourselves to the consideration of many subjects of great importance to the public welfare.

“ The provisions which you have made for the regulation of the import of Corn, combining adequate protection for domestic agriculture with due precaution against the consequences of a deficient harvest, will, in the confident expectation of his Majesty, promote the inseparable interests of all classes of his subjects.

“ We are commanded by his Majesty to acquaint you, that his Majesty continues to receive from his Allies, and from all Foreign Powers, assurances of their friendly disposition towards this country.

“ The endeavours of his Majesty to effect the Pacification of Greece, in concert with his Allies, the King of France and the Emperor of Russia, have continued unabated.

“ His Imperial Majesty has found himself under the necessity of declaring War against the Ottoman Porte, upon grounds concerning exclusively the interests of his own Dominions, and unconnected with the Stipulations of the Treaty of the 6th July 1827.

“ His Majesty deeply laments the occurrence of these hostilities, and will omit no effort of friendly interposition to restore peace.

“ The determination of the Powers, parties to the Treaty of the 6th July, to effect the objects of that Treaty, remains unchanged.

“ His Imperial Majesty has consented to wave the exercise, in the Mediterranean Sea, of any rights appertaining to his Imperial Majesty in the character of a belligerent Power, and to recall the separate instructions which had been given to the Commander of his Naval Forces in that Sea,

directing hostile operations against the Ottoman Porte.

"His Majesty will therefore continue to combine his efforts with those of the King of France and his Imperial Majesty, for the purpose of carrying into complete execution the stipulation of the Treaty of London.

"His Majesty commands us to acquaint you, that his Majesty had every reason to hope, when he last addressed you, that the arrangements which had been made for administering the government of Portugal, until the period at which the Emperor of Brazil should have completed his abdication of the Throne of Portugal, would have secured the Peace and promoted the happiness of a Country in the welfare of which his Majesty has ever taken the deepest interest.

"The just expectations of his Majesty have been disappointed; and measures have been adopted in Portugal, in disregard of the earnest advice and repeated remonstrances of his Majesty, which have compelled his Majesty and the other Powers of Europe, acting in concert with his Majesty, to withdraw their representatives from Lisbon.

"His Majesty relies upon the wisdom of the august Sovereign, the Head of the House of Braganza, to take the course which shall be best calculated to maintain the interests and honour of that illus-

trious Family, and to secure the peace and happiness of the Dominions over which it reigns.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"We are commanded by his Majesty to thank you for the Supplies which you have granted to him for the service of the present year; his Majesty will apply them with the utmost regard to economy, and will continue a deliberate revision of the several public establishments, with a view to any further reduction which may be compatible with the dignity of the Crown, and with the permanent interests of the country.

"My Lords, and Gentlemen,

"His Majesty commands us congratulate you upon the general prosperity of the country, and upon the satisfactory state of the Public Revenue.

"His Majesty contemplates the increase of our Financial Resources with peculiar gratification, on account of the decisive proof which it exhibits, that the condition of his subjects is one of progressive improvement.

"His Majesty commands us, in conclusion, to assure you that his unabated exertions will be directed to inculcate among Foreign Powers a spirit of mutual goodwill; and to encourage the Industry, to extend the Commerce, and advance the general Welfare of his own Dominions."

## CHAP. VI.

*State of Ireland—Proceedings of the Catholic Association—Mr. O'Connell becomes a Candidate to represent the County of Clare in Parliament—Exertions of the Catholic Orators and Priests—Mr. O'Connell is elected—Protest against his being returned—Revival of the Catholic Association in its original Form—The Association resolves to oppose every Candidate who will not pledge himself to oppose the Administration of the Duke of Wellington, to a Reform in Parliament, and to a repeal of the Sub-letting Act—Effect of the Clare Election—Speech of Mr. Dawson at Londonderry—The Association proceeds to organize the Population by instituting County and Parochial Clubs—Provincial Meetings—The Association puts an end to the Quarrels among the Peasantry—The united Peasantry assemble in large Bodies in Military array—Alarm excited by these Meetings—Revival of the Orange, and Institution of the Brunswick Clubs—The Association sends an Agent to organize the North—He traverses the Country, and enters the Towns, at the head of large Bodies of Catholics—The Protestants assemble—The Magistrates oppose his progress—Riot at Ballybay—The Association exhort the Peasantry of Tipperary to hold no more Meetings, and they obey—Proclamation issued by the Lord Lieutenant—Proceedings in England—Meeting at Pennenden Heath—Institution of Protestant Associations—Proceedings of the Catholic Association—Resolutions against Securities—Declarations in favour of the Forty-Shilling Freeholders—Correspondence between the Duke of Wellington, Dr. Oortis, and the Lord Lieutenant—The Lord Lieutenant is recalled.*

**I**N the detail which has been given of the principal topics, that occupied the attention of parliament, is included every thing worthy of being recorded in the domestic history of the year, in so far at least as Great Britain was the scene of action. That part of the United Kingdom presented only scenes of active, tranquil, and not unprosperous industry. The temporary blockade of the Dardanelles by Russia, and of Oporto and Madeira, by the persons who had seized the govern-  
ment of Portugal—occurrences of which we shall have to speak more fully, when narrating the events of the year in those countries to whose history they more particularly belong—occasioned, indeed, some discontent both among politicians and merchants. But any injury, which might be suffered by the mercantile interests, was too trivial to be made matter of grave complaint; and the loudest expressions of dissatisfaction proceeded from those not very reasonable persons, who thought, not that

commerce was crippled, but that the national honour was stained, and national impotence proclaimed, by these blockades being allowed to be established at all.

Very different was the state of Ireland. There, political and religious party spirit assumed a form which produced some unexpected occurrences, and threatened, in the apprehensions of the timid, the utter dissolution of society. The Catholic Association had continued to meet and to operate, notwithstanding the statute which had been designed to suppress it. That law had been intended to abolish impartially all the angry and noisy convocations of both parties, the Orange Societies as well as the Catholic Association. The former had submitted to the voice of the legislature: the latter changed its form, but changed nothing of its activity, its violence, and abuse. The Catholic leader had boasted from the beginning that no act of parliament would be able to restrain them, and he had carried his boast into effect. The task was an easy one; for no attempt was made to put the law in execution. The government, which had called for it as being indispensable to the peace of Ireland, made no use of it, while the peace of Ireland was vanishing before their eyes; and by doing so, they deprived themselves, in a great measure, of all right to complain that the proper government of Ireland was a thing beyond their power. During the short period that Mr. Canning was minister, the Catholics had been comparatively tranquil. Although his cabinet was divided on the question of their admission to political power, they rightly placed great confidence in the circumstance that he himself was their

friend; if he should remain in power, it was more than probable that their object would be gained; and, therefore, their most tried friends in parliament had both declined pressing Mr. Canning to give any determinate pledge upon the subject, and had abstained from all motions and discussions which might have embarrassed or shaken him in his tottering position. When lord Goderich became minister, their confidence waxed weaker; for though the head of the ministry was still their friend, he was a friend whose influence with the public and in the government was infinitely less. When he retired from office, and was succeeded by the duke of Wellington, they did not merely lose all hope of ministerial assistance, but they regarded the new arrangement of the cabinet as a new obstacle reared up against their progress. True, their exclusion had not been made a cabinet question; the ministry had not been organized on the principle that emancipation ought never to be granted; and Mr. Peel had already declared in parliament that it would not be possible to frame on that principle, a ministry sufficiently strong to govern the country. But still the head of the ministry was now their enemy, instead of being their friend; and it was a powerful and energetic head instead of being a weak one. Many of their supporters still continued in office, but they had lost the marquis of Lansdowne, and in his place had come Mr. Peel, the most immovable and determined, as far as men could judge from his whole public life, and his repeated parliamentary declarations, of all their adversaries—the representative of the embodied resistance of the Church

of England. The power of the ministry resided in the duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel; the duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, from their first entrance into public life, had been the opponents of Catholic emancipation; and in them the Protestants of the empire trusted, with a confidence which knew no bounds, that Catholics should never, with their consent, be admitted to the enjoyment of political power.

From the instant, therefore, that the new ministry was formed, the Catholic Association had waged war against the duke of Wellington and his ministry. Its orators lavished their contumely and abuse upon his grace without either taste or discretion; so far as their words could go, they revolted all sound sense and good feeling. But their doings were things of much higher importance, and were carried through with an activity and perseverance which led to very alarming results. The general election had taught them to what an extent they could control the votes of the freeholders in the county elections. The efforts, which they made on that occasion, had not been preceded by any uncommon degree of preparation, and yet their success had been conspicuous. The same instruments promised still more important triumphs, when they should be more systematically employed. The fate of every county election in Ireland depended on the rabble of forty-shilling freeholders, men generally ignorant and poor, hitherto the mere creatures of the landlords on whose property they vegetated, easily inflamed by imagined wrongs and tales of fancied oppression, incapable of all sound or independent political sentiment, the slaves of a

religion which rules ignorance more despotically than does any other, and which, again, uses ignorance itself as one mighty instrument of its sway. The Association determined to make itself master of the voices of these men, and, thus obtaining the command of the county elections, to overthrow the ministry, or any ministry which should refuse to grant unconditional emancipation, by returning members pledged to oppose every measure of every cabinet which would not adopt and carry through this one measure. They had their itinerant orators to inflame the angry passions and ignorant prejudices of the rabble; what was of much higher consequence, they had the united body of the popish priesthood to work upon their consciences. They could deprive the contest of all the characters of a merely political struggle, which still leaves some room for the exercise of the understanding, and invest it with the character of a religious warfare, which, in an ignorant and superstitious mob, lays every thing at the feet of blind, unthinking, and reckless bigotry. It was very true that the success of the scheme implied a breaking-up of the usual relations of society; the proprietors of the soil must be stripped of the influence which the possession of property ought always to bestow, and which, in every well-conditioned society it always does bestow. But of this confusion the Catholic Association boasted. This disrapture of ordinary ties, this dislocation of the members of society, was the very effect which it announced its intention of producing. Its orators publicly proclaimed that "Agitation," as they termed it, was the object which

they had in view, and that agitation they would have so long as they found it necessary;—that the sole object of all their labours was, to take the government of Ireland into their own hands, and prevent it from enjoying any portion of the tranquillity of a civilized country, until the Catholics should have been made equal sharers in political franchises with the Protestants.

Nothing which is reckoned on as the result of political prejudices, combined with religious bigotry, ought ever to be reckoned extravagant; and the general election had already shewn that this plan of the Catholic leaders was by no means so extravagant, in reality, as at first sight it might have seemed. The new trial, which they now made of its efficacy, was much more daring, and still more astoundingly successful. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, one of the members for the county of Clare, had vacated his seat by accepting the office of President of the Board of Trade, when Mr. C. Grant resigned it, in the course of the session, on the dismissal of Mr. Huskisson. A new election thus became necessary; but no apprehensions were entertained that Mr. Fitzgerald would not be again returned, for he had uniformly given his vote and his influence in favour of emancipation. That he belonged, however, to a ministry which would not unite to carry that question, as a cabinet measure, was, to the Catholic Association, and the Catholic priests, a sufficient reason why he should be proscribed; and they went the still more unexpected length of starting against him their own great popish leader and agitator, Daniel O'Connell. The power, which could execute a scheme like this, was truly a power to be dreaded; since government,

sitting by in listless apathy, seemed resolved to make no attempt to restrain it. Not only was a most respectable gentleman, highly popular in his own county, backed by the influence of the state, and a steady supporter of the Catholic claims, to be ousted, but a man was to be returned who had no connection with the county, and who, moreover, being a professed Catholic, was disabled from sitting in parliament by those very laws which it was the great object of the Catholics' to abolish. Mr. O'Connell, however, resolved to stand as a candidate; his only hope of success lay in severing the forty-shilling freeholders from their landlords, and every instrument, which the Association and its agents could command, was immediately put in requisition. The Catholic rent, regularly collected from almost every part of a country which could scarcely pay taxes, supplied money; a meeting of Catholics held in London agreed to subscribe funds towards the same object. To get rid of the objection against electing a man who could not sit—an objection which was within the comprehension even of the cultivator of a potatoe garden,—Mr. O'Connell was rash enough to pledge his professional character as a lawyer, not merely that, although a Catholic, he was capable of being elected—which was true—but that he could sit and vote in the House of Commons without taking the oaths. Mr. Butler; a Catholic English conveyancer and barrister, published an elaborate opinion to the same effect. Such an accessory was not required to serve the purpose of the agitators. Mr. O'Connell had considerable reputation in his profession; and his legal opi-



nion could not fail to be received as unquestionable law by a rabble to whose passions it was favourable, and amongst whom he was, on other accounts, eminently popular. The unthinking multitude, for whom such assertions were intended, never considered, that, if Mr. O'Connell could really sit in parliament for the county of Clare, without taking the oaths which denounced their Church as idolatrous and acknowledged the supremacy of the king, then it necessarily followed that he and they had always possessed the very right for which they were now contending, and which was to be secured even by the sacrifice of all civil concord.

From the moment that his intention of opposing Mr. Fitzgerald was announced, the county of Clare was traversed in every direction by the orators of the Association, and the popish parish priests. With unwearied activity they hurried from parish to parish, assembling and haranguing the squalid electors. The places, which they chose for their convocations, were the popish chapels, partly from convenience, and partly to aid the religious character which their mission instantly assumed. As Mr. Shiel, one of their most flowery rhetoricians, afterwards said, "every altar became a tribune." Wherever a priest and an agitator arrived, the populace were instantly assembled, even at the dead hour of night. Surrounded by the symbols of their religion, they were called upon by the infallible voice of its teachers, to rise in defence of its honour and its rights. Their opponents were represented to them as objects of horror and detestation. All protestants, who thought that protestantism would be endangered by giving Catholics the power to in-

jure it, were represented, not as men who entertained selfish and erroneous opinions which ought to be opposed, but as brutal and abandoned miscreants who were to be crushed and hated. The great majority of the population of the United Kingdom were never spoken of but as persecutors ravenous for Catholic blood, and labouring, by the perpetration of systematic atrocities, to effect the degradation and destruction of the Catholic Church. The peasantry were told, that to support any supporter of the administration was to lay themselves at the mercy of heretical murderers; whilst the triumph of their popular leader would shower down upon their cabins, by some unexplained process, a happiness and abundance which fled from before the face of a Protestant representative. The excitement, so easily raised in willing minds by furious tirades about personal slavery and national degradation, was maddened beyond control by the dread of everlasting punishment. The priest completed what the politician had begun. His flock heard from his lips, that, in voting against Daniel O'Connell, they would be voting against their God and their faith, strengthening the hands of heretics, perpetuating the oppression of their own holy Church, and therefore exposing themselves deservedly to all its power of punishing both here and hereafter. On the one hand were presented to them the slavery of their country under Protestant tyrants, the profaning of their temples by Protestant insult, the outraging of their persons by Protestant blood-thirstiness and Protestant lust, and the pains of hell-fire as the reward of having chosen a Protestant candi-

date: on the other they were enticed by the assurance of liberty, security, and peace, the revival of their religion, and the happiness which its ministers could secure to them in the next world for having, while in this, burst all civil ties, to aid its aggrandizement.

It is true that these sources, not of reasonable argument, but of mere lying, reckless excitation, succeeded only with the rabble: for no other class of persons were they fitted or intended; but it was on this rabble that the fate of the election depended. The landed proprietors of the county were almost unanimous on the side of Mr. Fitzgerald. They held a meeting previous to the election, at which they passed resolutions pledging themselves to support him, expressing their indignation at the attempts made, through strange and unconstitutional channels, to dissolve the connection and good feeling which had so long subsisted between the landlords and their tenantry, and binding themselves to afford every protection to such freeholders as should disregard the threats which were held out to them. But considerations like these were impotent advocates against the ignorant prejudices, excited passions, and religious enthusiasm, of the mob. The itinerant brawlers of the Association allowed the heated fancies and abused consciences of these poor people no opportunity to cool; one falsifying and extravagant declaimer succeeded another; and, on the day of election (30th June) the forty-shilling freeholders were marched into Ennis, the county town, in regular bands, each led to the hustings by the parish priest, to vote "for God and O'Connell." One priest alone had the candour

to see that every thing, which even the Catholic leaders themselves professed at least to seek, was as likely to be gained by the election of a friend to their cause who could sit in parliament, as by the return of a Catholic who could not sit at all. He had the manliness, too, to impress the same conviction upon his people, and sent them to the election prepared to vote accordingly. But at the very hustings they were stopped, and harangued by the Association orators; they were surrounded, too, by the shouts, the example, and the remonstrances, of the great mass who had already been chained to the chariot wheels of the demagogues. The consequence was, that they instantly changed sides, and voted for Mr. O'Connell, while the imprudent priest himself, who had fallen into the monstrous mistake of supposing that he would be allowed to have any opinion except on one side, was denounced by the Association, and removed from his parish.

On the day of election, Mr. Fitzgerald was proposed by his colleague in the representation of the county, who was himself a supporter of emancipation, and, in general, an opposition member. Mr. O'Connell was proposed by Mr. O'Gorman Mahon, the secretary of the Catholic Association.—Nothing could better exhibit the different temper of the two parties, than the different tones of the two candidates. Mr. Fitzgerald entered into a review of his parliamentary conduct, explaining every thing in which he could imagine he might be questioned, with the temper of a gentleman, and the calmness of a rational man. He spoke to the Catholics of their inconsistency in lavishing their ap-

plause on the conduct, and regretting the secession from the cabinet of lord Dudley, Mr. Huskisson, or Mr. Grant, who had voted for their claims, and yet held office under the duke of Wellington, and at the same time pursuing him to the death, who had merely done the very same thing. He told them, and told them truly, that it was only by a mixed administration that the Catholic question was ever likely to be carried: that a pure whig cabinet would be unable to forward it a single step: that the gentry of the county, the natural guides and protectors of their tenantry, were, as a body, firm friends of emancipation, and were equally firm in supporting him as a constant and honest friend of the same cause. They were at least not more likely to be wrong in what was truly advantageous to that cause, than the orators who had come down from Dublin to introduce a new principle into elections. My joining the administration of the duke of Wellington, said he, is the front and head of my offending. Be the consequences what they may, I declare that I am proud of being his colleague and possessing his confidence. But, at a moment when the Catholic question has been triumphant in the Commons, and when the discussion in the House of lords has been marked by a greater degree of liberality than was heretofore exhibited—I confess it appears strange to me that such a moment should be chosen by the Catholics of Ireland to announce their hostility to a government, under whose auspices such a favourable change had taken place, and to select a member of that government,—one who at least honestly supported their cause—as a victim upon whom to wreak

their vengeance. It was to enable them to perform this strange exploit, in favour of a gentleman of whom it was more than doubtful whether he could sit at all, that the agitators had seduced the tenantry to rise against their landlords, as the only return for the kindness and protection which they had received, and of their constant interference even in behalf of the political rights which they demanded. When the day arrives, said he, and arrive I fear it will, when a serious difference will take place between the landed proprietor and his tenant,—and by heaven I deprecate the thought of it,—but if it should arrive, let me ask, is it the payment of an arrear of rent by any body of men that will compensate to the unfortunate peasant for being deprived of his natural protector? Is it the payment of a few pounds that can compensate the tenant for the total alienation of his landlord? When the poor man is sick, and his family perhaps famishing with hunger, where will those men be, who, to gratify a public, perhaps a private pique, burst the bonds which for years have bound together the landlord and tenant by what was considered an indissoluble tie? Alas!—they will be far distant; and the unfortunate tenant will have nobody to look to for relief and comfort, except that landlord whom he is now called upon to desert.

Mr. O'Connell spoke in a very different style. He knew that his oratory must be guided by the rules of "Agitation;" that his rhodomontades must be addressed to the passions. Like his friends, therefore, he did not condescend to speak rationally, but contented himself with talking very wildly about trampled rights—bending

necks to masters—bloody blood-hounds—base ministers, and very grandiloquently about the mighty things which he, Daniel O’Connell, would achieve when he got into a parliament in which he could not sit.—One sample of his own manufacture will suffice to shew the style of argument, by which the Catholic Association was in the habit of swaying the people of Ireland. “The time is come,” said he, “when the system which has been pursued towards this country must be put a stop to. It will not do for the future to say, ‘Sweet friend, I wish you well,’ but it must be shown by acts that they do wish us well. It is time that this system should be put an end to, and I am come here to put an end to it. The right hon. gentleman has boasted of the support he has received from most of the gentry of the county. He has the support of some of our friends, it is true, and of all our enemies—not one portion of the filthy press but affords him their support. Oh! there is nothing makes the iron enter my soul so much as the air of patronage with which our claims are taken under the wing of a great patron; but the time when we could be trampled upon with impunity is gone by. We do not now, as we were wont to do, bend our necks before our masters. Are there no biblical persecutors amongst his supporters? Are not the wretched father and mother driven out to starve, unless their wretched children are permitted to attend all the proselytizing schools? If I am returned to parliament, I shall consider myself in the nature of a jaror between the country and the king. Send in the right hon. gentleman, and he will be calculating how much hock and cham-

paigne he expended in entertaining his colleagues in office. Perceval it was who first raised the ‘No Popery’ cry; and every man, who supported the *base, bloody, and unchristian Perceval*, is as guilty of the deed he committed as that infamous minister himself. The marquis of Anglesea came here and preached toleration; his son, as gallant an officer as ever trod a ship’s deck, voted in favour of us. Lord Anglesea tried to satisfy us with sweet words, but did he vote for us? No; and for this I denounce him. Delusion is abroad. If you send me to parliament I will put an end to the horrid tax for building Protestant Churches, and providing sacramental wine. I will vote for the diminution of the tithes. I will vote for a reform in parliament; and, finally, I will vote for reconsidering the abominable measure of the Union. Be true to each other, and to me, and we must succeed. Make way for Mr. Fitzgerald’s freeholders as you would for mine; but go round the country and tell his voters that they ought to vote for me—scatter through the country, and do that manfully for me. I have taken the oath of allegiance to my king, and will keep it; but I must tell the right hon. gentleman that the young blood of Ireland is in a ferment. I detected a boy of 13 years of age a few days since, drilling a regiment of boys—they had a flag on which was emblazoned, ‘Remember Orr.’”

The election itself, however, was not attended by any scenes of violence, or any disturbance of the peace; it was conducted with less outrage than not unfrequently disgraces a popular election in England. The Catholic leaders exerted themselves to restrain all attempts

at creating disorders. It would have been ridiculously suspicious, if, while they and their priests were exercising such absolute dominion, their influence had been too feeble to prevent riot and assault. After a few days polling, Mr. Fitzgerald was convinced that he could not continue the contest with any hope of success, and Mr. O'Connell was declared to be duly elected. Mr. O'Connell, in his address to the electors, had declared, that he would never take the oaths which, it was thought, must necessarily be taken by all members of parliament before they could sit, and that he would be admitted to sit without going through that form. On this ground a protest was taken at the election by a number of freeholders, giving notice of the fact, and concluding that any return of Mr. O'Connell, who, though elected, could not sit, would be illegal. After the polling, the protest was argued by counsel before the sheriff and his assessor; but the latter decided that there was nothing in the law to prevent a Catholic from being elected, and therefore from being returned as duly elected, whatever further securities might be required from him, before he would be allowed to take his seat. He held, that there was nothing to hinder a Roman Catholic sitting in Parliament, except a test which he must take when there, and without which the House of Commons would not recognize him: but he must be in the House to take that oath; he could not take it, until he was there; and no person had a right to determine, *a priori*, that any individual would not take the oath, when the time, in which he could take it, was not yet arrived? If the case had occurred in Eng-

land, where a double return may be made, he would have advised the high sheriff to make one return for Mr. O'Connell and another for Mr. Fitzgerald. But as it was not competent to adopt that course in Ireland, he would advise the sheriff to return Mr. O'Connell as being duly elected, but to state, on the face of his return to the writ, that, two candidates had been proposed, Mr. V. Fitzgerald, a Protestant, and Mr. O'Connell, a Catholic,—that the latter announced that he was a Catholic—and further, that a protest against his return was lodged by a certain number of freeholders—but that Mr. O'Connell had a majority of qualified freeholders at the termination of the poll. Mr. O'Connell was accordingly returned.

A petition against his return was immediately presented to the House of Commons; but the session was so far advanced, that no decision could be pronounced upon it before parliament was prorogued.

The triumph, which the Association had thus obtained, only urged them to arrange, on the same principle, more extended plans of conquest; for it now appeared that it might be perfectly practicable for them to carry into effect their threat of returning, at their pleasure, all the county members of Ireland. It was to be apprehended that the poor peasantry, who had been drawn away from their natural allegiance to their landlords, might be exposed to severe legal measures at the instance of landlords who, to say nothing of a wish to punish, could have no strong motive for encouraging or cherishing refractory tenants; and the Association was bound equally in policy and in justice to take care, that, while it

was strong to delude, its rabble should not find that it was impotent to protect. One of its first steps, therefore, after the election, was to appoint a committee to attend to the interests of such tenants as should be distrained on for arrears of rent, on account of the votes which they had given. From the funds of the Association money was to be advanced to pay up these arrears, the applicant granting his note jointly with another solvent person for re-payment of the sum within a reasonable time. Its interference, however, was by no means generally required. The landlords did not break out into impatient revenge; they acted wisely in not putting themselves in the wrong; and the evil was of a kind which could not be effectually reached by the ruin or ejection of their present tenantry.

We have mentioned that the act against illegal meetings in Ireland, though introduced and passed for the express purpose of restraining the Catholic Association, as well as the Orange lodges, had never been put into execution against the former body. The agitators themselves boasted that it had only increased their activity—had made them meet almost daily, in place of meeting once a week. The law expired, however, in the month of July; and the Association immediately re-assembled in its original form, to improve the victory which they had just gained. The spirit in which they were resolved to proceed, and the confidence which success had generated, were magnificently displayed in certain resolutions, which they promulgated as the conditions on which alone they would in future allow any member to be returned to parliament. The first thing which they

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required of every candidate was, that he should pledge himself to be an indiscriminate opponent of the ministry of the duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, until the duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel should become Catholic emancipators. The second was, that he should pledge himself to support religious and civil liberty. The third was, that he should pledge himself to procure the repeal of the sub-letting act. This act, which had passed in 1826, had no other object, and could have no other effect, than gradually to improve the condition of the Irish peasantry by restraining that ever multiplying minute division of property, which covered the country with a race of paupers. It provided that a tenant should not have the power of sub-letting without the consent of his landlord, and that he should not have the power of sub-dividing his lands among several persons by a testamentary devise, unless the lease, if subsequent to June 1826, contained authority to sub-let, or, if prior to that date, contained no prohibition of sub-letting. But whatever tended to raise the condition of the peasantry was unfavourable to the dark dominion of the agitators: the peasantry themselves, improvident and thoughtless, could not appreciate the value of prospective comfort; but they felt the inconvenience of present restraint; and the Association prudently joined them in denouncing this measure as an act of calculating cold-blooded oppression. The fourth thing required of every candidate was, that he should pledge himself to support a reform in parliament, but of what kind, and to what extent, was left undetermined. The agitators en-

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acted, that, if any candidate for a seat in parliament should decline to bind himself expressly and formally to the faithful observance of all these conditions, he should be opposed by the men, the influence, and the funds, of the Catholic Association;—and “the Association,” said Mr. Shiel, “is omnipotent.”

Some of these pledges were so utterly extravagant, that it would have been impossible to have found any person mean and mad enough to bind himself to obey the whole code, except men of heated heads and perverted understandings like those who had framed it. In some of the provincial meetings which were subsequently held, the “pledges” were not carried without much animadversion; and attempts, but vain attempts, were made in the Association itself to have them repealed. While they continued to be the standing law of the Association, it could hardly have sought for its candidates among respectable Protestants. Among Catholics, indeed, they might have been found; and the Clare election had proved that even a Catholic might be returned. But when this abuse of the elective franchise was attempted—an abuse, which, if it prospered as the Catholic leaders wished, would only have kept the Irish county representation empty,—what reasonable objection could there have been to an act of parliament, requiring the candidate to take at the hustings the oaths which he assuredly would have to take at the table of the House of Commons? Such a measure would not have imposed any new disability upon the Catholics. It was already the law, that they could not sit in parliament. They might be right, or they might be wrong, in insist-

ing that the law should be altered; but, while such was the law, they were not entitled to demand, that they should be allowed to evade and abuse it.

At the moment when the Association was thus issuing its decrees, it was receiving encouragement to proceed from the fear which its power was unfortunately exciting among its adversaries. The result of the Clare election was matter of grave consideration to all the Irish county members, and especially to those who had been accustomed to vote against emancipation. It was an example which taught them, that all the influence which they might possess, whether from personal merit, or the possession of property, or connections in the state, might be utterly unavailing to secure their return. If the legislature was too impotent to counteract the schemes of this new government, the most prudent course seemed to be to come to terms with these new governors. At a public dinner given in Londonderry, on the 12th of August, (the pledges had been moved in the Association on the 2nd) to celebrate the erection of a monument to commemorate the gallant resistance of the city to James 2nd, Mr. Dawson, one of the county members, was present. This gentleman had always been reckoned among the most violent opponents of the Catholics; he was the brother-in-law of Mr. Peel, the acknowledged head of the anti-Catholic party among the Commons of England; he was himself a minister of the Crown; his language in the House of Commons had invariably breathed more than ordinary vehemence against emancipation; his last speech on the subject had announced firm and decided opposition. He got up

after dinner at Derry, and made a speech; and in that speech he declared that his sentiments were now changed, and that the Association ought to be conciliated by granting the emancipation which they demanded. "The state of Ireland," said he, "is an anomaly in the history of civilized nations. It is true that we have a government to which an outward obedience is shown, which is responsible to parliament, and answerable to God, for the manner of administering its functions; but it is equally true that an immense majority of the people look up, not to the legitimate government, but to an irresponsible and to a self-constituted association, for the administration of the affairs of the country. The peace of Ireland depends not upon the government of the king, but upon the dictation of the Catholic Association. It has defied the government, and trampled upon the law of the land; and it is beyond contradiction, that the same power, which banished a cabinet minister from the representation of his county, because he was a minister of the king, can maintain or disturb the peace of the country just as it suits the caprice or ambition of those who exert it. The same danger impends over every institution established by law. The church enjoys its dignity, and the clergy enjoy their revenues, by the laws of the land; and we know not how soon it may please the Catholic Association to issue its anathemas against the payment of tithes: and what man is hardy enough to say that the Catholic people will disobey its mandates? It depends upon the Catholic Association, no man can deny it, whether the clergy are to receive their incomes or not. The condition of the landlords is

not more consoling: already they have been robbed of their influence over the tenantry—already they are become but mere ciphers on their estates; nay, in many places they are worse than ciphers, they have been forced to become the tools of their domineering masters, the Catholic priesthood; and it depends upon a single breath, a single resolution of the Catholic Association, whether the landlords are to be robbed of their rents or not. So perfect a system of organization was never yet achieved by any body not possessing the legitimate powers of government. It is powerful, it is arrogant, it derides, and it has triumphed over the enactments of the legislature; and it goes on filling its coffers from the voluntary contributions of the people." This was a perfectly fair description of what the Catholic Association had done—of what it had been allowed to do without molestation—of what, to all appearances, it was still to be allowed to do. But it was not so easy to arrive at the conclusion, that nothing remained to the king and legislature but to haul down their colours to this political pirate. Nothing but dire necessity can justify a government in submitting to the ineffable meanness, the irredeemable degradation of striking to so imperious a mandate. In the present instance, the government had not even attempted to fight the ship. While it was proclaimed, as the justification of timidity, that the Association had usurped the powers of government, and was dashing society in pieces, that government, so insulted and condemned, made no one exertion to maintain its own character and functions, to quell the usurper, or to vindicate the authority of the



laws. Mr. Dawson said there was but one alternative, either to crush the Association, or to look at the question with an intention to settle it. The latter was the course which he preferred; the former he did not seem to consider either practicable or advisable.

Mr. Dawson's sentiments were not those of merely a private individual. They were the sentiments of a minister of the crown, of a near relation of the anti-Catholic leader, who would hold no opinions on such a subject different from those of the persons at the head of the ministry. The Catholics, therefore, hailed this inclination to capitulate on the part of one who had been reckoned among their most unyielding opponents, as a signal that the whole garrison would soon be their own. The white flag had been hung out; but, determined to be satisfied with nothing less than a surrender at discretion, they continued to push with vigour the plans which they had begun for organizing the whole island against the government. In almost every county liberal clubs were established, under the direction of the Association, for the purpose of receiving and adopting "the pledges," and drilling the county to be in readiness to act upon them at a moment's warning. Under these, again, were placed parochial clubs, instituted on the same plan, and with similar objects. The organization of these parochial clubs, which came most directly into contact with the people, will be best seen from the circular letter from the county club of Waterford, upon which the parochial clubs of that county were formed. It directs the formation of a club in each parish on the following principles:—

"1. The club to be composed, as much as possible, of the principal gentry, clergy, churchwardens, and such of the respectable farmers as can read, and are able and willing to take a part in such proceedings in their parish. These to form the first members—others to be added afterwards by nomination or ballot.

"2. The club, when so formed, to hold meetings (if possible) once a fortnight, but at all events once a month, in such place and time as they may judge expedient.

"3. These clubs and meetings to have for object the keeping every man in constant readiness for future elections, maintaining the registries, inquiring into and giving information of any persecution of freeholders, &c., and promoting good order, perfect subordination to the laws, political knowledge, and liberal feeling, as much as possible, in the parish.

"4. A report of these particulars, addressed to the secretary, will be expected once in every three months by the county club, and perhaps oftener.

"5. Every club to contribute 3d. a week, and to be thereby entitled to a weekly paper, to be sent down every Saturday for their information. No other contribution to be required."

No organization could be more complete or formidable than this, which was in rapid progress all over Ireland, with the exception of the north. Its principles were adopted moreover by many of the higher classes of society as well as by the lower. In the course of the autumn aggregate meetings, as they were called, were held in the provinces of Leinster and Munster, at which many of the aristocracy attended, and sub-

mitted to receive and confirm the dictated pledges of the Catholic Association. At these meetings, Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Shiel were still the principal performers. They flitted from one part of the country to another, bringing with them the same unvarying tempest of vulgar, brutal abuse against every thing and every person that stood in their way, and every where feasting their vanity by the same self-complacent admiration of their own authority. Feeling that, through the Association, and the system of organization which it had established, they indubitably did possess immense power over the peace of the country, and the movements of the people, and believing, as the impotence of the government justified them in believing, that they had frightened that government into imbecility, they assumed the swaggering airs of absolute dominion; but, instead of exhibiting the calm dignity of rightful and justice-loving monarchs, they behaved with the reckless despotism, the impatience of contradiction, of mere vulgar tyranny. Mr. Hutchinson, one of the members, for having declined to attend the Munster meeting, on the very intelligible ground, that he would not be a party to any measure so extravagant as an indiscriminate opposition to the existing government, because it would not become unanimous on the Catholic question, was visited by Messrs. Shiel and O'Connell with every epithet of abuse, which the long practice, and not very fastidious tastes, of the Hibernian vituperators could supply. The slightest difference of opinion from these vain and impatient demagogues, raised a storm of wrath which vented itself in a

Billingsgate quarrel. From having been so long accustomed to speak only where every man was of their own way of thinking,—where extravagance, therefore, was a merit, and accuracy of thought or of statement would have been cumbersome superfluities—they had lost all sense of moderation in language, and all capacity for fair even-minded thinking. Having met with no contradiction, even from government, they treated it in precisely the same way. They told it, that it was no government; that they were the government, and would direct the people only as to them seemed good, and so as to keep it impotent in peace, and dash it in pieces during war. Mr. Shiel, whose oratory, though not so racy or ready, nor so colloquially vivid as O'Connell's, had generally less of vulgar blackguardism, and much more of rhetorical diction, thus expressed himself at the Munster meeting:—"What has government to dread from our resentment in peace? An answer is supplied by what we actually behold. Does not a tremendous organization extend over the whole island? Have not all the natural bonds, by which men are tied together, been broken and burst asunder? Are not all the relations of society, which exist elsewhere, gone? Has not property lost its influence—has not rank been stripped of the respect which should belong to it, and has not an internal government grown up, which, gradually superseding the legitimate authorities, has armed itself with a complete domination? Is it nothing that the whole body of the clergy are alienated from the state, and that the Catholic gentry, and peasantry, and priesthood are all combined in

one vast confederacy? So much for Catholic indignation, while we are at peace: and when England shall be involved in war——. I pause; it is not necessary that I should discuss that branch of the division, or point to the cloud, which, charged with thunder, is hanging over our heads." The man recoiled from the treason of his own anticipations; he shrouded the fore-runners of audacious rebellion in the darkness of a menacing metaphor.

The plan, however, which the Association had adopted to confirm and extend its power, was, beyond all doubt, excellently fitted to compass the object which it had in view. The government, which the Catholic leaders were insulting and superseding, seemed determined not to measure its strength with them, and allowed them to proceed undisturbed until they had moulded the whole Catholic population into one mighty mass, which, in so far as that government was concerned, was animated by a common spirit of opposition, and of whose energies they were the sole, the uncontrolled, and the daring directors. Their next object was, to put an end to the petty dissensions which prevailed among their own adherents. In many parts of Ireland, especially in the south, and, above all, in the county of Tipperary, these dissensions, originating often from no assignable cause, and never from any other source than some petty quarrel, or some imaginary affront, had occasioned a great proportion of the habitual crime for which Ireland was notorious. These small factions, under such designations, as, hens and magpies, shanavests and caravats, Padeen Gars and

Moll Doyles, and a hundred other vulgar party appellations, had been in use to wage war against each other, like so many feudal barons. At fairs, and on saints' days, they broke each other's heads or bones; occasional defeat they revenged by deliberate arson and murder; they were incessantly coming in contact with the police; their habits of life were riot and bloodshed, and systematic disregard of the law. Neither the merely civil police, nor an armed police, nor the more stern provisions of Insurrection acts, had been able to free the country from the confusion in which they delighted, or secure to it the peaceful industry of well-constituted society. Religion was not concerned here; these disturbances were not the struggles of the many against the exclusive rights and franchises of the few: in the warfare of these lawless factions it was Catholic against Catholic. The Association employed its influence in exterminating them. To have achieved a task to which the regular government, even when vested with extraordinary powers, had been found unequal, would not merely be flattering to its pride; that would be a result which would prove strikingly the extent of its substantial authority with the people, the control which it held over the public peace, and its inclination to employ that control for beneficial purposes. It was desirable, likewise, for the objects of the Association itself, that the multitudes, whom it was to devote to one great purpose, should not be divided by mortal quarrels and habitual dissensions. The united and harmonious body which it might thus create, was, no doubt, an instrument which it might employ

in open outrage and rebellion against the state, as easily as they could bring its members to throw off their allegiance to their landlords; but, agitating and despotic as was the conduct of the Catholic leaders, and extravagant and dangerous as was their language, when poured into the willing ears of ignorant, prejudiced, and excited men, it would be uncandid to assert that they had any design of goading their creatures to actual insurrection, or that they would have been pleased to have seen their angry passions voluntarily venting themselves in that direction. They often spoke of such a result as a possible thing; for they were not unwilling that the government should have the fear of it before its eyes, and should regard themselves as the only security against a civil war. By their labours and their orations, too, they had raised a spirit, which, at any moment, on any incidental unexpected occurrence, might assume the form of open rebellion, and which all their conjurations would be unable to lay. But their guilt went no further; they neither intended to be traitors themselves, nor to encourage others to become traitors, *so long as Britain* was not involved in war. They had accumulated combustibles in every recess of society, which a chance spark might set in a blaze; but they had no intention to apply the match, and were satisfied with impressing upon their enemies the conviction that they might apply it, and envelope society in flames, whenever it might seem good unto them so to do. But whatever the motives of the Association might be, its exhortations, and the influence of its popular leaders, succeeded in reconciling the factions,

whose feuds had so long broken up the peace of the country. Throughout the counties of Cork, Clare, Limerick, and Tipperary, these sworn enemies assembled, not for discord and bloodshed, but to lay down their dissensions and animosities, and to engage to live in future like countrymen and brothers. The consequence was, that those districts of Ireland, which had become almost proverbial for scenes of violence and murder, exhibited a degree of order and tranquillity to which they had long been strangers. The best proof of the fact was, that the judges of the circuit had the rare happiness of congratulating the magistrates, in almost every county, on the small number of crimes, and the absence of great atrocity in those which appeared to have been committed.

Of this improvement in the state of the country the Association took the credit to itself,—and it was entitled to do so; but the power by which it was enabled to accomplish the good work, rested on a state of mind in the people, which threatened mischief in another direction. It had deprived the factions of all animosity against each other; but it had done so by concentrating all the animosity, that their active and heated minds could feel, against the established government and the existing laws. It had put an end to their quarrels with hostile equals; but it had done so by calling them to unite against haughty superiors and personal oppressors. It had weaned them from lawless and disorderly assemblages for the accomplishment of private illegal purposes; but it had drilled and organized them into a combined body, to be directed to the attainment of one great national purpose. It was unnatural and irrational to

imagine that the Irish peasantry, thus banded and trained, would lay down their habits of action, because one channel had been shut against them, at the very moment when another was opened to them, more inviting and imposing. Acted upon every day by the incendiary language of the orators of the Association, denouncing both their opponents and the government as oppressive and blood-thirsty persecutors, who were withholding from them the first and dearest rights of a citizen, the peasant of Tipperary, little accustomed to reflect, but accustomed to act; and to hold every mode of action lawful which carried him forward to his object, whatever the statute book or the bench might say to the contrary, could never believe that he was to resist these opponents and that government only by his vote;—that he was to seek these valued rights, and regain the dignity of a man only by petitioning and canvassing—that these tyrannous oppressors, whom he scarcely heard spoken of as men, were to be attacked only through the poll book of the returning officer, when all his habits told him that his rifle and his pike were the just and effectual means of avenging an insignificant insult on even an insignificant equal in the next barony,—and that all the skilful organization of clubs and contributions, of which he formed a part, was to end in bringing him to the hustings, once in seven years, to vote against his landlord. He might be brought so to conduct himself by moral authority, and that the Association possessed; but it was not the direction which his feelings and his actions would naturally take of themselves. Accordingly, the peasantry of the south, instead of falling quietly

back into the ranks of society, continued to assemble in larger bodies than ever; they assumed a more military appearance, and displayed a more perfect organization than before. They were marshalled at their places of rendezvous, and marched across the country, in regular bodies of horse and foot, varying in numbers from five hundred to two thousand men, dressed frequently in uniform, and accompanied by music. In general they were not armed, or arms at least were not visible. O'Connell had declared at the Munster meeting, shortly before, that there were some arms in the county of Tipperary which he would make the peasantry give up—an engagement which he subsequently proved unwilling or unable to fulfil—and he had stated at the Clare election, as a symptom of the diseased state of the country, that he had found even a boy drilling his young companions, and teaching them watchwords of political bitterness. Moreover, the immediate want of arms is at best but a sorry and temporary security, when the minds of the turbulent are at the point where *furor arma ministrat*. These military assemblages seemed to have only one object. They threw the public mind into a state of the highest alarm. Every day might deluge the south of Ireland in blood: even the Catholic clergy began to feel apprehensive of the consequences of the spirit which they had been so active in exciting, and of the union of men accustomed to lawless habits which they boasted of having accomplished. All reasonable men asked, why this display of physical force? why these uniforms? why these marchings in military array? why these divisions of infantry and cavalry? whence

the funds by which so many hundred men are clothed in a distinguishing uniform? and where the authority which directs the application of funds so appropriated? Every where there was suspicion, agitation, and alarm. As yet there had been no actual breach of the peace.

This was the state of things in the south, and more especially in Tipperary, at the end of August, and, in the meantime, a new element of confusion and excitement had been introduced by the exertions which the conduct and the language of the Association unavoidably called forth on the part of their opponents. While the Catholics were organizing the whole country as an instrument for the execution of their plans, it was neither natural nor just to expect, that the Protestants, who considered the success of these plans to threaten the destruction of the constitution, as well as direct injury to themselves, should adopt no measures to counteract them. To have opposed mere individual exertion to the combined resources which the Association had brought into play, would have been futile. The government had allowed that Association to stride on in its mischievous and alarming course without question or rebuke; and the Protestants set about providing for their interests, by adopting some of the expedients which the Catholics had found so effectual. The Orange lodges had ceased to exist, under the act of parliament which had been directed equally against them and against the Catholic Association. The latter had continued to act, in a somewhat different disguise, in defiance of the law; and no sooner, as we have seen, had the act expired in July, than the Association

reassumed its ancient form. Forthwith the Orange lodges, too, were revived; and the grand Orange lodge in Dublin was again opened, to be a centre for the re-union of the provincial bodies. In addition to these associations, new bodies were formed in various parts of the country, but particularly in Dublin, and Ulster, under the name of Brunswick clubs. On the rolls of these clubs were found the names of many of the Protestant aristocracy, and the most influential classes of society. They established a Protestant rent, in imitation of the Catholic rent of the Association: and were, in their general construction, counterparts of the county clubs which had sprung up on the other side of the question under the auspices of Mr. O'Connell. It was melancholy to see the inhabitants of a country, which was believed by the rest of the world to be placed under the control of a regular government, thus marshalled against each other, breaking up society into clubs and associations for the more extended indulgence of mutual animosity; but yet nothing could be more ridiculously unjust than the vituperation, which not merely the Catholic Association and its subordinate fraternities heaped upon the Brunswick clubs, but which made its appearance likewise in Britain, and was repeated in high places. The Protestants may have been wrong in opposing Catholic emancipation; that is matter of opinion: but assuredly they no more transgressed the duties of good subjects in opposing it, than did the Catholics in demanding it. When Mr. O'Connell, who existed only by the Association, who had covered the country with associations, and who boasted of agitation as his professed

object, raved wildly against Protestant associations as being illegal in themselves, and dangerous to the tranquillity of the public, he was only to be laughed at for his absurdity. But what right had any member of a government, which, so far as its conduct could speak, approved of every thing which O'Connell had done for popery, to reprobate its subjects for the very same things when done by Protestants in defence of the established religion of the country? Occasionally, it is true, violent and thoughtless language was uttered at the Protestant meetings, as well as in the Association; but it was not the latter, nor the friends of the latter, who could be entitled to call in question any human being for using wild, and extravagant, and abusive words. Yet, while the Catholics were allowed to pursue their course unmolested, it was gravely stated, that the Protestant societies should be put down, and all Protestants deprived of the right to carry arms. Reports were industriously propagated, that the Orange societies and Brunswick clubs were employing their "rent" in purchasing arms, and had imported large quantities from Scotland into the north of Ireland. Looking at the organization into which the Catholics had been drilled, and the alarming and military garb which it immediately assumed, it would not have been wonderful, if what was imputed to the Protestants had been true. It is the nature of civil animosity, that each party dreads more evil from its adversary than was ever intended. The story, however, was a foolish lie, invented for the purpose of producing a belief that the savage Protestants were preparing for offensive war, while the mild

and humble heroes of the Catholic Association were proceeding quietly to their object only along the broad and recognized paths of the constitution.

The Protestant Associations were most powerful in the north, as the Catholic Association was the prevailing authority in the south; and in the former, therefore the organization of the Catholics proceeded more slowly. The Association sent forth one of its orators, a Mr. Lawless, as the apostle of agitation, to excite and to encourage the northern counties. The demagogue travelled from parish to parish, assembling the people in crowds in the Catholic chapels, and there addressing to them the usual incentives to steady animosity against their fellow countrymen. The country, which he was visiting, was the strong-hold of Protestantism; all around him were the Protestant clubs; yet the vain and heartless declaimer never allowed himself to be deterred from his mischievous enterprise by any apprehension of the consequences which might arise from bringing into contact tumultuous assemblages so bitterly envenomed against each other. He boasted of having entered Protestant towns, such as Collon, at the head of twenty or thirty thousand Catholics; he never thought of the impression which must be produced on the Protestants, by such a triumph of their unrelenting and abusive enemies. The magistrates in these parts had more prudence; they warned the people against joining in his tumultuous processions, or attending his agitating assemblies; they entreated the man himself to give up his mischievous crusade. If Mr. Lawless really believed that it was in human nature for the Protestants

to be tranquil witnesses of these daily ovations, in which they were held up to the contempt and abhorrence of the country, he was a fool, unfit to be trusted with any thing in which the interests of other people were concerned. If he was wise enough to know that the Protestants, already banded for resistance, would not so submit, and was yet wicked enough to risk all the consequences of angry collision, for the sake of feeding his paltry vanity by receiving the shouts of miserable mobs, and narrating in his despatches to the Association, "his splendid and sublime proceedings," in making vapid speeches to a few thousand men, women, and children, then he was an unprincipled gambler in rebellion. Those consequences followed, which every rational being had foreseen. He proclaimed before-hand the day on which he was to make his triumphal entry into this town or into that, at the head of his legions: forthwith the Protestants mustered and prepared to meet him on the same arena. He was to take possession, as he himself once termed it, of the town of Armagh on the 30th September, but, on the morning of that day, the Protestants, many of them armed, marched into the city from all parts of the county. Mr. Lawless advanced no farther, and the Protestants quietly dispersed. He announced his intention of entering Ballybay, in the county of Monaghan, and he marched upon it at the head, according to his own account, of two hundred and fifty thousand Catholics.\* If his retinue was one

tenth of that number, it was more than enough for every purpose of insult, intimidation, and mischief. The Protestants, however, having expressed their determination to assemble at the same time, several of the inhabitants proceeded to the county town, and called a meeting of magistrates, before whom affidavits were made relative to the intended procession. The magistrates forwarded the affidavits, together with their opinions on the subject, to the general commanding in the district, who, immediately after their perusal, proceeded to Monaghan, and arrived at Ballybay on the morning of the intended entry. On Mr. Lawless's arrival in the vicinity of the town and accompanied, too, by his promised force, the general, and one of the local magistrates, met him, and stated what the result would be, should he persevere in entering Ballybay. He was prevailed upon not to enter the town, and returned to Carrickmacross to await further orders from the Association. Some of his followers, however, were less prudent. The animosity, which provokes opposition, is itself aggravated by the appearance of that opposition. A scuffle took place between the parties, and a Catholic was killed. The more moderate and sensible of that body in the districts, into which the march of the Catholic apostle had thus brought confusion, were now convinced that his obstinate perseverance would only lead to more calamitous consequences. He declared that he would visit "all the strong-holds of the Orangemen," and it was plain to all the world, that the Orangemen would not allow these tumultuous and insulting visits to be made without opposition. The sturdy and inde-

\* This was the number which Mr. Lawless himself stated in his despatches to the Association. He added, that he "galloped up the hills followed by fifty thousand people, and all the clergy".



pendent Protestants of the north, the majority holding religious opinions peculiarly calculated to generate that spirit that arouses at coercion or intimidation, and long accustomed to a moral and physical superiority—the consequence of competence, industry, and intelligence,—could ill brook dictation and were not disposed to yield to the argument from numbers.

Thus, by the end of September, the Catholics in the south had assumed a form of military organization which excited alarm throughout the whole country; and, in the north, the attempt to establish a similar system, had roused their opponents to the adoption of similar measures, and prepared the two parties for a collision the result of which it was impossible to foresee. The Association began to fear that they had gone too far. In the south they had excited a temper which it might not be in their power to control; in the north they had created opposition, and successful opposition, where they had hoped to impose silence, by producing dismay: they had driven the Protestant spirit of resistance into an organized form. We have already said, that the Catholic leaders assuredly had no wish or intention to have the question, in present circumstances, decided by force. Insurrection, they knew, would be their ruin. They boasted, indeed, that, if the Catholics and Protestants of Ireland were left to fight it out alone, “the might of the Catholic people would crush the Orangemen into dust;” but they were probably aware that, even in Ireland, nearly all the property and all the intelligence of the country were with their opponents; and they had at least sense to see, that, in such a

quarrel, Protestant Great Britain would certainly interfere, “and in a week,” said Mr. Shiel, “they would cut us down.” The Association, therefore, had no wish, that the peasantry in the south of Ireland should still continue in a state which threatened insurrection at every moment, and would become the more difficult to be managed, the longer it was permitted to exist: neither could they shut their eyes to the fact, that the state which they had thus produced, while it alarmed and disgusted their Protestant friends, strengthened, and, amid the torpor, of government, justified, the vigilance and determination of their Protestant enemies. There was much truth in Mr. Shiel’s description of the state of the country in a speech delivered in the Association, evidently with the view of preparing its wildest members for the necessity of occasionally using their power to purposes of politic peace. The Catholics, he said, had attained the perfection of national organization and popular discipline. “They have almost reached the excellence of military array. But an immense population thus united, thus affiliated, thus controlled, in such a state of complete subordination, affords matter of the most solemn meditation. A feeling of expectation has begun to manifest itself among the people. They put painful questions, and awful interrogatories. But if the state of the Catholics be deserving of attention, that of the Protestants calls also for remark. It is in vain for us to hide it from ourselves. The Protestants are every day becoming more alienated by our display of power. The great proprietors, and all men who have an interest in the security of the state,

are anxious for the settlement of the question ; but still their pride is wounded, and they see with some disrelish the attitude of just equality which we have assumed. Our Protestant advocates, with a few exceptions, declined the invitation to join in our late proceedings. As individuals, I hold them in no sort of account ; but I look upon their absence as a feature in the existing circumstances of the country. It is clear that the division between Catholic and Protestant is widening. They were before parted, but they are now rent asunder ; and while the Catholic Association rises up from the indignant passions of one great body of the community, the " Brunswick Club " is springing out of the irritated pride and the sectarian rancour of the Protestants of Ireland. The Catholic Association owes its political parentage to heavy wrong, operating on deeply sensitive and strongly susceptible feelings. Oppression has engendered it. The Protestant Association has its birth in the hereditary love of power, and inveterate habits of domination ; and thus two great rivals are brought into political existence, and enter the lists against each other. As yet they have not engaged in the great struggle—they have not closed in the combat ; but, as they advance upon each other, and collect their might, it is easy to discern the terrible passions by which they are influenced, and the fell determination with which they rush to the encounter. MEANWHILE, THE GOVERNMENT STAND BY, AND THE MINISTER FOLDS HIS ARMS AS IF HE WERE A MERE INDIFFERENT OBSERVER, AND THE TERRIFIC CONTEST ONLY AFFORDED HIM A SPECTACLE FOR THE AMUSEMENT OF HIS OFFICIAL

LEISURE. HE SITS, AS IF TWO GLADIATORS WERE CROSSING THEIR SWORDS FOR HIS RECREATION. THE CABINET SEEMS TO BE LITTLE BETTER THAN A BOX IN AN AMPHITHEATRE, FROM WHENCE HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS MAY SURVEY THE BUSINESS OF BLOOD. This, then, is the state of things : —There are three parties concerned—the Catholics, the Protestants, and the Government ; the Catholics advance upon one hand, the Protestants upon the other and the Government, by whom both ought to be controlled, looks passively on." These views were, in the main, perfectly just.

The events which accompanied the mission of Mr. Lawless to the north in the month of September only strengthened the conviction of the Association, that the chances were every day increasing of violent collision, in which they could not fail to be losers. The government was still blind and dumb. It seemed to court opportunities of shewing to the world, how completely it had transferred its powers to the Catholic Association ; and it was fortunate for the empire, that the policy of the Association was on the side of peace. It adopted, on the 26th September, the following resolutions :

1. That while we warmly congratulate the people of Tipperary upon the happy cessation of their feuds, we implore them to discontinue the holding of assemblies of the peculiar character which have recently taken place.
2. That we humbly entreat the Catholic clergy to co-operate with the Association in carrying the above resolution into effect.
3. That Daniel O'Connell, to whose influence the pacification of Tipperary should be referred, is hereby called upon to

employ his powerful and deserved authority in deterring the people of Tipperary from the holding of such meetings, in an address to be printed and circulated at the expense of the Association. 4. That it be referred to the standing committee to report, whether it be, or may become expedient, that a deputation shall be sent to Tipperary, and suggest such other measures as shall be deemed advisable, in order to dissuade the people from holding such meetings.

Mr. O'Connell, accordingly, published an address to the people of the county of Tipperary conjuring them to abstain from the useless and alarming assemblages in which they had lately been indulging. "Obey the laws," said he to them, "follow the advice of the Catholic Association, listen to the counsels I give you,—discontinue, I know you will discontinue, those large meetings—avoid secret societies and illegal oaths—contribute, according to your means, to that sacred and national fund, the Catholic rent—cultivate your moral duties—attend seriously and solemnly to your holy and divine religion. You will thus exalt yourselves as men and as Christians. Bigotry and oppression will wither from amongst us. A parental government, now held out to us, will compensate for centuries of misrule. I adjure you all, by the sacred duty you owe your country, and by the sanctified duty you owe your religion, not to hold any meeting, and, however great your irritation, not to commit any breach of the peace, which is just the very thing by which your enemies would be delighted, and which would rive the hearts of your friends with unutterable agony." \*

\* In this address, Mr. O'Connell un-

This address, which, in the usual style of the Catholic orators, described the Protestants to the peasantry as being mere "blood-hounds," produced the result which had been intended. It arrived in Tipperary on the eve of a day which had been fixed for the assembling of many large bodies of men from different parts of the country. It was immediately disseminated with great activity throughout the county. The parish priests, who shared in the alarm of the Association, enforced its directions from their altars, and the danger was prevented. Divisions of a thousand or fifteen hundred men, marching in uniform to the place of rendezvous, in ignorance of what had happened, were met on their way by a copy

folded a plan which he had in his head for the moral organization of the people, provision having been already made for arranging them effectively in political combinations. "I would divide the people," said he, "for all political, moral, and religious purposes, into numbers not exceeding one hundred and twenty. These one hundred and twenty should elect amongst themselves a person to take charge of the whole, under the name of a 'Pacifactor.' No man to be a 'pacifactor' but a man regular in his religious duties, and at least a monthly communicant. The 'pacifactor' to have power to nominate two persons, to be called 'Regulators,' under him; and the three to be responsible that no crime or outrage, or violation of the law, should be committed by any of the one hundred and twenty. On the contrary, that they should assist in the preservation of the peace—in the prevention of all crimes—in the suppression of all illegal societies—in the collection of the Catholic rent, and in all other useful, legal, and honest purposes. It would be a part of my plan, that the name and residence of each 'pacifactor' should be transmitted to every neighbouring magistrate and police station, and advertised in the newspapers, and enrolled in the books of the Catholic Association."

of the address, and instantly retracted their steps in peace. Others, who had actually assembled, immediately separated and departed quietly to their homes. Although the numbers amounted, according to the Catholic accounts, to fifty thousand men, and had put themselves to no small expense in flags, standards, music, and uniform equipments, so soon as the Association gave the nod, and Daniel O'Connell pronounced the word, they submitted without a murmur or complaint. Only at one spot was there any public disturbance: at Castle-town, in the county of Tipperary, the police interfered with one of these numerous processions which was parading through the town on a Sunday, with music playing, and colours flying. The peasantry at first retired; but returning in greater numbers, they attacked and destroyed the barracks, compelling the police to seek safety in flight.

These things happened in the last days of September. When all was over, forth came at last, on the 1st October, a proclamation from the Lord-lieutenant, enjoining that to be done which the Catholic Association had already done for him. This was the first symptom of returning life which the government exhibited, after so long a period of suspended animation. The proclamation described the convocations of the lieges, which had been held in various parts of the country, as being what they truly were, illegal and alarming, "consisting of persons both on foot and on horseback, coming together from various and distant parts and places, acting in concert, and under the command of leaders, assuming the appearance of military array and discipline, or exhibiting other marks

and symbols of illegal concert and union, to the great danger of the public peace, and to the well-founded terror and dread of his majesty's peaceable and well-disposed subjects;" and therefore it prohibited all persons from holding or attending any such meetings, and directed all magistrates to take measures for their effectual dispersion and suppression. The proclamation found scarcely any thing on which to operate; the assemblies had disappeared at the word of the Association, before the Lord-lieutenant of Ireland ventured to call them in question. Its only effect was, to confirm Mr. Lawless in his resolution to proceed no farther in his mission to the north, where he had already been checked by the precautions of the magistrates, and by the remonstrances of the Catholics themselves.\* The

\* Three weeks after this, Mr. Lawless was apprehended and held to bail on a warrant charging him with "having been present at, and actively engaged in promoting and forwarding, a meeting of a large multitude of persons unlawfully assembled near Ballibay, on 22 September, in the county of Monaghan, in a manner calculated to endanger the public peace and tranquillity, to tend to the violation of the law, and to excite terror, alarm, and consternation, amongst his Majesty's peaceable subjects residing at and in the neighbourhood of said place; and by the appearance and conduct of which meeting, great apprehension and terror were caused and created in the minds of divers of the said subjects,"—"and with having, along with divers other persons, previously to the said assembly, combined and agreed together to form the said assembly and other assemblies of the like nature, for the purpose of creating terror and alarm, and opposing and terrifying certain classes of his majesty's subjects, and thereby exposing to hazard the public peace." No ulterior proceedings were adopted. The arrest was supposed to have been occasioned by the intemperance of his subsequent conduct.

tumultuous meetings in the south had been existing for some time; they were as illegal at first as they were now; instead of being crushed at the outset, they had been allowed to grow up into a strength and an union which alarmed even O'Connell and Shiel. Assuredly it was no ordinary degree of Catholic agitation which could fill their minds with alarm, and subdue them to the necessity of abstaining from the display of their power: yet their mandate was issued, and had produced its effect, before the Irish government could see cause or muster courage, to utter a word. It seemed as if the executive of the country did not dare to call on the Catholics to obey the laws, until the Association had consented to prepare that obedience for it before hand. At a provincial meeting of Leinster, held in October,

On his return to Dublin, he added to his former indiscretions, by denouncing the Lord-lieutenant's proclamation, or rather the object of it, as unlawful; and boasted that, in defiance of the official remonstrances, he was ready to recommence his turbulent circuit, if the Catholics would authorize him to undertake such a measure. Before the Ballibay meeting, which was assigned as the ground of Mr. Lawless's arrest, the Catholics had become sensible of the imprudences into which he was daily falling, and the consequences of which must necessarily re-act upon themselves, and the great cause committed to them by their country. The chiefs of the Association had therefore forwarded to Mr. Lawless an earnest, though private, or at least not official, entreaty, that he would desist from an enterprise which had been so conducted as to exasperate their enemies, and to alarm the most reflecting and useful of their friends, both Protestant and Catholic. It was natural enough that they should be unwilling to wound a zealous and very vain partisan, by administering direct reproof or openly dismissing him from an office, which, such as it was, was the only thing that gave him personal consideration.

to adopt the pledges of the Association, Mr. O'Connell said, "we had taken care to render Tipperary so peaceable and tranquil, that a single police-man was scarcely required to preserve the public peace. In one instance a serjeant of police offered a wanton insult to a meeting of the peasantry, and the consequence was, that they tore down the Police Barrack. The Catholic Association, fearing that similar insults might be offered, and that they would be followed by similar effects, appealed to the people of Tipperary to cease from such assemblages, and they at once obeyed its injunction. Then the proclamation of the government was issued, but we had quieted the country before it came forth, and the government but heel-tapped the work, which had been already performed by the Catholic Association." It was impossible to deny, that the Association had organized the people of Ireland into a form which enabled it to render them dangerous to any government, and that it swayed the mind of that people with despotic authority. There was an *imperium in imperio*; but there was so, because the government of Ireland and of the United Kingdom seemed to have abdicated all its powers either to punish or to protect.

The alarm, which had been excited by these tumultuary proceedings was not confined to Ireland. The opponents of Catholic emancipation in England joined in the apprehension that government had already sunk, or was about to sink, before the well-organized power of the Catholics; and they thought it right to call for a public expression of the opinion of Great Britain, on a question which con-

cerned the constitution of the whole empire. The example was set by the county of Kent. In pursuance of a requisition signed by many persons of influence in the county, a meeting of the freeholders and yeomanry was held on Pennenden Heath, on the 24th of October. It was the most numerous public meeting that had assembled in England for many years: twenty thousand persons were said to have been present. Such meetings are fitted to express nothing but tumultuous determination; there can be no weighing of argument, no discussion of facts or principles. But they are a perfectly legitimate mode of expressing opinion, whatever may be the weight to which that opinion is entitled. The leaders and speakers, too, of this assembly, were very different from the noisy demagogues whose effusions had brought disgrace on public meetings. They were men of education, of rank, of public character. Both Cobbett and Hunt endeavoured to thrust themselves in; but they were not allowed to be heard. The earl of Winchilsea, and sir E. Knatchbull, one of the county members, supported the petition proposed for the adoption of the meeting, which merely prayed the House of Commons to preserve the Protestant constitution of the united kingdom inviolable, and, of course, in the minds at least of the petitioners, not to throw open the high places of that constitution to Roman Catholics.\* No counter-motion was

made directly favouring the demands of the Catholics, but it was moved, that it ought to be left entirely to his majesty's government to propose such measures as they might think proper for the pacification of Ireland, and the general benefit of the kingdom. This motion was supported by earl Camden, earl Darnley, the earl of Radnor, and lord Teynham; but the petition was carried by a great majority.

The English friends of the Catholics immediately grew wild in their abuse; they spoke of the Pennenden Heath meeting as revolutionary, and talked unutterable nonsense about the wickedness of attempting to control government by such meetings and votes. Had it terminated the other way, these very men would have lauded it as a magnificent and temperate display of constitutional action. Was the question, whether Catholics should be admitted to political power, one on which ministers alone were fitted and qualified to decide? Assuredly not. It involved the weightiest interests of every man in the kingdom its Protestant opponents held, that the constitution itself was at stake. If ever there was a

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express to your honourable House their sense of the blessings they enjoy under the Protestant constitution of these kingdoms, as settled at the Revolution.

"Viewing with the deepest regret the proceedings which have for a long time been carrying on in Ireland, your petitioners feel themselves imperatively called upon to declare their strong and inviolable attachment to those Protestant principles which have proved to be the best security for the civil and religious liberty of these kingdoms.

"They therefore approach your honourable House, humbly, but earnestly, praying that the Protestant constitution of the united kingdom may be preserved entire and inviolable."

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\* The petition was in the following words:—

"To the honourable the House of Commons, &c.

"The humble petition of the undersigned freeholders of the county of Kent.

"That your petitioners beg leave to

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doubtful topic on which every part of the people was bound and entitled to make its voice be heard, it was that which had been submitted to the freeholders of Kent.

The example was followed in some other parts of England. Brunswick or constitutional clubs were formed in Leeds, in Leicester, and, under the patronage of the marquis of Chandos, in the county of Buckingham. But they displayed no activity; they cherished no "agitation;" they left scarcely a trace behind them. The people of England trusted, that, so long as the duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel were the leading ministers of the country, no disposition would be manifested to truckle to the Catholic Association: they believed that they themselves might sleep secure, while these sentinels, to whose often-repeated and often-tried professions of fidelity they had confided the constitution, were at their post; of pusillanimity or apostacy they entertained no suspicion. They knew, moreover, that, if any measure which they disliked should be proposed, then was the time to raise the public voice against it; and, therefore, they very wisely showed little disposition to encourage associations which would have made in England, as they had done in Ireland, political dissension the business and the bitterness of daily life.

The Catholic Association continued its sittings in Dublin, and closed the year in the same furious and insulting temper in which it had begun it. Its tone was now more confident and determined than ever; and certainly the victory which it had gained in Clare—the control which it had been able to exercise over the public—the symptoms of yielding timidity

which it had elicited from some of its most stubborn adversaries—and the impotence into which it seemed to have terrified and seduced the Irish government,—would have given boldness to men much less vain and confident. They now declared that they had the game in their own hands, and that ministers would be worse than mad to oppose them: for, at the very latest, so soon as the next general election should arrive, they would return to parliament, by the aid of the forty-shilling freeholders, at least seventy members, pledged to oppose every measure, till emancipation should be granted. They resolved, therefore, that they would listen to no proposal—would enter into no negotiation—regarding securities. They would take the Oath of Allegiance; but no other security would they allow to be imposed; every offer of emancipation, which should come clogged with conditions, they would indignantly reject; that is, they would exercise their authority, as they had exercised it already, until the conditions should be dispensed with. "The detailed, paltry question of political discount," said Mr. O'Connell, "shall not be listened to. We despise, we condemn it. We degraded ourselves by such a traffic before; and it would be double delinquency to assent to it again. I therefore want that we should pledge ourselves to have unqualified emancipation or nothing at all. I don't care if the government bring in a bill for our relief unconnected with any existing privileges. We will take any thing they give us. They owe us 28s. in the pound. Let them give us 15s. in the pound; we will proceed against them for the remainder. We'll take the instalment, and demand the residue with

greater earnestness. I'll not object to any bill for our emancipation, if it were only to look at it: for, since the abominable Union, we have not gotten the least increase of our rights. I am not, therefore, opposed to partial relief; all I say is, that I shall oppose any bargain, or absurd securities, with all my force." This determination led to a quarrel between the Association and the Catholic body of England. The latter had expressed their willingness to entertain the question of securities; and the Association resolved to have no further connexion with them, till they should abandon the damnable heresy, that, where much is asked, it may often be prudent—to say nothing of its being necessary—to give something.

Deep and often repeated, above all, were the vows of the Association to resist, even unto the death, any attempt to disfranchise the forty-shilling freeholders. That was a measure, which would have reached to its very vitals, and consigned it to its original insignificance. Nothing, therefore, did the agitators more dread; and they dreaded it the more from knowing that it was not the first time it had been proposed; for, in 1825, O'Connell himself had agreed to sacrifice the freeholders. More than once he had publicly declared his contrition for that act of backsliding; and had staked his life that he would never sin again. To him and his compeers the events of the year had infinitely increased the value of these squalid electors: it was only now they had learned the monstrous power of the instrument of which they had made themselves masters, as well as their own ability to wield it at pleasure for evil or for good. Solemnly, there-

fore, did they swear that they would listen to no proposal—that they would accept of no conditions, which were to trench on the rights of the *forties*—as they were now proverbially called; boldly did they declare, that any such attempt would be treason, and that they would resist it, not merely with their speeches in the Association, and their petitions in parliament, but with their blood in the field, and with their heads on the scaffold. The Association unanimously passed a resolution (Dec. 16) "That they would deem any attempt to deprive the forty-shilling freeholders of their franchise, a direct violation of the constitution." Mr. Shiel had said of it, that the duke of Wellington could not adopt a plan more calculated to throw the country into a blaze than this atrocious attempt at spoliating the rights of the Irish people. "I trust he will not pursue this course; but if he should, I tell him, we would rather submit for ever to the pressure of the paricidal code, which crushed our fathers to the grave, than assent to this robbery of a generous peasantry's privileges." O'Connell, probably from the feeling which renders a man, who knows that his sincerity is doubted, doubly vehement in his protestations, had bound himself over and over again by engagements which no sophistry could untie, and which, all mankind would have thought, not even his effrontery would ever dare to burst asunder. He seemed anxiously to shut himself out, for the future, from every avenue to escape or evasion. When he was twitted at the Clare election with having surrendered the *forties* in 1825, he admitted the justice of the reproach, declaring that he had long



since been convinced and ashamed of his error, and that "he would rather die" than again agree to give them up. After the election, he said in the Association, "In England, the people threw off the tyrant James, in 1688, because he dared to infringe on their liberty of conscience, and they deserved the blessing of God for it. I will say, then, that, if any man dare to bring in a bill for the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders, the people ought to rebel, if they cannot otherwise succeed." On the 19th of November, when he moved that the Association should suspend its connection with the English Catholics, until the latter should declare themselves against securities, he said, "I, myself, may be taunted with consenting to the measures called the 'Wings,' in 1825. I know that I deserve that reproach; and I answer to those who assail me, that the only way in which I can atone for that error is, by a firm and determined opposition to any encroachments hereafter. Sooner than give up the forty-shilling freeholders, I would rather go back to the penal code. They form part of the constitution: their right is as sacred as that of the king to his throne; and it would be treason against the people to attempt to disfranchise them. I am loyal to the throne, and my dispositions and my interest combine to produce in my mind an attachment to the ruling powers; but if an attempt were made to take from the forty-shilling freeholders the privileges vested in them by the constitution, I would conceive it just to resist that attempt with force, and in such resistance I would be ready to perish in the field, or on the scaffold." If there was any meaning in words

—if any faith was to be reposed in solemn asseverations, and formal solutions,—the British government was to encounter avowed treason, and daring, open rebellion, if it should attempt to interfere with the subjects of its rival government, the Catholic Association. The seditious harangues of the demagogues were allowed to pass unnoticed. It may have been wise to do so. In a government which had manifested its power to command and to control in more substantial matters, it would have been wise to do so. But on the present occasion, impunity was ascribed to impotence; for the government, instead of controlling and commanding, had allowed itself to be insulted, defied, and superseded by this very Association.

On the 4th of December, Dr. Curtis, the titular Catholic primate of Ireland, had written a letter to the duke of Wellington regarding the state of the country, and the importance of settling the question of emancipation, if concord was to be restored. The Doctor had held a high office in the University of Salamanca, when the duke commanded in Spain, and was said to have rendered important services to the army. A long intimacy had entitled Dr. Curtis to correspond with the duke of Wellington on matters which the Catholic primate could scarcely have intruded on the notice of the first Lord of the Treasury; but that very circumstance inferred the impropriety of exhibiting to the public such communications as might pass between them. His grace answered the doctor's letter on the 11th of December, in the following terms: "My dear Sir—I have received your letter of the 4th instant, and I assure you that you do me jus-

tice in believing that I am sincerely anxious to witness the settlement of the Roman Catholic Question, which, by benefitting the state, would confer a benefit on every individual belonging to it. But I confess, that I see no prospect of such a settlement.—Party has been mixed up with the consideration of the question to such a degree, and such violence pervades every discussion of it, that it is impossible to expect to prevail upon men to consider it dispassionately. If we could bury it in oblivion for a short time, and employ that time diligently in the consideration of its difficulties on all sides (for they are very great), I should not despair of seeing a satisfactory remedy." This communication, whatever might be its import, assuredly was never intended for the public. A copy of it, however, was furnished to Mr. O'Connell, and Mr. O'Connell forthwith carried it to the Association, where it was received with loud plaudits, as a declaration by the minister, that he was now favourable to the Catholic claims, and was ordered to be recorded in their minutes. It was not easy to see how this conclusion could be deduced from his grace's avowal, that "he saw no prospect of a settlement" of the question, that any hope of such a settlement must be preceded by a temporary oblivion, which the Catholics declared themselves to be determined should never exist, and by a cessation of that party violence and "agitation," in which the Catholics swore that they would live, and move, and have their being. Such a meaning, however, the Catholic leaders did affix to it, and this belief naturally added to their confidence and their exultation. But this was trifling, compared

with the mischief which followed. Dr. Curtis had replied to his grace's letter in a long epistle, in which he told him plainly, that the proposal to "bury the question in oblivion" for a time, was totally inadmissible, and would only exasperate in the highest degree those who were already too much excited. He next thought fit to transmit a copy of the duke's letter, and of this his answer to it, to the marquis of Anglesea, the Lord-lieutenant; and the Lord-lieutenant thought fit immediately to convey to Dr. Curtis his sentiments and advice on the matter—sentiments in direct opposition to those of the head of the government which he represented; and advice which counselled the continuance of Catholic agitation in the country, in which it was his sacred duty to countenance nothing which could be injurious to the public peace. "Your letter," said the marquis, "gives me information on a subject of the highest interest. I did not know the precise sentiments of the duke of Wellington upon the present state of the Catholic question." If the Lord-lieutenant of Ireland was really ignorant of the views of the minister, and believed these views to be wavering and unsettled, it might go far to account for the torpor which seemed to have seized the government, while the Association was striding on to the consolidation of its mischievous power. But lord Anglesea could only mean, that no communication had been made to him on the subject. Now, he knew that the duke of Wellington had spoken and voted, in this very session of parliament, against the motion for considering the Catholic claims. If no change of sentiment had been communicated to him,

why did he suppose that any change had taken place? And if a change had been communicated to him, how could he have been ignorant of what sentiments were entertained? Setting out with this unfortunate phrase, the marquis gave the Catholics a great deal of very proper advice—to make much of the duke, to avoid provoking him or any body else by personalities, to trust to the legislature, and never to think of using brute force.\*

\* The following is the Marquis's letter, dated 23rd December.

"Most Reverend Sir,—I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd, covering that which you received from the duke of Wellington, of the 11th instant, together with a copy of your answer to it.—I thank you for the confidence you have reposed in me.—Your letter gives me information upon a subject of the highest interest. I did not know the precise sentiments of the duke of Wellington upon the present state of the Catholic question.

"Knowing it, I shall venture to offer my opinion upon the course that it behoves the Catholics to pursue.

"Perfectly convinced that the final and cordial settlement of this great question can alone give peace, harmony, and prosperity to *all* classes of his Majesty's subjects in this kingdom, I must acknowledge my disappointment on learning that there is no prospect of its being effected during the ensuing Session of Parliament. I, however, derive some consolation from observing, that his Grace is not wholly adverse to the measure; for if he can be induced to promote it, he, of all men, will have the greatest facility in carrying it into effect.

"If I am correct in this opinion, it is obviously most important that the duke of Wellington should be propitiated; that no obstacle that can by possibility be avoided should be thrown in his way; that all personal and offensive insinuations should be suppressed; and that ample allowance should be made for the difficulties of his situation.

"Difficult it certainly is, for he has to overcome the very strong prejudices, and the interested motives of many persons of the highest influence, as well as to

"But," said he; "I differ from the opinion of the duke, that an attempt should be made to 'bury in oblivion' the question for a short

allay the real alarms of many of the more ignorant Protestants.

"I differ from the opinion of the duke, that an attempt should be made to 'bury in oblivion' the question for a short time. First, because the thing is utterly impossible; and next, if the thing were possible, I fear that advantage might be taken of the pause, by representing it as a panic achieved by the late violent reaction, and by proclaiming, that if the government at once and peremptorily decided against concession, the Catholics would cease to agitate, and then all the miseries of the last years of Ireland will be to be re-acted.

"What I do recommend is, that the measure should not be for a moment lost sight of—that anxiety should continue to be manifested—that all constitutional (in contradistinction to merely legal) means should be resorted to, to forward the cause; but that, at the same time, the most patient forbearance—the most submissive obedience to the laws, should be inculcated; that no personal and offensive language should be held towards those who oppose the claims.

"Personality offers no advantage—it effects no good; on the contrary, it offends, and confirms predisposed aversion. Let the Catholic trust to the justice of his cause—to the growing liberality of mankind. Unfortunately, he has lost some friends, and fortified his enemies, within the last six months, by unmeasured and unnecessary violence. He will soonest recover from the present stagnation of his fortunes by showing more temper, and by trusting to the legislature for redress.

"Brute force, he should be assured, can effect nothing.—It is the legislature that must decide this great question; and my greatest anxiety is, that it should be met by the Parliament under the most favourable circumstances, and that the opposers of Catholic emancipation shall be disarmed by the patient forbearance, as well as by the unwearied perseverance of its advocates.

"My warm anxiety to promote the general interests of this country is the motive that has induced me to give an opinion, and to offer advice."

time. First, because the thing is utterly impossible; and next, if the thing were possible, I fear that advantage might be taken of the pause, by representing it as a panic achieved by the late violent reaction, and by proclaiming, that, if the government at once and peremptorily decided against concession, the Catholics would cease to agitate, and then all the miseries of the last years of Ireland will be to be reacted." Who would not imagine, on reading this, that he was reading a speech of Mr. O'Connell, or some other confidential adviser of the Catholic body? The advice may be sound, politic advice, for furthering the views of a party; but are not the words the words of a privy counsellor of the Catholic Association, rather than of a privy counsellor of the king of Great Britain? Setting aside altogether the opposition, in which the Lord-lieutenant thus placed himself, to the declared wishes and sentiments of the head of the government, was it consistent with his duty, or with the dignity of his office, to point out to any body of men, the system of party tactics which they ought to adopt?

It was bad enough that the head of the Irish government should have given such advice to the Catholic primate even privately; but it is difficult to imagine, that any man, writing to Dr. Curtis on Catholic politics, with the fate of the duke of Wellington's letter fresh before his eyes, could write under the belief that his communications were not to be made public. The marquis of Anglesea's letter was immediately carried to the Association. There it was hailed as another triumph of their irre-

sistible power, and as a new motive to do what they were already resolved to do, "not to lose sight of the question for a moment"—to continue to agitate. Resolutions were unanimously adopted, extolling "the manliness and political sagacity" of the Lord-lieutenant in terms as extravagantly adulatory, as the language, in which the very same men had denounced him as an object of execration but three years before, had been brutal and unsparing. The incense of party-flattery diffused its fumes round the marquis of Anglesea;—and the next wind that blew from England brought the mandate which deprived him of his office, and recalled him from Ireland. He quitted Dublin in the following January, and was succeeded by the duke of Northumberland.

His recall furnished him with an excellent example of the value set on the advice which he had tendered to the Catholics, to avoid all personal abuse, and, most especially, not to insult and vilify the duke of Wellington. The Association had resolved, that it could not better testify its high sense of his virtues and merits "than by following his advice." Therefore, at the first meeting after his recall was known, O'Connell exclaimed, "In my own knowledge of Irish history, and I believe I know Ireland's history well, I never heard any thing so monstrously absurd, as the recall of this gallant and high-minded man. The duke of Wellington said, he would be worse than mad, if he became Premier. He is, therefore, a self-convicted madman; and yet, gracious heaven, he continues the insane pilot who directs our almost tottering state."

## CHAP. VII.

FRANCE.—*Sketch of the new Ministry—State of parties—First acts of the Ministry—Commission to investigate the Establishments of the Jesuits—Meeting of the Chambers—King's Speech—Complaints of mal-practices by the late Ministry in Elections—The Liberals carry the Election of the President, and of the Committee to prepare the Address—The two remaining Members of the late Administration resign—The Chamber votes an Address condemning the late Ministry.—The King's Answer to the Address—Proposition to impeach M. Villèle entertained, and sent to a Committee—Conduct of the new Ministers—The Committee report that there is ground to impeach Villèle for Treason and Peculation—Farther proceedings postponed till next Session—Motion for the Restoration of the National Guard—Bill for securing the right of Election—Bill to abolish the Censorship and establish the Liberty of the Press—The Commission appointed to investigate the legality of the Jesuit Establishments reports in their favour—The Government, notwithstanding the report, suppresses them—Memorial of the Clergy against the Suppression—Finance—Trade—The Navy—Difficulties of the Ministry—The Adherents of the late Administration are dismissed from the Council of State, and Liberals admitted—Dismissal of prefects of Departments—Foreign relations.*

WE concluded our account of the events in France, during the last year, with the expulsion of M. Villèle and his principal colleagues from the ministry. They had fallen in consequence of having lent themselves to the designs of the court, and of the church, instead of consulting the growing spirit and intelligence of the nation. Many good measures which they had carried through, and the favour of the court, for which they had attempted and executed many bad ones, could not support them against the general impression, that neither civil nor religious liberty was safe in their hands. They had been ousted by the result of a general election,

even when conducted under their own control: it was, therefore, a very decided expression of the public voice which had pronounced their condemnation, while the audacity, with which they and their creatures had abused or evaded the law, to turn the elections in their own favour, added bitterness to the animosity of their opponents, added to their shame, without saving them from defeat.

The new ministers, forced upon the king by this triumph of the liberal party, were men of moderate principles, and of not more than moderate talent. They were not supported by weighty aristocratic connection; they did not enjoy the favour of the king, who

submitted to them only as a necessary evil. M. Roy, the minister of finance, and president of the council, had been originally an advocate, but had acquired by other pursuits an immense fortune. From the commencement of his political career he had displayed very considerable financial talent. He had occupied the place of M. de Villèle immediately before the formation of the late cabinet—had distinguished himself by a strenuous and effectual resistance to M. de Villèle's plan of the three per cents—and had professed principles, both in office and opposition, which were not calculated to inspire any alarm respecting the course which he might now pursue. M. de Ferronnays, to whom were entrusted the seals of the foreign office, had been, for a long time, the French ambassador in Russia, and had passed the greatest part of his youth abroad, following, in the capacity of Gentleman of the Chamber, the various fortunes of the duke de Berry. He was a person of popular appearance and address, and of undoubted probity, and was generally thought to be attached to liberal and constitutional principles. M. de Martignac, the new minister of the interior, the son of a celebrated advocate of Bordeaux, had begun to make himself known, before that city had acquired its extraordinary claims on the gratitude of the reigning family by its conduct on the 12th of March, 1814. He had been successively a Deputy to the Chamber, the King's Commissioner in Spain, Grand Cross of the Order of Charles 3rd, Minister of State, and Director General of the Customs. He possessed considerable talents, was distinguished for elegance and amiable manners in society, and

displayed in the Chamber a clear and copious eloquence. His conduct; however, during the last session, in which he had adhered to M. de Villèle through good and through bad report, compared with the station to which he was now called in a ministry formed on the ruin of M. Villèle's principles, did not evince much steadiness of conduct; and the liberals would have been better pleased to have seen his office filled by a man who had been less intimate with the ultra politics of the late cabinet. To Peyronnet, who, as Keeper of the Seals, had rendered himself more hated than any other member of the dissolved cabinet, succeeded M. Portalis, a peer, and one of the Presidents of the court of Cassation. Enjoying an hereditary claim to consideration from the talents and virtues of his father, he had gained public confidence by his enmity to the Jesuits, and by his report, in the previous session, on the petition which count Montlosier had addressed to the Chamber of Peers against these religionists. Being a man of enlightened mind and liberal principles, his aversion to the Jesuits was not likely to compromise the impartiality of his administration; while the excellence of his private character, and the respectability of his family, formed a striking contrast with the morals and connexions of his predecessor. At the head of the department of commerce, a branch of administration, which was now established for the first time, was placed M. de Saint Cricq. He had been, for several years, Director General of the Customs, had displayed a respectable degree of acquaintance with the details and interests of French trade in the reports, which, in that capacity, he had annually

presented to the Chambers; and, although not suspected of any profound acquaintance with the true principles of economics, he was held to be favourable upon the whole to the more liberal maxims of the modern code, and to be no obstinate or prejudiced admirer of prohibitions and protections.

The new ministers were thus far removed from being the representatives of ultra-liberalism, and they retained amongst them a much greater quantity of the material of the old ministry than was agreeable to the party who had raised them to power. The king had yielded to public opinion no farther than necessity compelled him. M. de Chabrol, who was generally believed to have constructed the new ministry, retained his office as Minister of Marine. He had been unwilling to separate himself from his former colleagues; but his probity and talents for business induced the king to refuse his resignation, though repeatedly tendered, and to command the continuance of his services. It was thought that he would find himself better placed in a cabinet formed at his own recommendation, than among his former associates, with several of whom he could not sympathise. Fraysinous, too, who, under the former ministry, had been a steady friend of the Jesuits, in an office which gave him peculiar means of favouring their narrow schemes, still remained at the head of ecclesiastical affairs. His influence, however, was diminished by the department of Public Instruction being now severed from his office, and placed under the superintendence of an independent functionary. The newly-created office, along with that of Grand Master of the Univer-

sity, was given to M. de Vatismenil, one of the six Advocates General of the court of Cassation, where his great accomplishments as a lawyer had recommended him to the notice of M. de Portalis. His appointment, however, gave great offence to the liberals; for M. de Vatismenil had supported the laws against sacrilege, and the liberty of the press; he was believed to be an ultra in his religious tenets, a serf of the Jesuits, a member of that congregation, the faintest shadow of which threatened, in their eyes, darkness and desolation to the liberties of France. But their fears or their prejudices were soon dispelled. The new Grand Master of the University, immediately after his nomination, addressed a circular letter, a sort of pastoral charge, to the rectors of all colleges and academies in the kingdom, unfolding to them his general views on the subject of education, which instantly turned the tide in his favour, and drew forth the applauses of the irritable liberals themselves.\* It was free

\* The following is a copy of this document:—

Circular of the Grand Master of the University to the Rectors of Colleges or Academies.

"Sir,—The office, which the king has deigned to confer upon me, must establish between you and me important relations. In announcing to you how much I congratulate myself upon it, I seize the opportunity to lay before you my notions on the principles which ought to direct the teaching body.

Religion and morality are the first bases of all good education. It is of importance that this truth should be constantly present to the minds of men employed in public instruction. It is of importance likewise, that, in their conduct towards those of their pupils who profess a religion different from theirs, they should never forget what the charter, the laws of the kingdom, and the

from prejudice, bigotry, and intolerance. It inculcated on teachers a due sense of the conduct, which the laws, that protected liberty of conscience, required from them towards pupils of a different religious persuasion from their own; it frankly acknowledged the value of constitutional liberty, and particularly recommended historical studies as a mean of training the youth of France in just ideas of their political rights and political duties. It insisted on the paramount necessity of cultivating elementary instruction, and extending equal encouragement and protection to every mode of teaching by which that great object might be for-

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statutes of the Universities, prescribe concerning liberty of conscience and the authority of parents.

"Love for their legitimate princes is an innate sentiment of Frenchmen, but this sentiment is strengthened and developed by an education well directed, and above all by sound historical studies, which teach youth all that France owes to her kings. In following the chain of ages, they see issuing from the same source, although at immense intervals, the emancipation of the communes, the establishment of regular independent justice, the wise and strong measures which have preserved the liberties of the Gallican church, and finally the constitutional charter, which has closed, according to the saying of its august author, the abyss of revolutions. It is by the joint consideration of these benefits, the last of which has surpassed all the rest, that our pupils will learn what ought to be the extent of their gratitude, that their hearts will unite in the same sentiment of love for their king and country, and that their minds will comprehend the happy alliance of monarchical principles and national liberties. Faithful subjects and enlightened citizens, obedience to the laws will become easy, and they will be convinced that in learning to fulfil their duties they will show themselves worthy of exercising their rights.

"Classical instruction has arrived in

warded. It contained not one word which could be deemed hostile to rational freedom, or favourable to the exclusive views of the Jesuits and the priesthood. These sentiments, thus publicly expressed, reconciled the liberals to the new functionary, and drew a distinct line between the existing ministry and their predecessors.

It would have been strange, indeed, if the infant cabinet had allowed itself to be induced, even by the urgencies of the court, to take a step, at its very outset, which would have given the liberals the inclination, as they now possessed the power, to break it in pieces. Even with all their good intentions, and their earnest desire to avoid the exaggerations of both

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France to a satisfactory degree of advancement. By continuing to employ the same efforts, and to pursue the same paths, we shall obtain new improvements. I reckon in this respect upon the zeal, of which you have not ceased to give honourable pledges: but I think it my duty to call your particular attention to elementary instruction. Over a great part of the kingdom the state of such instruction leaves a great deal to be desired. In order to propagate it, I shall employ all the means in my power. The government of the king owes an equal protection to the different modes of elementary teaching, whose utility is admitted. All will receive encouragement from it. Not only does instruction procure for the labouring classes more happiness and comfort, but it renders them more religious, more moral, and more quiet.

"In all administrations, but perhaps more in that with which I am charged than in any other, it is necessary to maintain legal order. My intention is, to attempt its maintenance in all points, and without restriction. I am convinced that I shall find in you a frank and unreserved co-operation, and I shall be happy to lay before the king the proof of your zeal, and the result of your efforts. Accept, &c."



parties, the situation of the ministers was attended with so much doubt and difficulty, that their resignation or dismissal was expected in the salons of Paris, almost before they had been well seated in office. They had not been the leaders of any powerful faction: they did not bring to the support of their ministry any number of devoted adherents. Their personal influence was not felt in either chamber, nor firmly rooted in any party. They had to solicit support, instead of receiving it as homage; they had to conquer or seduce the chambers, before they could be sure of a majority. On the one hand, they had not been the choice of the king, and he did not feel towards them cordiality or confidence. They appeared to him in the ungracious light of instruments by which the popular majority of the chamber, who had displaced his favourites, were to govern and constrain him. At every turn, therefore, they found themselves opposed in the royal closet by old principles and opinions, to which they could not bend without losing their consistency and risking their power,—which they could not utterly and openly resist without breaking with the king and the whole party of the displaced ministers—and with which they were thus compelled to make a compromise that was disagreeable to many of both parties. Though the principles of M. de Villèle's ministry were directly opposed to the majority who had driven him from office, he was not willing that his adherents should assist the new ministry in becoming independent of that majority. Some of his colleagues and some of his creatures still continued in office; the royal wishes, and the in-

fluence of the priesthood, were in his favour. If the ministry could be exhibited in a weak, wavering, and dependent condition, or compelled to throw itself into the arms of the dreaded liberals, he did not despair of being a gainer by the confusion. The batch of peers, which, by one of the most disgraceful acts of his ministry, he had introduced into the Upper-Chamber, as a desperate resource to maintain his tottering power, shared the hopes of their political creator. His adherents in the chamber of deputies were more willing to foster discontent between the ministry and the liberals, and to stand aloof to take advantage of the quarrel and make their importance be felt, than to lend their aid in consolidating the government. M. de Villèle himself had wished to remain among the deputies; it was there that his talent and his tactics could be most efficiently employed; and he had bargained, it was said, with M. de Chabrol, who brought together the new ministry, and continued in office himself, that he should not be invalidated by receiving a peerage. But M. Roy was unwilling that so able an antagonist should remain in the chamber of deputies; and M. de Villèle was forced to accept of an unwelcome honour which he could not refuse.

On the other hand, the liberals, who had been the means of displacing the old ministry, had many grounds of complaint against its successors; and not the least of them was the very necessity which these circumstances imposed upon the cabinet of acting with caution, perhaps with timidity, in order to avoid an open breach with the king and the court party. The liberals, in the intoxication of their

triumph, had reckoned upon a radical and thorough change, which would call to office the decided leaders of their own party—not an alteration which merely diluted a strong remnant of the old ultraism by the infusion of a certain quantity of lukewarm moderation. The present ministers, they said, could not be trusted, for they had taken office without any fixed system, and without stipulating for the observance of any certain principles. That they had not cast off the influence of the court and the priests, was proved, it was said, by the fact, that they had retained in office not only the ministers of Marine and Ecclesiastical affairs, who had shared all the iniquities of the former cabinet, but even Franchet and Delavaux, the director-general and prefect of the police, who had been the most unpopular instruments of their mischievous system. If the ministry wished to deserve and secure the confidence of the chamber, they ought to break off all connection with allies whom the chamber had denounced and defeated as enemies of the public weal. They ought to cleanse every corner of office even from the dregs of the suspected faction, and unite themselves at once, frankly and decidedly, with the majority which had thrown the government open to their approach.

Amid these discordant views, without any commanding influence of its own, placed under the necessity of conciliating, so far as might be practicable, the moderate men of both parties, but with the hope, too, that it might effect that object by good faith, and firm, though moderate, conduct, the ministry felt itself called upon to meet the chambers. Its previous

acts had not been inconsistent with what the present state of public opinion expected from it. M. Hyde de Neuville had been deprived by the former minister of his pension as ambassador, and M. Michaud of the office of reader to the king, on account of their opposition, in the preceding session, to the law for the regulation of the press: the new ministers restored the one to his pension, and the other to his place. M. de Villemain, for the same reason, had been deprived of the office of *maitre des requêtes*: his appointment was now again tendered to him; but he declined the acceptance of it on the ground, that he had no confidence in the principles or the stability of his new patrons. Legendre, too, again received the pension, which had been taken from him, for political reasons by M. de Corbieres, the late minister of the interior. The ministry knew that their views of foreign policy would not bring them into collision with public opinion; and they were aware, that, in domestic policy, their conduct regarding education and the exclusive views of the churchmen, would be the standard, by which, in the first instance, public opinion would try them. It was known that the priests and the Jesuits were struggling and intriguing to acquire the absolute control of education, as the most effectual of all means to secure the revival of ecclesiastical domination. Jealousy of these attempts, and an ardent determination to resist them, was widely diffused: “no Jesuitism” was as awakening a cry in France, as “no popery” used to be in Britain. The ministers, therefore, prudently determined to give a distinct intimation of the line of

conduct which they intended to pursue on this subject of popular excitation. The circular of M. de Vatismenil, considered as a manifesto of their principles, and of the creed of the minister under whose superintendence the seminaries of education had been placed, commanded the public approbation, and inspired general confidence. But they went further. As we have recorded in our annals of last year, a petition had been presented to the Chamber of Peers by count Montlosier, complaining of the Jesuitical establishments in France, as being contrary to law, and implying, therefore, the illegality of the ecclesiastical seminaries which they had brought under their control. The Chamber of Peers, in defiance of the ministry, had appointed a commission to examine the grounds of his petition (of which the present keeper of the seals was the chairman), and this commission recommended the subject to the attention of the executive government. The late ministers, having defended the Jesuits during the discussion of the petition, and having resisted the recommendation of the commission by their speeches and their votes, were not likely to give it much attention after the debate had terminated; and they accordingly did nothing. M. Portalis now fulfilled, as minister, the pledge which he had given as reporter of the commission. On the 20th of January he presented to the king a report on the state of what was called the "Secondary Ecclesiastical Schools"—those to which the Jesuits had principally devoted their attention, and over which they had most extensively established their influence. The report was a recommendation of inquiry,

founded on very vague propositions, which were almost truisms, and might have been made the foundation of any thing. But it was enough that inquiry should be made; for the system of the exclusive party had always been to decry investigation as revolutionary and irreligious. "These establishments," said the keeper of the seals, "ought to harmonize with our political legislation, and the maxims of the public law of France. They are connected, at the same time, with the sacred rights of religion, with those of the throne, with the paternal and domestic authority, and the religious liberty guaranteed by the charter: they cannot be prepared with too much maturity, since they are not foreign to any of the principal interests of the country. That they may be so prepared, with full and entire knowledge of the subject, your ministers, sire, have thought that it was useful and fitting, that the state of the facts should be ascertained, that they should be compared with the laws, and that the regulations, acknowledged to be indispensable for the maintenance of the legal regime, should be submitted to a previous and thorough examination, before they are laid before your council for discussion, and before your majesty for approbation: they have thought that this important mission should naturally be confided to men, more particularly pointed out to your majesty's choice by their rank, their situation, and their knowledge." A commission of inquiry was accordingly named. The commissioners were, the Archbishop of Paris, who was made president; viscount Laine, baron Seguier, and baron Mounier, peers; M. Alexis Noailles, M. de la Bour-

donnaye, and M. Dupin, members of the Chamber of Deputies; the bishop of Beauvais; and M. de Courville, member of the council of the University of France. This commission consisted of men of all opinions. Some of them had already declared themselves against, and others in favour of, the Jesuits; while the opinions of some had been less decidedly pronounced.

On the 5th of February, the king opened the first session of the new Chamber. He delivered the following speech:—

“Gentlemen,—It is always with the same satisfaction that I see you assembled about my throne, and that I come to lay before you the situation of France.

“My relations with the powers of Europe continue to be amicable and satisfactory. The affairs of the east alone offer some difficulties; but the treaty which I have signed with the king of England and the emperor of Russia has laid the foundation of the pacification of Greece; and I have still reason to hope, that the efforts of my allies and my own will overcome, without the employment of force, the resistance of the Ottoman Porte.

“The unforeseen combat at Navarino has been at once an occasion to give glory to our arms, and the most striking pledge of union of the three flags.

“The Peninsula has long been the cause of sacrifices to us: they are drawing to a conclusion. Spain, being secure upon its frontiers, perseveringly exerts herself in order to stifle in her bosom the deplorable germs of civil discord. Every thing indicates that I shall very soon be able, in concert with the king my nephew, to restore my soldiers to their country, and to

relieve my people from a severe burden.

“A rigorous blockade, which will not terminate till the day on which I shall have received the satisfaction which is due to me, restrains and punishes Algiers, and protects French commerce.

“On distant shores, and under the uncertain sway of infant governments, our flag has experienced some acts of aggression; but I have ordered just indemnity to be required, and have prescribed measures which will henceforth protect the fortune of my subjects from all injury.

“If I am thus able, gentlemen, to look with satisfaction upon our external affairs, the internal situation of my kingdom does not afford me fewer grounds of security.

“You will perceive, by the documents which will be laid before you, that, if the produce of the several taxes has undergone some diminution, the sources of public wealth have not experienced any durable alteration. Extraordinary circumstances have led to an excessive expenditure, for which it will be necessary to provide. I have ordered my ministers to lay the particulars of them before you, and have enjoined them to have constantly in view a strict and judicious economy.

“I have called my son to take part in the military promotions. The army will see in this new arrangement the most decided proof of my good-will towards it.

“The progressive development of commerce and manufactures, which are the glory of pacific states, has increased their wants, and calls for more numerous channels for the disposal of their produce. I have resolved that a minister, appointed for their interest,

shall be specially charged to propose to me every thing that may be calculated to second their continually increasing activity.

"However intimate the connexion may be which should exist between religion and the education of mankind, public instruction and ecclesiastical affairs have appeared to me to require a separate direction, and I have accordingly ordered them to be divided.

"Desiring to consolidate more and more in my dominions the charter which was granted by my brother, and which I have sworn to maintain, I shall take care that measures be pursued with wisdom and mature deliberation, to make our legislation harmonize with it.

"Some important questions of public administration have been pointed out to my attention. Being convinced that the real strength of thrones, under the Divine protection, is in the observance of the laws, I have ordered these questions to be thoroughly investigated, that the discussion of them may make manifest the truth, which is the first want of Princes and of people.

"Gentlemen, the happiness of France is the object of all my wishes and of all my thoughts. To secure it, I shall know how to maintain the strong and tutelary authority which belongs to my crown. I rely also, gentlemen, I rely greatly, on the assistance of your wisdom, and the harmony of your sentiments. The voice of your king calling for the union of men of worth cannot find here any but hearts disposed to hear and to answer it."

The first sittings of the chamber of deputies were occupied in verifying the powers of the members. These investigations brought under

its notice the illegal practices to which the late ministry had resorted to influence the returns, and furnished the first opportunities for letting forth the wrath of the deputies against its misdeeds. Several deputies, aware of the manner in which their elections had been carried, surrendered their seats without a struggle, rather than expose their patrons by an inquiry. A baron Duhay, who had been returned by some unjustifiable manœuvre for the *arrondissement* of Tournon, in the department of the Ardeche, seeing that he could not maintain his seat on an investigation of the means by which he obtained it, took the prudent step of sending in his resignation. He assigned two reasons for this surrender of his legislative functions,—namely, the state of his health, and *the want of gratitude in his constituents*. These ungrateful constituents were the petitioners against his election; and their ingratitude consisted in their having consequently declared, by their petition, that he was not duly elected. From the Report on the election for the department of the Charente it appeared that the prefect, just as the election was about to commence, ordered a letter to be put into the hands of the President of the College, requesting the electors not to confer their suffrages on the liberal candidate, as he was not possessed of the requisite income for a deputy, and as his return would thus render necessary a new election. This letter was generally condemned, the new Minister of the Interior not daring to defend the Prefect, but endeavouring only to excuse, in some degree, his offence. More serious and unblushing was the interference with the freedom of

election which had taken place in the arrondissement of Quincamp, in the department of the North. The prefect of that department, resolved to carry the election in favour of the late ministry, by directing the whole influence of government on poor or dependent electors, had addressed a menacing circular to every man who held an office, or enjoyed a favour, from government. In this circular he told them "that the first condition of representative government is, that all public functionaries, to whatever branch of administration they belong, owe to government not only their votes, but their exertions and influence, and that, if they are free as individuals, they cannot refuse their co-operation when required by government, at the elections, without separating themselves from it, and placing it under the necessity of renouncing them." The means, which the President of the Electoral College had taken to enforce this threat, were equally flagitious. In France the elections are conducted by ballot. From the centralization of the powers of government, and the want of corporate bodies, or of municipal and local authorities, such a mode of taking the votes of the electoral colleges may be a necessary condition of an independent choice. The friends of freedom, therefore, lay great stress on that secret voting which the law ordains. But while the prefect, in this case, had threatened every government officer with dismissal, who should give a suffrage in favour of an opposition candidate, the President of the College, to make the threat effectual, had violated the secrecy of the electoral urn. Another case presented a scene of a very different kind,—a member voluntarily of-

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fering to give up his seat without necessity, and submit himself to the test of a new election. This was a M. Mousnier-Buisson, whose returns had been petitioned against on the ground that two of the electors who had voted for him were not duly qualified. The consideration of the question had been adjourned; and, during the interval, representations were sent up from his department, which, on the renewed discussion of the validity of his election, determined the chamber to decide in his favour. In the course, however, of this renewed discussion the electors were still charged with voting on a forged qualification, though it was acknowledged on all hands that the deputy was not privy to the forgery. His delicacy, however, not allowing him to exercise his legislative functions under such circumstances, he wrote a letter to the President of the Chamber, tendering the resignation of his seat, on the ground that the legality of his election had been doubted, and offering to appeal a second time to the electoral college for a confirmation of its first choice. The members of the right side, to which he belonged, thought this an overstrained delicacy, and one of them moved that his resignation should not be accepted. Any member, it was allowed, might resign, without assigning a motive for his conduct; but if he ascribed his tender of resignation to the delicacy of a conscience wounded by calumny, the Chamber had a right to interfere, and to relieve him from the consequences of scruples by which his honour was rendered only more conspicuous and indisputable. Besides, if honourable men, were to resign because their constituents misrepresented

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their conduct or disputed their return, the deputies would be at the mercy of the least worthy electors. After considerable discussion, the Chamber decided that M. Mousnier-Buisson's resignation should be accepted without any reference to the motives on which it was tendered.

These inquiries were naturally employed as a test by which to ascertain how the present ministry stood affected towards the purity of the law of election, and they were not found wanting. They made no defence of detected trickery; they professed their willingness to lend their cordial assistance in discovering and punishing mal-practices; and the frankness and *loyauté* of their conduct began already to give them popularity on their own account. "We come not," said M. de Martignac, "to demand protection for fraud, nor the means of working for our own benefit electoral rights. Like you, we are the sworn enemies of fraud, falsehood, and illegality. We shall combat them under whatever colours they make their appearance. This is a resolution in which we are irrevocably fixed." Four of the prefects, whose conduct had been most glaring, were dismissed; sixteen others were removed into different departments from those in which their questionable proceedings had taken place. The new elections which took place in consequence of returns having been found void, terminated generally in favour of the popular party.

The next important occupation of the Deputies, and the first trial of strength between the parties, was the election of the President of the Chamber. The ultra-Royalists had been announcing confidently that they still commanded a

majority in the new assembly, and that their power would be shewn in raising one of their leaders to the chair. M. Ravez, an able and distinguished orator, had occupied it for several sessions, and as he united the interest of M. de Villèle's party to that of the right side, he was considered the candidate most likely to succeed. By its regulations, the Chamber of Deputies presents the names of five candidates for the Presidency to His Majesty, who selects one of them. On this occasion the state of the votes was as follows:—For M. Delalot, 212; for M. Hyde de Neuville, 206; for M. Royer Collard, 189; for M. Gautier, 189; for M. Cassimir Perrier, 180. The former President, M. Ravez, had only 167 suffrages, and M. de la Bourdonnaye only 154. The two first deputies M. Delalot, and M. Hyde de Neuville, had formerly belonged to the extreme right, but had now joined the constitutional party. The three next had always been constitutionalists. M. de la Bourdonnaye, had violently opposed Villèle in the preceding Session, but had since made his peace with him. The result of this election proved that the enemies of M. Villèle's policy would rule the chamber by an overwhelming majority; and that the union—scarcely a natural union—of a fraction of the extreme right or royalist side, with the whole of the left, or liberal side, which, at the general election had driven him from office, was still continued to keep him out.

Of the five members whose names the Chamber thus sends up to the king as candidates for the Presidency, his majesty commonly selects the one which stands highest on the list. On the present oc-

casian, the new ministry made a further and large advance in public confidence, by advising his majesty to depart from the ordinary course, and select M. Royer Collard, whose name stood only third. That gentleman had long been distinguished among the most able and respectable of the liberal deputies. His nomination, like the result of the election in the chamber, was hailed with shouts of triumph by the popular party. It shewed the ministry to be trust-worthy, because it shewed that they had the inclination to advise, and weight and firmness to carry through, a proceeding, which, on many accounts, must have been distasteful to the court.

The same influence predominated in framing the commission appointed to draw up the address in answer to the king's speech. Of nine members of whom it consisted, only two or three could be suspected of any desire to spare the errors or the sins of the defunct administration. That any portion of that administration should yet remain in office, and at the head of departments, was still the great fault which the popular party objected to the new ministry. There was reason to believe that the latter, now confident in its strength, eager to gain, while it had the ascendant, every advantage within its reach, and anxious to bring the cabinet, by the ejection, of the remnants of the old one which it still contained, into a more complete dependence upon itself, would employ its preponderance in the chamber to purify the government from every taint of the defeated faction. To avoid a more direct attack, M. Chabrol and M. Frayssinous gave in their resignations. The former, who was a

worthy man and an able minister, was succeeded, as minister of the Marine, by M. Hyde de Neuville, a newly-made constitutionalist, who had distinguished himself on some former occasions by very extravagant tirades against England. M. Frayssinous was succeeded, in the department of ecclesiastical affairs, by M. Feutrier, bishop of Beauvais, a prelate of respectable and tolerant character—a protégé of Napoleon's uncle, cardinal Fesch. This change was a very useful event for the ministry, and had been brought about in the way least calculated to embarrass them. They must have felt, that, in the temper which the majority of the chamber had manifested, these legacies of the Villèle administration hung upon them like leaden weights, preventing them from rising in public opinion, and attaching suspicion to the general character of their government. But yet it would have been embarrassing and ungracious to have insisted on their dismissal, supported as they were by the king and the court party; and worthy, as they had been acknowledged to be, to act as the colleagues of the new ministers. As it was, their expulsion had the appearance of being the act of the chambers—and their resignation, submission to a necessity, which they, and their colleagues, and his majesty, might all regret, but could not control. The liberals, however, were still dissatisfied; for neither of the vacancies had been filled up from their side of the Chamber. They had allowed that they had got better men than those who had gone out; but they complained that they had not yet got the best, or the right men.

The address was an echo of the

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royal speech with the exception of one topic, which was not to be looked for in the latter, but which the Chamber was determined to force upon his majesty's notice in the former. The ministry had necessarily abstained from putting into the king's mouth any allusion to the result of the general election, or the change which had taken place among his counsellors. The majority, however, who had achieved that change, resolved to pass a vote of censure, at least, against his favourite minister, by introducing into the answer to the address a formal condemnation of the policy which he had pursued. The commission, after five days debate, reported in favour of an address, which contained the following paragraph directed against the late ministry:—"The complaints of France expressed our repugnance to the deplorable system which rendered illusory the promises of the king." Nothing could bring into more direct collision the party which, for seven years, had governed the state, and the new champions whom the electoral colleges had deputed to overthrow it. A keen, angry, and violent debate forthwith began, and was continued during four days. All turned on the word "deplorable." The liberals refused to be satisfied with any expression of less decided censure; and a large body of the royalists resisted the employment of a term, which, they said, though professedly directed against a disgraced ministry, might pass beyond ministerial responsibility, and reach the throne itself. The king was believed to have caused it to be generally made known, that he had a personal repugnance to such language, and that he would

conceive himself affronted by hearing such a description of his recent government. Nothing could, in such circumstances, be more embarrassing to his present servants. Those of them, who were deputies, were obliged either to condemn their predecessors, in disobedience to the will of their master, or to acquit them and be left in a minority.—In the course of the debates they preserved a prudent silence, which was interrupted only by an oration from the keeper of the seals, and some observations from the minister of the interior. They seemed to have no power to moderate the animosity, or direct the votes, of the parties engaged. Amid the altercations which preceded the vote, one of the liberals went up to the bench of the ministers and exclaimed "Suppress the obnoxious word, and war is between us." The union of the same parties which carried the question of the presidency secured likewise the success of the disputed paragraph. It was carried by a majority of thirty-four: one hundred and ninety-eight voting for, and one hundred and sixty-four against it. On this decision, a great tumult ensued in the Chamber. Severe reproaches were addressed to a member of the commission, who, after having agreed to the use of the word "deplorable" in the committee, voted against it in the Chamber. The noise and disorder, which were occasioned by the warmth of the deputies, prevented a continuation of the sitting. Several members rushed to the tribune, but could not be heard; a part of the right extremity left the hall, and the Chamber adjourned amid the clamours of the two centres.

The address was presented to his majesty by a *grand deputation*

of the Chamber with the president at its head. It was not to be expected that the king should receive with satisfaction the assurance, that, ever since his accession to the throne, the country had been under a "deplorable" government. In his answer, he did not even express his satisfaction at their professions of loyalty to his throne, and attachment to his person. He answered them thus:

"Gentlemen, when I made you acquainted with my resolution to strengthen our institutions, and called upon you to labour with me for the happiness of France, I depended on the union of your sentiments as well as on the concurrence of your enlightened judgment.

"My words were addressed to the whole Chamber; it would have been extremely pleasing to me, if its answer could have been unanimous.

"You will not forget, I am certain, that you are the natural guardians of the majesty of the throne, the first and the most noble of your guarantees. Your labours will prove to France your profound respect for the memory of the sovereign who granted us the charter, and your just confidence in him whom you called the worthy descendant of Henry 4th and of St. Louis."

There was nothing in this reply to conciliate the wounded feelings of the nation. It would have been more prudent and dignified in the king to have avoided the appearance of identifying himself with the odium, which attached, whether justly or unjustly, to the late administration. The allusion to the division in the Chamber was neither wise nor constitutional. The voice of the majority was, for him, the voice of the

Chamber, whatever be the strength of the minority; and, as the address had been discussed by it when sitting in a secret committee, nobody had a right to know, or could legally be supposed to know, whether its contents had been keenly contested, or unanimously adopted.

In the Chamber of peers, although the liberal party formed the majority in the commission for preparing the address, this topic of discord was not introduced; for the peers, holding it possible that they might be called upon as judges to try, under an impeachment, the ministers whose conduct was thus condemned, thought it more just and becoming to abstain, in the mean time, from pronouncing any opinion on that conduct in their political capacity.

And, in truth, the threat of an impeachment, which M. de Villèle and his colleagues had appeared to treat with contempt, speedily assumed a very serious complexion. Early in the session a petition had been presented, praying the chamber to adopt this step; but the committee, to which it was referred, had reported against the proceeding, on the ground that impeachment ought to originate in the chamber itself. The chamber refused, however, to pass to the order of the day, lest it should seem to express an opinion on the merits of the application. In the month of June, M. Labbey de Pompières made a formal motion, that M. de Villèle should be impeached. The proposition was brought forward without any concert, it was said, with the left side of the chamber, and some of the members of that party wished the mover to withdraw it. But he answered, "I am eighty years old;

I must do my duty now; you may do yours when it suits you;" and, the motion being once made, all who had united to eject the ex-minister thought themselves bound to support it. Of the ministers, M. de Martignac, and M. Hyde de Neuville, were the only two who spoke, and they both deprecated the proposition. The friends of M. de Villèle, seeing that it would be carried in despite of their resistance, adopted the policy of supporting it, for the purpose, they alleged, of showing the falsehood of the charges on which it rested. The motion was accordingly referred to a committee; and that committee held twenty-three long sittings, but found itself miserably hampered by wanting power to compel the production of the necessary information. There was no difficulty in getting at facts which were already notorious in the shape of public acts bearing the signature of the minister; but it was unable to throw much light upon the circumstances which might give to any of those facts a character of criminality. The different functionaries, to whom the committee addressed itself to obtain public documents, gave a flat refusal to the various applications that were made to them. The ministers refused to communicate, in the present state of the proceedings, the instructions and the circulars addressed by their predecessors to the subordinate magistrates. Different military commanders refused to attend the committee, except under the sanction of the minister of war, and that sanction was not given. Some refused to depose, because, being members of the Chamber of Peers, they might have to pronounce sentence as judges. Even the minister of justice refused

to give information. One portion of the liberal members of the committee wished that no report should be made, till it had been clothed with powers to obtain more satisfactory information; others were for immediate impeachment. It was finally resolved, that the committee should report the result of its labours, so far as it had been able to carry them, and leave it to the chamber to adopt any further measures which might seem proper. The report was accordingly presented on the 21st of July. The reporter, M. Girod, a member of the Cour Royale at Paris, first entered into an inquiry regarding the power of impeachment, and the rules of proceeding in such cases, which he said had not yet been clearly established by statute, nor fixed by acknowledged precedent. In stating this preliminary matter, he alluded to an objection which had been made to the interference of the deputies, viz. that the acts, which constituted the charges against M. de Villèle's ministry, were exertions of the royal prerogative, clearly within its proper competence, and that an accusation against the servants of the Crown in such a case was an attack upon the Crown itself. The reporter demolished this defence in the two cases in which it had been attempted to set it up,—namely, the dissolution of the national guard, and the creation of a great batch of new peers. The king, said he, can dissolve the national guard; but if the dissolution is unjustifiable in policy, his ministers must answer for their advice. The king may create new peers; but if it is proved that the ministers recommended a creation of peers to obtain a majority against the interests of the throne and the people, their

responsibility subjects them to punishment, as certainly as if the act had been their own. In truth, that such an objection should ever have been seriously stated in a country where the irresponsibility of the crown, and the responsibility of its ministers, were received maxims of the constitution, could be ascribed only to the fact, that France was as yet comparatively inexperienced in the application of constitutional doctrines, and the management of constitutional forms, and that this was the first instance presented by her annals of a regular impeachment, at the instance of the popular body; for the proceedings of the convention against the members of the royal family, taught no lesson except how anxiously they should be avoided.

M. Girod then stated the proceedings of the committee, which seemed to be rather a *procès verbal* of what it had done, and had not been able to do, than an explanation of the views by which the chamber ought to be guided in so grave a matter. They had arrived, however, at various conclusions, upon documentary evidence, some of them favourable to the ex-minister, and some of them against him. On some of the charges the members had been unanimous in acquitting; on others, the vote for impeachment, or for farther inquiry, had been carried only by a majority. In regard to the introduction of the Jesuits, the majority, on different grounds, voted that there was no ground of impeachment. On the question of the establishment of the censorship, four were for an acquittal, four for a trial, and one for more ample information. Nearly a similar conclusion was come to respecting

the elections. The article for impeaching the ministers for dissolving the national guard was lost by a majority. Finally, the committee reported that there were grounds of impeachment against the late ministry for speculation and treason. This decision, however, was adopted only by a majority of five to four—one of the five not going the length of preferring a direct charge, but merely declaring that there was ground for inquiry. Here, however, in the mean time, the proceeding stopped. The session was already far advanced: the Chamber agreed not to take the report into consideration, until the discussions on the budget should have been closed, when the country members would be all anxious to leave Paris. The consequence was, that the process was postponed till the next session; and the popular party thus secured themselves against the possibility of the return of Villèle to power during the recess; for it was not to be supposed, that the king would select that man as a counsellor, against whom a committee of the representatives of the people had recommended an impeachment, which was still undisposed of.

Though the advice, which the new ministers had given the king in the selection of the president of the Chamber, had augmented the public confidence in the cabinet, the answer, which they advised him to give to the criminatory portion of the Chamber's address, had somewhat cooled the affection of the ruling party among the deputies. This breach was widened by the affair of the impeachment. M. de Martignac, now minister of the interior, had been a steady adherent of Villèle: he might be said to have been participant in

the very measures for which his former patron was to be impeached. In the whole policy of the denounced administration were involved M. de Chabrol, and M. Frayssinous, who, till within the last few weeks, had been their colleagues; and they had that dislike, which all ministers ever will have, to criminatory and penal proceedings against other ministers. They had, therefore, opposed the project; when it was carried, they had officially used all their influence to exclude the committee from every avenue to useful information. By all this, they had removed themselves farther from the popular party, and approached nearer to those whom the popular party had brought down, and having brought down, now wished to tread under foot. Another affair drew them still more widely asunder. We have recorded in our last volume\* the vigour with which M. de Villèle disbanded the national guard of Paris, when they forgot their duty as soldiers, and openly insulted the king by political exclamations. The measure was in itself right, but, in the then state of the public mind, it was extremely unpopular. The liberal deputies, not perhaps considering so much whether what they proposed was advisable on its own merits, as holding that whatever was the opposite of what M. de Villèle had done must be right, now proposed, that the national guard should be re-established. The question arose on the consideration of some petitions, of which the prayer was to that effect; and the scene that followed was one of those, which no legislative hall but that of the vivacious Frenchman ever exhibits.

M. Andreossy, after defending the institution of a national guard, as a force the most economical, and best adapted to preserve internal tranquillity, proposed to transmit one of these petitions to the ministers of war and of the Interior. On this the minister of the Interior mounted the tribune, and declared, that the prayer of the petitions was an attempted infraction of the royal prerogative, of which the disbanding of the national guard was a lawful exertion, and which ought to be free and spontaneous. He therefore moved the order of the day. This amendment was violently supported by the right side, and as clamorously opposed by the left. The voice of the president, even his bell and hammer, could not be heard amid the noisy agitation. He repeatedly tried to put the question, but in vain. His calls to silence were answered by additional tumult. M. Benjamin Constant ascended the tribune, to show the folly of demanding the *close* of a discussion before the discussion was *begun*; and he, too, was overpowered by the clamours of the right side. The president again endeavoured to exercise his authority; but voice, bell, hammer, and gestures were powerless. At last the question was put, and the proposition of the minister agreed to. On this a total insurrection of the left side took place. Different members endeavoured to scale the tribune, and to take the attention of the chamber by storm, but were repulsed by the president, or overcome by the cries of their opponents. The bell again rang, and the hammer beat "to order" in vain. The deputies left their seats, and formed themselves into little groups of disorderly disputants. Some of the orators vented their

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\* Vol. lxi. p. 221.

displeasure in lively appeals to the ministerial bench—some harangued a knot of partisans,—and some “hurled defiance” on the obnoxious ultras. This scene of confusion continued for a quarter of an hour; nor did the tumult entirely subside, till the assembly dispersed. It seemed as if there were nothing to prevent the liberals from attacking the present ministry as fiercely as they had attacked its predecessor, except the apprehension that they would not be able to climb to power themselves, and that, therefore, if they drove the ministry into an alliance, for its own preservation, with those hated predecessors, the latter might again build up their fallen edifice.

In the mean time, the other measures adopted by the ministry were calculated to strengthen its claims to the good opinion of the people. By nothing had the late ministry more irritated the public mind, and disgraced itself, than by the liberties which they used with the electoral lists; for which, the state of the law afforded them too many facilities. The minister of the interior now introduced a bill to prevent frauds in making up the electoral lists, by securing the correct enrolment of all persons whose names were entitled to be there. By its provisions, on the 1st of June, every year, the mayors of all the *communes* composing a canton were required to assemble at the chief town of the canton; and to proceed to the revision of the list of electors, with the assistance of the collectors of the direct taxes. The result of their labours was to be sent to the sub-prefect of the *arrondissement*, who was required, before the 1st of July, to transmit it to the prefect of the department, along with his

own observations. After the 1st of July, the prefect, having received the different local lists from his sub-prefects, was enjoined to proceed to the revision of the general list, embracing all the electors of the department, adding or erasing names, according as he should find that parties had acquired or forfeited electoral rights. The list, thus rectified by the prefect, was to be stuck up, on the 15th of August, at the chief town or village of every commune, and a copy was to be deposited in the office of every mayor, in the bureau of each sub-prefect, and at the prefecture. This publication was to be reckoned a notification to all concerned, and no change could be made in the list, except by virtue of a decision of the council of prefecture. Complaints of improper omission from, or insertion in, the list, might be made till the 30th of December. The demand for the enrolment or erasure of names, when made to the prefect, was to be immediately submitted by him to his council, and if parties appealed from the council of the prefecture, the appeal was to be notified within ten days after its decision.

This machinery seemed calculated to afford a surer guarantee for electoral rights, and a better protection against the arbitrary or vexatious exercise of authority, in creating false, or resisting legal, titles, than France had hitherto enjoyed. The chamber received it with great favour. In the debates, the mal-practices of the Villèle administration were, to the liberals, the fruitful theme of bitter and eloquent declamation. M. de Martignac turned the battery against them. While he admitted the improper interference with the right of voting on the part of some

of the prefects, he strongly condemned the electoral manoeuvres practised by the liberals, who formed lists of candidates by their directing committees, which they dispersed over France, called candidates before them, and exacted promises or engagements, as the conditions of their support, and domineered, by intimidation, both over the candidates and the voters.

The law was carried by two hundred and fifty-seven votes out of three hundred and sixty-two; the minority of one hundred and five, marking the remaining strength of the late minister in the Chamber of Deputies. In the Chamber of Peers the law was vehemently opposed by Villèle himself, and Peyronnet, the ex-keeper of the seals. They moved and supported an amendment, which would have deprived the measure of all its efficacy, but were defeated by a majority of one hundred and fifty-two to ninety-seven.

Another equally popular measure was connected with the press. By the existing law, the government had the power of establishing a censorship, whenever it should seem to be rendered advisable by "*des circonstances graves*," of which circumstances, the government alone was to be the judge. In the session of 1826, a proposition of M. Royer Collard, the present president of the Chamber, to take this law into consideration, had been crushed by the influence of the ministry. M. Benjamin Constant now again proposed, that this discretionary power should be abolished; and the proposition was sent to a committee. The committee reported unfavourably, not, however, on the ground of the provision being a proper one, but on the ground that it was not advisable

to change any part of the law without revising the whole. For there were other enactments not much less hostile to public liberty. Thus, authors and publishers might be prosecuted for the "tendency" of their writings, a term which meant—not that a particular work, or number of a work might be punished for the illegal tendency of particular passages—but that the judges might decide, in cases of libel in a periodical writing, by putting the publications of three, four, five, or six months (none of which could separately be pronounced libellous) into a crucible, and distilling from the whole a libellous tendency. The same law, too, which laid these restraints on all written thought, had provided, that no new periodical journal should be established without the permission of government.

All these things were utterly inconsistent with the useful enjoyment of the most valuable right which a free state can possess. The new ministers justified their claims to the confidence and gratitude of the nation by sweeping them all away. The keeper of the seals introduced, and carried through both Chambers, a bill which declared, that every Frenchman, enjoying civil rights, was entitled to establish a journal or periodical work, without being previously authorized; abolished the law which permitted prosecutions on account of "tendency;" and renounced the discretionary power of establishing a censorship.\*

\* An author was prosecuted before the Cour Royale, on that provision of the law which makes it criminal "to insult" the religion of the state. He was accused of having done so "by denying the fundamental dogmas of the Christian faith." The defendant acknowledged the fact, but insisted that

Equally satisfactory to the public mind was the conduct of ministers, on the much agitated question of the Jesuitical establishments. We have mentioned above, that the king, before the meeting of the chambers, had named commissioners to inquire into that matter, and report their opinion. That commission, which consisted of nine members, reported, by the casting vote of its president, the archbishop of Paris, that the existence of the Jesuits as a body, and of the establishments under their direction in France, was not contrary to law. This decision was equally adverse to the public wishes, and to the intentions of the ministers. As it was a mere opinion, therefore, the cabinet adopted the conclusions of the minority, which consisted of the four distinguished lawyers, M. Seguier, first president of the Royal Court, M. Laine, M. Mounier, and M. Dupin, a celebrated advocate. Even before they notified officially what the commission thought on the subject,

*denial was not insult.* His counsel argued, that every Frenchman had the right of adopting whatever opinion appeared to him the most just, and of contending against every adverse opinion, provided he abstained from violence and insult. The Court held the same opinion, and acquitted the defendant.

After the close of the Session, the editor of the *Gazette de France*, which was now the journal of the Villèle-party, was acquitted by the Court of Correctional Police, of a charge of having, by an article on the late session of the Chambers, excited hatred and contempt of the existing government. The article, though expressed with severity, was, in the judgment of the Court, confined within the strict bounds of political discussion.

Under all administrations, the French Courts have uniformly displayed a kindly feeling towards the press, and, so far as depended on them, have rendered the operation of law mild, even when its principles were despotic and oppressive.

two royal ordinances appeared, which declared that the Jesuits, though they were not mentioned by name, were "a religious congregation not legally established in France," and restored to the jurisdiction of the university, many thousand pupils who had been withdrawn from its superintendence by the activity of these intriguing religionists. By the first of these ordinances, the establishments, known under the designation of *Secondary Ecclesiastical Schools*,\* directed by persons be-

\* The nature and history of these "Secondary Schools," was this;—Before the Revolution, when the revenues and the honours of the church were sufficient to tempt the cupidity or ambition of wealthy or distinguished families, the primary or secular education of those destined for the ecclesiastical state was attained in the colleges, open alike to the laity and the clergy. They pursued their early studies along with other children, and were not set apart for the service of the altar, till they had taken a degree in some seminary of secular or profane learning. But when Buonaparte re-established the church with bishoprics at a thousand a year, and parish livings at 40*l.*, he could entice into its bosom only youths who were unable to pay the charges of an expensive education. Indeed, such was the aversion to a clerical life some time after the restoration of the church establishment, that only the sons of peasants and artisans could be prevailed upon to take the tonsure, and several thousand parishes remained without spiritual guides. In this state of things, it was necessary to encourage ecclesiastical recruits, not only by an exemption from military service, but by a gratuitous education. Accordingly, every bishop was authorized to open a school in his diocese to instruct pupils destined for the church, in which they might obtain the degrees preparatory to their theological course, without attending a college. The establishments were called "secondary ecclesiastical schools"—they were exempted from the regime of the universities, placed entirely under the control of the bishops, and prohibited from receiving any but intended church-



longing to a religious congregation not authorized in France, and existing at eight particular places, viz. Aix, Billom, Bordeaux, Dole, Forcalquier, Montmorillon, Saint-Achieul, and Sainte-Ann l'Auray, were ordered to be subjected to the regime of the university; and no person was permitted to be employed in any establishment belonging to the university, or in the secondary ecclesiastical schools, who did not declare in writing that he was unconnected with any such unauthorized religious order. As these Jesuit establishments were entirely supported by pupils belonging to the wealthier classes, not destined for the church, who paid for their education and maintenance at a rate so high as enabled the fathers to receive and educate a number of ecclesiastical scholars gratuitously, the decree for placing them under the university, which, by its constitution, separated these two sorts of pupils, effectually destroyed their utility to the church. The second ordinance, published on the same day, limited the number of pupils to be received in all the secondary ecclesiastical schools over France to twenty thousand; prohibited the reception of any external or day pupils; ordered all pupils to take the ecclesiastical habit at the age of fourteen; rendered the approbation of the crown necessary to the nomination of teachers; and created eight 8,000 yearly pensions or bursaries of 150 francs (or 6*l.*) each, for the encouragement of youth inclined to enter the church, and destitute of other means of support.

The ministers, it was said, found it necessary to tender their resig-

men. By admitting pupils of a different class, as was the case of the Jesuit establishments, they departed from their rules, and forfeited their privileges,

nations, before the king could be prevailed upon to sign these ordinances, and the publication of them produced great commotion and indignation among the clergy, and the members and adherents of "the congregation." The bishops prepared a memorial to his majesty, remonstrating against his decrees as being derogatory to the rights and dignities of the church, as well as injurious to the interests of sound faith, useful learning, and pure morals. The ministers caused the bishops to be informed, that, while each of them enjoyed, beyond all doubt, the right of carrying his complaints and grievances individually to the foot of the throne, yet they could not unite for such a purpose without the express consent of the king; that his majesty would not receive a memorial which should be the result of such a deliberation, commenced without any authority derived from him; that he had published his ordinances, and would know how to make them be executed. The bishops, thus finding the king, or, at least, the king's ministers, deaf to their entreaties, and un intimidated by imaginary dangers, or impertinent and covert threats, transmitted their memorial to the pope. It was said, that the government had agreed to "a reference" of the question to his holiness; but it is scarcely credible, that it should so far have compromised its dignity and independence. Be that as it may, the answer of the pope was extremely prudent. He told the bishops, that he thought they might safely rely "on the well known piety of his majesty."

In the financial arrangements of the year, the general expenditure was reduced by four or five millions of francs. This was effected by the diminution of the

appointments of all the great functionaries. Thirty thousand francs were taken away from each of the ministers, with the exception of the minister of foreign affairs. The marshals of France, and some other dignitaries, experienced similar retrenchments. The produce of the taxes for the year exceeded, by upwards of twenty millions of francs, the revenue of 1827. The estimates, however, were higher; but the deficiency thus produced had been covered, before the expiration of the financial year, by the increased productiveness of the ordinary sources of revenue. No taxes were taken off, or reduced. An addition was made to the capital of the debt by a new loan of eighty millions. It was voted on the ground that the army required to be increased, and placed on the full peace establishment, and that the navy, likewise, demanded, from the extent of its services, some augmentation. The truth was, that the war, which had broken out in the east, justified measures of precaution, and that France was on the point of sending a military expedition to the Morea.

In 1825, M. de Villèle had carried through a law by which a milliard of francs, or about 40,000,000*l.* were granted in order to indemnify the emigrants for the loss of their estates during the revolution. From a report of the labours of the commission, to whom the administration of the fund had been intrusted, it appeared that, up to this time, 24,968 claims had been given in, of which 18,798 had been admitted and liquidated, and that the sums expended in paying them had amounted to nearly 30,000,000*l.*

Some alterations were introduced into the public departments. The ministry of trade, as has been

already noticed, was a new creation, and its head, M. de St. Cricq, obtained the appointment of a commission to examine into the state of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, especially in relation to the following questions: 1. The regulations concerning the importation of wool, and the bounty granted on the exportation of woollen manufactures. 2. The appreciation of the profits and losses resulting from the sacrifices which the tariffs imposed for the encouragement of the producers of iron, to all those who make use of that metal. 3. The propriety of maintaining, such as it existed, or of confining within narrower limits, the almost exclusive preference given to the sugars of the French colonies in the consumption of France, and even in its sales in foreign countries, by the process of refining. 4. The utility of modifying the corn laws either in their fundamental bases, or only in the manner of executing them. 5. The possibility of enlarging the faculty of transit, by extending it to the articles which were prohibited, or at least to some of them. 6. The controversy which for some time had existed between Paris and other cities in the interior, on the one hand, and the sea-ports on the other, as to allowing the former the privilege of being *entrepôts* of colonial produce.

The ministry of war, too, was new modelled, and placed under the management of a board, at the head of which was the Dauphin. The ministry of the marine received the aid of a council of admiralty, framed a new system for forming a body of marines, and established maritime prefectures. The navy, according to the statements of M. Hyde de Neuville, was the cheapest in the

world, and had always suffered from the scantiness of its budget. "The actual state of our navy," said he, "is this: we have, afloat and building, three hundred and thirty-six vessels, of which fifty-three are ships of the line, and fifty-seven frigates. Of these fifty-three vessels, seven are, and three will soon be at sea; twenty-three are laid up in ordinary, and twenty are on the stocks. Of the frigates, thirty-six are at sea or ready for it, eighteen are building, and, of these, four will be immediately equipped and afloat. The French navy is that which costs the least. The budgets of every country prove this, and a few short observations would serve to demonstrate the fact. I shall take for terms of comparison only those powers whose naval force most generally fixes attention.

	vessels
"We have afloat or on the stocks	336
"England has .....	600
"The United States have .....	53
	ships of the line
"Of this number France has....	53
"England has .....	141
"The United States have .....	12
	frigates
"Of this same number France has	55
"England has .....	142
"The United States .....	17
"Total ships of the line and frigates in France .....	108
England .....	283
the United States ..	29

"Now, whether we take for the term of comparison the whole of the vessels afloat or building in the three countries, or whether we confine ourselves to ships of the line or frigates only, it will be found that we always do the most with the least expense. Compare the pay in each country. Compare also the number of officers, and say whether there be any abuse or superfluity with us. We have thirty general officers—we had sixty-four in 1787: according to

the preceding comparison, and adopting the calculation which is least favourable to us, England ought to have eighty—whereas she has two hundred and fifteen. France has eighty captains of ships of the line, and, in 1787, she had one hundred and twenty-three. England, abiding always by the same data, should have two hundred and twenty—she has eight hundred and fifty. We have one hundred and twenty captains of frigates; England has eight hundred and sixty-eight commanders of the corresponding rank. Our lieutenants and ensigns united amount to seven hundred and twenty-eight: England has three thousand seven hundred and ten lieutenants, and five hundred and forty-three masters."

After the session of the chambers had been closed, the king sought relief from the affairs in which it had involved him, and the mortifications to which it had exposed him, in a progress through some parts of the kingdom. His ministers did not find it so easy to escape from their embarrassments. They had come through the session with honour, but they had not stood by any strength of their own. To the support of the popular party the ministry was indebted for its existence, and that party did not yet trust it. The measures, which it had carried through, were grateful and beneficial to the public, and seemed to have cut it off for ever from all communion with the ruling principles of its predecessor; yet they had the air of having been forced upon it, as necessary to its own preservation, rather than of having sprung fresh from its own convictions, and while its policy was liberal, its government was carried on by the agents of the arbitrary

and disgraced administration to which it had succeeded. The council of state was still composed of the creatures of Villèle; it still contained his director-general and prefect of the police. In the provinces, the prefects, the mayors, and the members of the general councils of departments were chiefly partisans of the same faction—men who had been notorious for their mal-practices with public franchises, and who had been placed in their offices for the purpose of abusing their power to the advantage of their masters. In their agents and fellow councillors, the ministers thus found persons more inclined to betray their present masters than to rebel against their former patrons—eager to counteract the projects of the government, and to prepare by their overthrow the return of Villèle to power. The popular party told the ministers, that, while this combination remained, it could not trust them; it called upon them to get rid of so many sources of suspicion and embarrassment, and, consequently, of weakness, and to surround the throne with men to whose principles the country could look up with confidence, and in whose conduct it would find a security for their principles. It bade them remember, that they had not been the choice of the people to celebrate its triumph, but the choice of the king to break his fall;—that the former conduct of some of them had been such, and all of them had consented to be introduced into such company, as surrounded them with suspicion;—that they had been supported only because there was more hope of them than of the impenitently profligate ministry who had preceded them;—that the members of

that ministry were still the heads of a vigilant and powerful party, strong in the royal favour, aided by the influence and the intrigues of the church;—that, if they persisted therefore in still keeping in office the partisans and creatures of that dangerous faction, the friends of constitutional government must conclude that they themselves were not in earnest, and must exercise the power, which they had shown that they possessed, to give his majesty another opportunity of choosing servants of greater energy and less dubious sincerity.

The ministers, to whom the votes of the session had made it abundantly manifest that their fate was in the hands of the popular party, would willingly have complied with these remonstrances. Even if they had been less inclined to liberal ideas than their measures, in all candid construction, shewed them to be, their own safety impressed them with the folly of resisting. But they were restrained by the obstinacy of the king. His majesty had no favour towards the popular party; the description which they had given him of his government, rendered the possibility of having them around him no pleasing prospect: their determined animosity to the Jesuits and the congregation made him regard it as a dangerous one. His royal signature was with M. Roy and his colleagues; but his royal wishes were with M. Villèle and his friends. It is true that the ministers might have made very short work with the resistance of his majesty's attachments and prejudices. They had only to resign: the king must have taken the servants whom the majority of the chamber gave him. But

then, it was much more than doubtful whether the Chamber, on the occurrence of such an event would fix its choice on the members of the present cabinet. Vacillating between these opposite motives—unwillingness to press the king too far, upon the one hand, and the fear of rousing the resentment of the triumphant majority upon the other,—the ministers still continued to submit to the influence of the dependents of the court, thus running the risk of appearing to identify themselves with that party, and provoking the enmity of those whose exertions had given them power, had kept them in power, and, to all appearances, could again drive them from power. At length, however, as the year wore round—as the season at which they must meet the chambers again approached, and the reproaches and remonstrances of the popular party became more threatening,—they shook off their lethargy, and roused themselves to a better sense of what was due to their safety, if not to their honour. In the month of November, five counsellors of state, steady adherents of the Villèle administration, were dismissed from the council of state. Among them were Franchet, who had been the director-general, and Delavau, who had been the prefect of that minister's arbitrary police. Seven new members were admitted, all of whom were either decided constitutionalists, or men obnoxious to the late administration. It was not the liberals alone who had broken it up. They had conquered by an alliance with the ultraism of the extreme right. That was the union which now ruled the chamber. In the provinces, five obnoxious prefects were dismissed,

and four more were deprived of the office of prefect, though called to other functions. Various minor changes were effected in the administration of the departments.

The foreign relations of France offered nothing worthy of record, that will not appear more in detail in another part of our narrative. Like England, she was a tranquil, though not an uninterested, spectator of the struggle between Russia and Turkey; and, in the autumn, she dispatched an expedition to the Morea to enforce the surrender of those fortresses of the Morea which remained in the hands of the Turks, after the departure of Ibrahim to Egypt.

In the course of the year, the last division of the army of occupation returned from Spain: Cadiz was the last fortress that they quitted; and thus terminated an expedition which had gained to France no one conceivable object, but had been to her a source of enormous and useless expense. The minister for foreign affairs stated, in the Chamber of Peers, that the army would have been withdrawn in 1827, had it not been for the events which then occurred in Portugal. The necessity of treating Ferdinand with peculiar delicacy, while a French army was in possession of his kingdom, had always been assigned by the French ministers as a reason for not acknowledging the revolted Spanish colonies. They were now freed from this restraint; and so soon as the evacuation of Cadiz had been resolved on, an agent was appointed to repair to the several states, and arrange the preliminary measures for the establishment of the usual diplomatic relations between friendly powers by accredited ministers.

## CHAP. VIII.

PORTUGAL. — *Prospects of Portugal from the Regency of Don Miguel—Don Miguel arrives in England—The Session of the Chambers is opened at Lisbon—Proceedings of the Deputies—Trial of four Peers for exciting Seditious Tumults—Publications in favour of Miguel—He arrives at Lisbon, and puts himself under the guidance of his Mother—He takes the Oath to the Constitution, and appoints a Ministry hostile to it—Riots at the Palace—The Mob encouraged to attack the Constitutionalists—Motions in the Chambers regarding the Riots—The Constitutional Governors of the Provinces, and Officers of the Army are dismissed to make room for absolutists—The Constitutionalists begin to emigrate—The British Troops embark to return to England—Plan of Miguel to seize the Crown—It is discovered, and the Departure of the British Troops is countermanded—Proceedings in the Chamber of Deputies—Miguel dissolves the Chamber—Encouragement given to the Partizans of Miguel—Addresses from the Municipalities praying Miguel to abolish the Constitution, and assume the Crown—Occurrences at Lisbon on 25th April—Address of the Municipality—and of the Peers—The Foreign Ministers suspend all Official Communication with the Government—Miguel convokes the Cortes, to declare him king—Protest by the Brazilian Ministers—Oporto and its Garrison declare for Don Pedro and the Constitution—They are joined by other Towns—The Constitutionalists advance towards Lisbon—Measures of the Government—The Constitutionalists begin to retire—They retreat upon Oporto—abandon Oporto—and retire into Spain—Madeira declares for Don Pedro, but is reduced by Miguel—The Cortes assemble in Lisbon, dethrone Pedro, and declare Miguel King—The Foreign Ambassadors quit Lisbon—Proscription of the Constitutionalists—Confiscation of Property—Decree of Don Pedro, resigning the Crown in favour of his Daughter—Address by Don Pedro to the Portuguese on the Usurpation of Miguel—The young Queen arrives in Europe, and is brought to England.*

WHEN Don Pedro named his brother Don Miguel to the regency of Portugal, he undoubtedly flattered himself that he had adopted the most efficacious expedient to reconcile the factions which divided Portugal, and to insure protection to the free institu-

tions which he had bestowed upon it. It secured to the young prince all the real advantages of power during the minority of his niece, the new queen; and, as he was to become her husband so soon as she could assume the reins of government in her own name, he was se-

cure of all the authority at which he could aim without the guilt of unnatural rebellion and very daring usurpation. Even the hatred of liberal institutions, in which he had been brought up, and the desire to blast the growth of those of Portugal, which he had already exhibited, could have followed after their object as securely and efficiently when he used, for the purpose of furthering them, the regular power with which he was legitimately invested, as if he were to excite a vigilant jealousy against all his measures by setting out with open treason against his brother and his queen. The constitutionalists of Portugal had, to be sure, abundant reason to distrust him. They knew that all his wishes leaned towards arbitrary power; they could scarcely expect that any vows would bind the man, who, in his hatred of liberty, had drawn the sword against his own father, and encouraged rebellion against his brother and sister; but they trusted that he would feel himself restrained by being only the representative of another; that he would be constrained to follow, in the general cast, at least, of his policy, the principles of the Court of Rio Janeiro, and that the liberality of Don Pedro would mitigate the ultraism of Don Miguel, through whom it was to act. Above all, they longed for an executive, to which at length all parties would submit, though for very different reasons, instead of the weak and wavering government, which, during two years, had been as often rebelled against as obeyed. They thought themselves entitled to assume, that Don Miguel would at least observe the prescribed forms of the constitution, which he was called to administer as regent for

his brother; and while the forms remained, it lay with themselves to infuse into them a living and protecting spirit.—The enemies of the constitution, again, hailed the return of the prince as an occurrence which sealed the fate of the new institutions. They knew that he was their own in heart; they doubted not that he would soon unite with them in destroying the object of their common hatred and alarm.

All the communications that had been received from Don Miguel since his nomination to the regency, had been favourable to the lovers of liberty and good order. He had accepted the office, and had thereby acknowledged the rights of the monarch who bestowed it, and pledged himself to use it for the purposes for which it bore to have been granted—the maintenance of the charter—the gradual advancement of constitutional freedom. He had written to his sister from Vienna, that he was “determined to maintain inviolate the laws of the kingdom, and the institutions legally granted by our august brother,\* and cause them to be observed, and by them to govern the kingdom.” He had made this declaration for the very purpose of quieting the public mind; and, with all other ranks in Portugal, he was already bound, by the solemnity of an oath, to observe the constitution which he was now appointed to administer.† The more sanguine drew hopes

\* See vol. LXIX. p. [280.

† It was said, that, before leaving this country, he had voluntarily written a letter to the most eminent person in this realm, saying “that, if he overthrew the constitution, he should be a wretch, a breaker of his oath, and an usurper of his brother’s throne.” He did overturn it.

even from the circumstance that, on his return to Portugal, he did not proceed directly from France to Lisbon, but repaired to London, and spent nearly two months among the princes and ministers of the country to which his own was most closely tied, amongst whom he would receive no impressions but what were favourable to the conduct which his duty required of him. He arrived in England in the end of December. The Portuguese subjects resident in London, all of them lovers of liberty, because they enjoyed the blessing of living under its protection, assembled, so soon as he reached London, and waited upon him with an address, in which they congratulated him on his present destination "to secure the felicity of Portugal by supporting the laws of the kingdom, and the institutions granted by our Great King and Lord, Don Pedro, and to realize the hopes which your generous sentiments, already announced to your august sister, have deeply engraved in the hearts of all Portuguese." His royal highness thanked them, in general terms, for their attention. He dropped no syllable from which it could be inferred what he thought of their hopes, or what he meant to do with the Portuguese institutions. He remained in London, enjoying the pleasures of the capital, till the middle of February, when he sailed for Portugal; and on the 22nd of that month he arrived in the Tagus.

In the mean time, the Princess Regent had assembled the Cortes on the 2nd of January. She addressed to them the following speech—the dying speech of her regency.—“For the third time you meet in this place to continue the useful labours which the charter

of the Portuguese monarchy has confided in you. Your zeal is always the same. Every day new lights, the effect of calm experience, assure an honourable result to your exertions in the service of the country.

“You are not ignorant that much is still wanting completely to found and consolidate our political edifice. I do not doubt that you will now exert the most prudent diligence to accelerate the great work: the time is not long, but prudence and zeal can effect much, and you have given sufficient proofs that you possess both.

“The King, my august brother, who was inspired by a desire for our happiness to give us in the constitutional charter an indisputable proof of his wisdom and magnanimity, trusts to you to realize this great enterprise, which was pictured in his mind the noble title of his glory, and the invaluable pledge of the happiness of Portugal; and all the world now know how you deserve this confidence.

“My beloved brother, the Infant Don Miguel, is charged by the laws and the orders of his Majesty with the regency of this kingdom. His intentions, conformable to those of the king, our august brother, have been manifested by him; and this event, agreeing with the political views of great nations, added to the measures of the government, has disarmed the parties, and calmed the agitations in the country, which was a necessary consequence of extraordinary circumstances. The government of a neighbouring nation, convinced of the true bonds which unite the reciprocal interests of the Peninsula, sincerely opposes the attempts, which madly ambitious and restless spirits have not ceased to make.



"The picture of our finances is not unfavourable to the public credit of the state, yet an unexpected and unforeseen event has affected the interests of the nation, and especially the inhabitants of this capital. The government, however, trusts, that, by the assistance which it has afforded, and by the measures which have been and will be adopted, the credit of the bank will be shortly restored.

"We enjoy profound peace with foreign Powers—a peace founded on alliances and on the general interests. The government will neglect no means to ensure the duration of friendship with our allies, and the tranquillity of the whole nation. Pursue, then, the glorious career upon which you have entered. Portugal looks upon you as the instruments which a great king employs to make it happy and flourishing; the king takes pleasure in the punctuality with which you answer his wise thoughts. Be assured that his majesty will be more and more confirmed in his opinion of your zeal and prudence, and that the whole nation will always look upon you as true friends of the country. I know well that you ask no other reward for the inconveniences to which you subject yourselves, and the exertions which you make to serve it. I acknowledge it, and do not hesitate to declare it; but it is certain that, for such generous minds, for true Portuguese, the highest reward is the entire approbation of the monarch, and the grateful praise of their fellow-citizens."

The passage of this speech which gave the greatest satisfaction was the renewed assurance of the good dispositions of her expected successor. When the princess told the Chambers, that "much was still

wanting to consolidate the political edifice," she ought to have told them, that, hitherto, nothing had been done, and that the political edifice, from their own inactivity and neglect, was ready to fall upon their heads. Every department of the administration was in confusion; every department was feeble and useless except the police. The police was the government, and it was a government of terror and oppression. Bastos and his minions were the ruling powers, supported by the apostolics who governed the regent, and uncontrolled by ministers, who either belonged to the same faction, and had therefore been raised to office, or were willing, from want of principle, to favour any faction which would retain them in office. —The same sort of persons were gradually returning to the army, from which they had been dismissed by Saldanha; and the whole march of the administration betrayed a spirit and an influence decidedly hostile to the new institutions. Notwithstanding, too, the assurances put in the mouth of the regent, that "the state of the finances was not unfavourable," they were in utter confusion. The credit of the Bank was gone; the loan of the preceding year had disappeared, and nothing had been effected by it; the ordinary revenues had been swallowed up by anticipation; the treasury was empty; a deficiency in the accounts of the year, equal to a large proportion of the usual income, was already foreseen; instead of economy being practised, old offices were re-established, and new ones were created, to furnish the means of retaining and rewarding ready instruments of servility. To this state matters

had come, under the sway of the Charter and the Chambers. What could an ignorant populace think of the value of constitutional forms, which, during two years, had either been unable to act at all, or, if they had been acting, had left the people in a state, than which despotism could not have been more mischievous, and would have been far more regular? Still, however, it was in the power of the Chambers to remedy all these evils; and the very first step should have been, to get rid of the creatures who filled the offices, and abused the powers, of government. The financial embarrassments themselves would have aided the reformation. If the Chambers, when they now met upon the 2nd of January, had manfully declared their determination to withhold money, till the administration should be in the hands of men whom they could trust, the apostolics could have made no serious resistance: and, if Miguel, when he landed on the 22nd of February, had found a ministry of honest and popular men in actual operation, instead of finding weakness and indifference which invited attack, Portugal might have been saved from the misery and disgrace which were so soon to visit her.

In only one point did the deputies shew a disposition to reach the evil at its source. In our last volume\* we have recorded the lawless acts of the police of Lisbon in the preceding July, on occasion of the outcry raised in the capital, when Saldanha was dismissed from the ministry of war. By the charter it was declared, that the Chambers should inquire, at the commencement of every session, whe-

ther any violations of the constitution had taken place during the recess. The committee, to whom the Chamber of deputies now intrusted that duty, reported, that the imprisonments, which had been ordered in July and August, were contrary to the charter; that the magistrates, who had commanded them, ought to be prosecuted; and that Andrade, the minister of justice, ought to be brought to trial for having violated the laws, as well as private property, and usurped the powers which belonged only to the legislature. This sounded well: but it was not followed up. Why did the Chamber not act in the same spirit in which their committee had reported? Why did they not take their stand upon the ground, that the men in the service of the state were violators of the constitution, and insist on their dismissal, if they were too timid to call for their punishment? No more was required to sweep away the whole swarm of reptiles that had crawled into office—and it was in vain to water and cherish the plant, while the insects were allowed to destroy every promise of fruit. The report of the committee remained a dead letter—a mere opinion. The magistrates and minister, whom it condemned, laughed it to scorn. They acted and governed as they pleased; the Chambers were satisfied with talking. They took into their consideration a law for regulating the liberty of the press—which was all very proper, although they therein voted by a majority that the Portuguese nation was better instructed and more enlightened than any other, and then provided, as a consequence of this modest postulate, that the qualification for

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\* Vol. LXIX. p. 274.

a petty juror should be an annual income, whether from industry or property, of 20*l.* a year, which would have put into the box, every journeyman and chimney-sweep in Lisbon. It was no wonder that the enactment, and the proposition on which it was founded, should have been opposed by a powerful minority with a strong protest. It was very excellent, too, in the deputies to enter, as they did, upon a revision of the judicial system, than which nothing required more radical change, more thorough amendment; and the scheme which was submitted to them for that purpose by M. Guerreiro, displayed great ability and clearness, as well as much moderation and prudence. In doing all this, they were doing well, if they had not neglected what was more pressingly indispensable. They knew that the constitution was yet far from having taken firm root; every day forced upon them the conviction, that the government was in the hands of men who were using all the powers of their office, and all the resources of intrigue, to lower it in the dust; they knew that these men, strong only by impunity, but as yet without system or head, anxiously looked forward to the arrival of the new regent as to an event which would give them a chief in the very head of the government itself: yet they tamely allowed these persons to retain office, and mature their schemes; they exercised no one of the prerogatives which the constitution had vested in them for the very purpose of providing against similar dangers; they went on haranguing and voting on abstract theorems, while the sword was suspended above their heads—till down it came upon

them, and cut short at once their political speeches, and their political existence.

The Chamber of Peers, during the interval that elapsed between the assembling of the Cortes and the arrival of Don Miguel, was occupied with the trial of the bishop of Elvas, the marquis da Fronteira, count Taipa, and the count da Cunha. These four noblemen had been accused, by the apostolic head of the police, of encouraging and abetting the Lisbon riots of the preceding July, the imprisonments inflicted on account of which were declared by the committee of the Chamber of Deputies to be offences against the constitution. The charge was referred to a committee, who reported, that, as the proper forms had been observed in the previous procedure of the department which brought forward the accusation, the accusation must be received, and the four peers be put upon their trial before the Chamber. Bastos and his administration would willingly have drawn back from a charge, which had been got up on mere falsehood, for the purpose of calumniating and intimidating, and which would now lead to an investigation that threatened unpleasant disclosures; but the accused insisted on inquiry, for the purpose of exposing the spirit and measures of the administration. The details of the trial would possess no interest; the evidence was that of the creatures of Bastos, on which even courts martial had already refused to convict—a mass of absurdity, contradiction, and perjury. When it was concluded, the bishop of Elvas was the only one of the accused who said a word in his defence. The other noblemen would not disgrace them-

selves and the chamber, by arguing against the tales of such miscreants and their employer; and all the four were instantly acquitted. Bastos, however, was now beyond the reach of danger or shame. The peers were acquitted on the 1st of March; Don Miguel had arrived on the 22nd of February.

As the expected arrival of the new regent drew nearer, the apostolics became more bold and active. Hitherto they had been allowed to plot against the constitution with perfect impunity: henceforth, they expected, they were to plot against it as a duty, under the protection of the supreme authority. Publications were industriously circulated through the kingdom, in which they not only called upon the people to overturn the new institutions as derogatory to the national character, hostile to religion, an invention of wicked men, "traitors to their country," but plainly declared, that Don Pedro, from whom they had emanated, could not interfere in the affairs of the kingdom, because he had no rights in it: that he had no title to the crown of Portugal, and therefore had no power to send them a vice-roy: that the young prince, who was approaching as their regent, was in truth their king; that he must be hailed as king—as king in his own right—and as an absolute king. Lest any simple-minded man should fall into the error of supposing that Don Miguel might speak sincerely, they further warned their countrymen "not to be deceived by the words put into his mouth by the free-masons—by the bastard Portuguese, sold to the English government—by the traitors to their country. The restorer of the monarchy comes among you. Run eagerly

to meet and salute him as your king. Long live our holy religion! Long live our absolute king Don Miguel! Long live the house of Braganza! Long live the restored monarchy."\* This was the lan-

\* The following "Protest," which was circulated during January and February, will serve as a sample of these effusions.

"In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity.

"The Portuguese nation, oppressed and betrayed by wicked factions, without a legitimate king or government to defend it, and deprived of all the means of making itself heard authoritatively through its legislative representatives, or the delegates of the three estates of the kingdom, using the only faculty which is now left it, the voice of its own conscience, protests—

"First,—That, as long as Don Miguel (who was snatched from the Portuguese by the perfidy of the enemies of God, of kings, and of men) shall live, they will not acknowledge as king of Portugal any other prince but him; because his elder brother, the first-born son of the late king, was, before the death of his august father, naturalized a Brazilian, constituted emperor of Brazil, and recognized as a foreign sovereign by the constitution of that state, and by diplomatic acts of all Europe, Portugal included; and because, as a foreign sovereign, the emperor of Brazil is excluded from the succession of Portugal by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, which expressly prohibit a foreigner from wearing the crown of Portugal. But, even though these fundamental laws did not exist, he could not be king of Portugal, for it has never been admitted, nor can it be admitted, that nations are to be foreigners in the eye of their legitimate kings, as the Portuguese now are in the eyes of Don Pedro I. of Brazil, entitled, contrary to the rights of nations, Don Pedro IV. of Portugal.

"Secondly,—The Portuguese protest, that they will never recognize, as fundamental laws of the monarchy, or as the constitution of the state, any other constitution than that which formed Portugal into a hereditary monarchy at the Cortes of Lamego, which Don John VI. proposed to restore by the decree of the 4th of June, 1824, in calling to meet in

guage—these were the designs of men, whom the Cortes had tamely allowed to retain the administration of the government, and quietly to prepare their final triumph over every hope of liberty and justice.

Don Miguel landed at Lisbon on the 22nd of February, amid loud acclamations from the assembled populace. The spectators and the troops shouted "Long live the Infant;" but, from the crowd, a few voices were heard to raise the cry "Long live Don Miguel the absolute king." The Prince be-

trayed no satisfaction at these expressions of sedition. Next day he went in state to the cathedral to offer thanks for his safe arrival. Along the whole line of the procession he was occasionally saluted with the same disloyal shouts, and he received them with the same indifference. They seemed to come only from the lowest of the populace; they received no countenance either from the military or from the great body of spectators. Strong as were the fanatical and despotic principles of his royal highness, he did not seem to have

the Cortes the three estates of the kingdom. As for what is called the constitutional charter given by Don Pedro I., the emperor of Brazil, they protest against it as being the work of a foreign sovereign, who had by the laws no right to impose it, as the Portuguese neither asked for it nor were consulted on the subject, as it was made by societies of freemasons, and confirmed by the said Don Pedro, as chief of the Masonic Lodges of Portugal and Brazil, who called himself a mason in his letters to his august father; as it places the kings of Portugal under restraint, making the exercise of the sovereignty, and other acts of royalty, depend upon secondary powers like the two Chambers; as it establishes in this kingdom heretical houses, and a worship reprov'd by the holy Catholic church; and because it permits the Portuguese to abandon with impunity the holy religion of Jesus Christ, of which they engage to be the champions in the sacrament of baptism. On account of all these subversive principles which attack the altar and the throne, they declared the charter intrusive, null, and void.

"Thirdly,—They protest against the detention of the infant Don Miguel in any foreign state by violence, by artifice, or on any pretence whatever, as his detention abroad increases and multiplies the bitter evils which oppress the nation.

"Fourthly,—They protest against all suggestions, intrigues, combinations, cabals, machinations, meditated, intended, or executed, in any mode or manner whatever, with the object of destroying the present protestation, or any part of it.

"Fifthly,—Finally, they protest, until the arrival of Don Miguel in Portugal, in the plenitude of his liberty, against any writing or writings, under whatever title ascribed to this prince, or signed by him in his captivity, intended to contradict, detract from, or annul, the whole or any part of the doctrine of this protest, because such writings must be apocryphal, or drawn up under moral or physical coercion.

"They declare and condemn, as subversive, all doctrines published or transmitted here with the object of supporting in whole, or in part, the acts or matters against which they protest.

"They declare void, of no effect, and sacrilegious, any counter-protest which may appear, as such document must be contrary to truth, and acknowledged as such. And the Portuguese nation, prostrate before the throne of the most High, swears, in the name of the Lord, never to desist from this protestation—abjures and detests all the principles, means, and ends opposed to this oath—implores the succour and justice of God against the oppressions and the injustice of men—orders and conjures all Portuguese, who by the grace of God are not infected with revolutionary doctrines, or involved in secret societies, to protect and spread this protestation, without doubt, without diminution, and without addition, till the nation is able, by means of the only true constitution of the kingdom, to consume its execrable enemies. From whom may divine Providence deliver all true Portuguese.—Amen."

brought with him any fixed determination either to dethrone his brother or to overturn his brother's constitution. Bound, in the face of Europe, to God and to man, by so many engagements, to act as the depository of his brother's power, the defender of his brother's rights, and the administrator of that very constitution, he probably arrived inclined to yield a sullen and unwilling obedience. His life had already shown, that, as an instrument in the hand of others, there was scarcely any amount of unnatural atrocity at which he would stop: but, of himself, he scarcely would have plunged into the irrecoverable infamy with which treason to his present duties would overwhelm him. But, whatever might be his own inclinations, unfortunately for Portugal and for himself, he fell, upon his arrival, into hands to which natural affection gave authority, although they had never been used except to push him forward to crime and disgrace. The queen mother had been the curse of her kingdom, and of her family—fanatical to madness in religion, inveterate to very insanity in her hatred of every thing that spoke of liberty, ever ready to burst the bonds even of all natural affection, if they restrained her from bigotry and oppression—attached to her son Miguel only because she had trained him to be the express image of her own baseness—and exercising a despotic control over his ignorant mind, because her counsels never deviated, even by accident or mistake, into the paths of honour and manliness which he had abjured—unadorned by even one solitary qualification of a queen, to redeem the absence of every virtue of a woman or a wife. From the moment that her hopeful son

returned, she re-assumed her unlimited ascendancy over him. The prostrate submission of his mind to the furious passions of his mother, went beyond filial devotion; and his religious bigotry was on a level with his filial fanaticism. When he entered the palace of Ajuda, therefore, he entered the den of the sorceress; and showed both his superstitions in the same act. His mother, who knew him well, advanced to receive him; he fell on his knees and kissed her hand, as if she had been a superior being, and, taking from his breast an image of the virgin of the rock, he exclaimed amid tears, "See with what fidelity I have preserved the relic which you gave me at parting." From that moment the old queen's influence—an influence under which he had attempted to dethrone, and would have assassinated his father—was re-established. At the first interview she inspired him with the idea that every thing which he had heard abroad of the charter was a delusion,—that the friends of the new institutions were Freemasons and regicides, who, joining with the perfidious English, breathed nothing but murder and vengeance against the house of Braganza. The state of the administration aided the delusion. He found that the friends of the constitution had been unable to maintain themselves in the possession of power, and he would conclude that they were not supported by popular favour. The official world, with which he was necessarily brought into contact, confirmed the counsels of his mother, and the bias of his own inclinations.

The act, which made him regent, had declared, that he was to be regent to govern according to the

charter. By that charter he could not act as regent, until, in that capacity, he had taken an oath to observe the constitution. To have evaded this condition would have been to throw off the mask too hastily; and it was resolved therefore that he should take the oath, as if to secure the enjoyment of an additional luxury in the perpetration of an additional perjury. On the fourth day after his arrival (26th February), in presence of the two chambers of the Cortes, and of the assembled court, he solemnly swore to observe the constitution, and to cause it to be observed in all its parts, as established by the charter. This very act, which ought to have quieted apprehension, at least for a time, was the first thing that excited suspicion of his intentions. It was remarked, that the manner in which he took the oath was awkward and precipitate; that the duke de Cadaval, president of the chamber of peers, by whom it was administered, so placed himself as almost to exclude the regent from view; that the latter repeated the words in a tone so low, that even the members of the chambers, who were nearest, heard not what he said. Nay, it was doubtful whether he had uttered a word, for, he was said to have exclaimed, on returning to his apartments, "Well I have gone through the ceremony of swearing to the charter, but I have sworn nothing."

The next day he announced the choice which he had made of his ministers, and that choice announced that the constitution had no favour to expect. At the head of the ministry he placed the duke de Cadaval, the first peer of Portugal, and allied to the royal family; but without character or principle,

and a subservient creature of the queen mother. The portfolio of the interior was given to M. Leite de Barros, of whom it is enough to say that he had held the same office during the temporary success of Don Miguel's rebellion against his father in 1824. The ministry of justice was given to M. Furtado de Mendonça, who, as a magistrate and judge, had been distinguished only for servility and severity. M. Lausan was made minister of finance, a respectable, but a nerveless man, who, during the year, earnestly desired permission to resign, more than once, but was always refused. To lull, in some measure, public apprehension, the ministry of war, and, *ad interim*, that of foreign affairs, were given to count Villa Real, a tried and worthy friend of the constitution. This was the only nomination that could inspire confidence; it was foreseen that it would soon disappear; and, while it remained, it could be no counterbalance to so many known enemies of the charter.

The announcement of the new ministry, therefore, operated like a public calamity. All business in Lisbon came to a stand. The paper money lost immediately  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.: the late loan bore no price whatever; the notes of the Bank, which had got up to only  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent discount, fell to 3 per cent; and, in consequence of this, the Bank, which was to have opened its payments that very day, afraid of the run, and of what might yet follow, postponed its payments indeterminately. On the other hand, the mob, that had been taught to shout for an absolute king, from that moment, waxed bolder and more outrageous. Every evening they refreshed the queen mother, beneath her win-

dows, with their seditious ories, to which they now added "Long live the marquis of Chaves," and, "Down with the Constitution." The military were ordered not to interfere with them, and the new prime minister distributed money amongst them. These exhibitions were not expressions of popular opinion. The wretches, who performed in them, had no sentiments of their own; they were hired and tutored; no respectable inhabitant ever joined in their orgies. They were speaking gazettes of the government, to announce what it wished or intended to do, in a shape which might be used as a pretext for doing it.

A more daring and decisive scene immediately followed. The regent had fixed the 1st of March for receiving the congratulations of the royal academy of Lisbon, and almost all the courtiers and public functionaries attended the levee. The regent's mob, which had hitherto been found always at the palaces indeed, but always outside of them, was admitted, on this occasion into the inner yards of the Ajuda, and the visitors, who arrived to pay their respects to the representative of their sovereign, found the whole extent of the hall, or palace entrance, which is within the building, occupied by the ferocious, ragged, vociferating gang. As every carriage entered the hall, its occupant was detained, threatened, and abused, until he would consent to shout for "Religion," and "The Absolute King," and this within reach of the archers' guard. Their outrages, naturally, were specially directed against all who were known to be friends of the constitution. The patriarch of Lisbon himself, notwithstanding his reverend years, and apostolical

garb, was compelled not only to repeat several times the vociferations of the mob, but to give them his benediction, whilst he himself was abused as a Liberal and a Freemason! Count da Cunha, one of the four noblemen who had been acquitted that very morning by the Chamber of Peers, was dragged from his carriage, and beaten. He escaped into the hall of the archers' guard, but the ruffians followed him into the very interior of the palace; and his life would have been sacrificed, had not some officers surrounded him with their drawn sabres. General Caula, too, who had distinguished himself last year by his fidelity and promptitude in suppressing the revolt of the garrison of the fortress of Elvas, of which he was governor, was visited by similar maltreatment. He was now commandant of the garrison of Lisbon. In that capacity he was present on this occasion to receive from the regent the watch-word of the night. Having refused to obey the mandate of the mob, or to shout for the absolute king, he was attacked with stones, and after his carriage had been broken to pieces, it was with difficulty that he, at last, escaped with his life.

While all this was going on within the limits of the palace of Don Miguel, regent of Portugal, he refused to allow any step to be taken to quell the rioters. The answer which he sent to the repeated applications of the captain of the guard for orders to disperse them, was, "Take no notice of it" (*Nao fassa caso*); and his prime minister, who alone, so soon as he told them his name, had been allowed to pass unquestioned by the mob, stood laughing at one of the palace windows, enjoying the scene.



These were no unmeaning acts of wanton outrage. The whole scene spoke volumes. The spot where the riot was permitted, the object of the rioters, the persons whom they specially selected for insult and violence, the passiveness of the prince, whose dignity, if he had not directed it, was degraded by its existence—all told the constitutionalists very plainly, that brute force was preparing against them, and that their surest safety would be found in absence.

When some days had elapsed without the authorities taking any notice of the transaction, count Taipa, one of the acquitted peers, made a motion concerning it in the chamber, and supported it by a speech, which exhibited, amid the prevailing servility or timid passiveness, a manliness that was quite refreshing. "The events," he said, "which had recently taken place in the capital had excited so great a degree of alarm that hundreds of families were on the point of leaving the country, and would carry with them great wealth. All who possessed the means of living in foreign countries talked of emigrating; but such an emigration would constitute an epoch as dreadful to Portugal as the loss of king Sebastian in Africa; and it might perhaps be realized, if the chamber did not dissipate the obscure atmosphere with which a faction had surrounded the regent, by making him acquainted with the real state of the nation. Soon after the arrival of the regent, hired groups began to assemble round the palace, and cried 'live Don Miguel, the absolute king! Down with the Charter!' A peer of the kingdom, coming out of the court, was insulted and maltreated, and only saved his

life by flight. General Caula, commandant of Lisbon, experienced the same treatment, when, in the execution of his duty, he came to receive the regent's orders. The prince of Schwartzenberg was likewise insulted. Amidst these events, the government remained passive. Not even a proclamation in disapproval of them had been issued: no proceedings had been ordered to be instituted against the traitors who had committed such atrocities. Traitors they were; because men, who raised their voices for a king, who was not their lawful monarch, were not less traitors than those who cried for a republic." After pointing out the necessity of an authentic testimony of the regent's disapprobation of these transactions, he moved that the ministers should be requested to come to the chamber to answer questions on the subject.

Count Villa Real, the only one of the ministers who was present, opposed the motion as premature. He allowed that ministers were bound to bring these transactions under the notice of the regent; but it was only after it should be ascertained whether or not they had remained silent, that it could be judged how far they had performed their duty. Having accused count Taipa of indiscretion in speaking of "a faction surrounding the throne," and having assured the chamber that he knew of no such faction, count Taipa replied, "I have been censured for saying that the Infant is surrounded by a faction—I am not accustomed to retract my assertions, and in the words of a French poet I shall say—*'Je le dirais encore, si j'avais à le dire.'* When I accepted the dignity of

peer, I felt that I held in this chamber a post of honour, in which it was my duty, if necessary, to die in the same manner as I held myself, when I entered the service, ready to die in the field of battle. If I may not freely speak my opinion, I shall be no better than Caligula's horse. That animal wore the robe of a Roman senator; and I, like it, shall appear here in the dress of a Portuguese peer. I therefore persist in my motion." On the question being put, there were for the motion seven; against it, twenty-four.

In the Chamber of Deputies, too, on the same day (7th March), M. Magalhaes, the same member, who, in the preceding session, had proposed an address for the dismissal of the ministers, brought forward the subject of the riots and seditious cries. He moved that the ministers should be called on to give information respecting the measures adopted to punish the offenders and prevent the recurrence of such practices. The chamber unanimously agreed to the motion: but it led to no result; for the functions of the Chambers were speedily at an end.

The steps, which the regent now took towards his object, were more open and direct. Not only the great mass of the respectable population of Lisbon remained true to the constitution, but, what was infinitely more disagreeable to the court party, the military had shewn no desire to join in the scenes of sedition which had been gotten up. Many of them had done hard duty for the constitution in the field against the rebellious legions of Chaves; and their good dispositions found strong encouragement, as well as an excellent example, in the firmness of general

Caula, who commanded the garrison. The regent set about corrupting them by dismissing general Caula. Next all the constitutional officers of the garrison were dismissed, and their places were filled by officers devoted to the designs of the court. Villa Real, the minister-at-war, rather than sign these decrees, resigned that portfolio, but he still consented, and was allowed to retain his place as minister for foreign affairs,\* while the war department was immediately given to an apostolic of the name of Pardo. The constitutional governors of the provinces were next deprived of their offices, and succeeded by officers obedient to the opposite faction. Finally, orders were sent to Spain to the notorious Chaves, to return to Portugal with his bands, to receive from his grateful master the reward of having served him so well in rebellion. It was an important object with the court to gain the assistance of the troops of Chaves, as, notwithstanding the changes of the officers, it could not reckon either on the regular army, or on the militia.

The shameless proceedings of the regent threw Lisbon into consternation. It was clear that the destruction of the constitution was resolved on; and what man, who was known to be a friend of the constitution, could expect mercy

\* The reason of count Villa Real's remaining in office, after the designs of the court had been so openly declared, was explained to be, that the foreign ambassadors, seeing the mischievous tendency of the court, and apprehensive that, if a fanatic obtained the management of the foreign relations of Portugal, the usual communications might be interrupted, requested him to remain in the Foreign-office, and he reluctantly consented to a temporary sacrifice of his feelings.

from a prince to whom treason, perfidy, and perjury had become so familiar. The result, which count Taipa had foretold in the House of Peers, was taking place. The constitutionalists were preparing in crowds to leave the country; the capital was sunk in despair. The hopelessness of their condition seemed to be increased by the approaching departure of the British troops. The object, for which they had been sent out, had been accomplished. Portugal had been secured against foreign invasion: it was no part of their duty to interfere in the struggles of domestic factions, however strong might be the wishes of their government for the triumph of liberty. Their embarkation was going on, while Don Miguel was taking the different steps, which have been narrated, for overturning the constitution.

The regent had arranged, at the same time, a plan for assuming the title, as well as the authority of king, and for providing a military force to support him in his usurpation, if the regular army should refuse to follow him in rebellion against their lawful sovereign. He was to go to Villa Viçosa, a town in the Alentejo, and near the Spanish frontier, under the pretence of a hunting excursion. He was there to find a force raised by the priests from among the peasantry who had been engaged in the former insurrections; he was to be joined by Chaves, with his rebellious troops; he was to be proclaimed king; and Portugal was, of course, to be declared independent of Don Pedro. He was then to address the nation, and the army; and, with the force which would attend him, the authority of the priests, and the pre-

parations which he had made by changing the officers of the army, he doubted not that, when he marched upon Lisbon, he would be received as king. If he should fail, he was to retire into Spain, organize an army, with the assistance of his uncle Ferdinand, and return as an invader.

It so happened that sir Frederick Lamb, the English minister at Lisbon obtained accurate information of the scheme, and of the share which the court of Madrid was to bear in it. He immediately, upon his own responsibility, countermanded the orders for the departure of the British troops, until he should receive further orders from his government in such novel circumstances as the forcible usurpation of the crown of an allied sovereign by an armed force, headed by a man whom the powers of Europe knew only as that sovereign's viceroy. Moreover, Don Miguel was very poor. When in London, he had tried to negotiate a loan for his most urgent wants; but nobody in the money-market would trust him. At length M. Rothschild was prevailed upon to advance to him a considerable sum, on receiving the guarantee of the British government for its repayment. The money had arrived; it would have been invaluable to Miguel, for equipping and supporting the rebels who were to return with Chaves; it was on the point of being delivered, when the plot against Don Pedro's crown was detected. Sir Frederick Lamb, at the same time that he ordered the troops to remain, ordered the money to be sent back.

The determination to detain the troops filled Lisbon with joy. They were not, indeed, to interfere in the

struggles of internal factions; but nevertheless the inhabitants felt that their presence was a powerful restraint upon the regent and his mother, which prevented the out-breaking of any violent persecution, and was a security against the introduction of rebels armed in Spain—the very proceeding which they had been sent out to put down. Don Miguel knew that the British government was on the side of the constitution, and he was not the man to trust to the sincerity of any professions. Daily employed himself in practising the most unblushing perfidy, in falsifying the clearest declarations, and violating the most solemn oaths, he could not believe that other men might prefer good faith to the attainment of a desirable object. So long as he was within the reach of British bayonets, he always feared that those bayonets, though sent to defend Portugal against Spain, might be employed to defend the constitution against himself.

The Chambers shared in the joy, and began to show symptoms of a spirit, which, if exerted even two months before, might have saved the country. The discussion in both Chambers, and the vote of the Chamber of Deputies, on the subject of the riots at the palace, had given mortal offence. They would have been instantly dissolved, but that the Regent's plans were not sufficiently matured, and that their session would expire on the 2nd of April in virtue of the charter itself, which limited their session to three months. A report had gone abroad that the written oath to the constitution, which Miguel had sworn so as not to be heard, was one prepared for the occasion, and meaning nothing;

and the Chamber of Deputies had voted an address, praying that a copy of the oath which he had taken might be laid before them. They had also spoken of a vote of thanks to the admiral and general commanding the British fleet and troops, as well as to the soldiers and sailors. It was to be moved on the 14th of March. Farther, it was understood, that a majority of the peers had united, and resolved to co-operate with the Deputies in calling the government to account for the existing abuses, to deny all supplies of money till such account was given, and to denounce the re-action that was taking place against Don Pedro's rights. The Regent, therefore, on the 14th of March terminated the session, and dissolved the Chamber of Deputies; and thus perished, in their third session, the Portuguese Constitutional Cortes, marking, by their downfall, the destruction of a free government, to whose ultimate ruin they themselves had mainly contributed by their own inactivity, and want of promptitude and energy in duly exercising the powers which it had lodged in them for its preservation.

The instructions for the ultimate removal of the British troops which shortly afterwards arrived from England, completed the dismay of the constitutionalists. Every check upon the extravagance of the apostolics was now removed. The miseries of emigration commenced; the most estimable personages of the kingdom, all of the nobility (and they included the chief wealth of the aristocracy), who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the despot and his minions, sought refuge in England. Count Villa Real opposed with all his influence the dissolution of the Chamber.

When his resistance proved ineffectual, he resigned his office as Minister for Foreign Affairs, and finally separated himself from a government which perhaps he had too long served. He was succeeded by viscount Santarem, an insignificant personage, too fond of the dignity of office to quarrel with the principles of any party that would bestow it.

The measures for re-modelling the army were now more industriously pursued, and began to produce some effect. Rebel officers were called back in great numbers from Spain, and placed in all situations of any importance. The Regent introduced the army to a knowledge of what he wished it to do for him now, by an order of the day, in which he lauded its fidelity to him when he rebelled against his father in 1824. More open and regular encouragement, too, was now given to all rabble who could be prevailed on to shout for an absolute king, and that king Don Miguel. By an ordinance of 19th of March, the head of the police, Bastos, was ordered to send him a list of all the magistrates in the kingdom, who had hindered the people from manifesting their sentiments of loyalty and love to Don Miguel—that is, who had stopped the seditious and rebellious vociferations for Miguel I. absolute king—in order that such magistrates might be punished with all the rigour of the laws, and “with the terrible effects of his royal highness’s justice.” In *Tras Os Montes*, which, in consequence of the local possessions of the families of Chaves and Silveira, had always been the principal seat of the influence of the rebels, the lower orders, who, for several days had been tutored by the priests, by emissaries

from Lisbon, and by persons belonging to the families of the Silveiras, met the new apostolical governor of the province at Villa Real with shouts of “Viva the Silveiras! Viva, Queen Charlotte! Viva, Don Miguel! Death to the Charter! Death to Don Pedro! Death to the English! Death to the Freemasons!” The mob likewise insulted and attacked such persons as were known to be constitutionalists, the governor encouraging them in their cries, and telling them, “You must petition the *Senhor Infante* to take adequate measures.”

On the following day a figure of pasteboard was dragged about the streets, representing, according to some, Don Pedro, and according to others, the Charter. It was thrown into the river with tremendous imprecations against Don Pedro and the English. Another expedient adopted to accomplish the same end consisted in the military governors addressing to the municipalities, circular letters which invited them not to be the last in addressing a supplication to Don Miguel to proclaim himself king, and to abolish the charter as contrary to the fundamental laws, and as a production of the faction who in 1820 had usurped the sovereignty. The expedient could not fail to succeed; for all respectable magistrates of towns, and all military governors and commanders of regiments, who remained faithful to Don Pedro, had been removed, and rebels had been appointed in their stead.

The Regent and his minions hoped, that, by means like these, they would be able to get up in Lisbon something to which they might give the name of an expression of public opinion in favour of

his assumption of the crown ; and the 25th of April, the birth-day of his mother, was selected for the exhibition. The birth-day of his niece, Donna Maria, at once his future queen and his betrothed wife, had been allowed to pass over unnoticed. On the 25th of April, a blackguard rabble waited upon the municipality, and expressed their wish that a petition to Don Miguel should be immediately framed, supplicating him, for the honour and safety of the nation, to assume the title and powers of its absolute king. The municipality, duly prepared and acquiescent, acceded to the request. While they proceeded to concoct the precious document, their ruffian applicants adjourned to the square, and, having made a bonfire, mid shouts of "Death to Don Pedro," burned the charter, which few of them could read, and not one of them could understand. At no time did they exceed three hundred persons. Half a dozen cavalry might have dispersed them, but although the police was on the ground, they were allowed to play out their seditious farce. The petition, being drawn up, was signed by all the members of the municipality, and by as many of their friends in the square as could write, but both together did not yield an hundred names. Even the Gazette could not have set these down as representing "the will of Lisbon ;" yet no respectable person could be gotten to sign voluntarily. In this dilemma, the nobility and gentry happened to be returning from the levee at the palace. All who passed by the municipality were stopped by the rioters, taken out of their carriages, and compelled to sign. In this way, some names were obtained which other-

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wise would never have appeared, and the number of signatures was raised to something above an hundred. A deputation of the municipality, headed by its president, then repaired to the palace with the beggarly supplication. The disappointed Regent received it graciously, but answered that it was premature ; anxious to disclaim, when it became a disgraceful failure, what he had ordered and arranged, in the hope that it would prove a triumph. All the preparations made in the palace and the city, among the courtiers and the monks, at the barracks and in the convents, to get up the semblance of a general revolt in favour of the wretched despot who desired to build his usurpation on the ruin of the national institutions, miserably failed, from the want of able actors, and a sympathising public. If the burlesque representation showed, on the one hand, how far the partisans of the Regent and his mother were willing to go, it demonstrated, on the other, how small a minority of the nation was disposed to second their views. The military, though solicited, did not stir ; the respectable inhabitants stood aloof from scenes at which they were disgusted ; and the self-styled awarders of power were reduced to the dregs of a brutal mob, furious and fanatic—because intoxicated by the monks and protected by the police—who enforced loyalty and illumination by breaking windows, and the signature of municipal addresses by threats of assassination. Even the government itself winced under the disgrace, and, not knowing how such open rebellion against Don Pedro, gotten up under the very eyes of the Regent, and directed, in fact, by his hand, might be viewed

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by Don Pedro's allies, the Minister for Foreign Affairs next day addressed a note to the members of the corps diplomatique, in which he affected to regret the occurrence, ascribing it to the impossibility of keeping down the people, though the most efficacious measures had been adopted by the government, and though "the constituted authorities had employed every proceeding practicable in so delicate a conjuncture." Every man in Lisbon knew, that all this was a mean and unblushing lie. The rabble had carried on its proceedings in the presence of the police, the ministers were in waiting to receive the address, the heads and principal officers of all the public departments were compelling their dependents and creatures to sign it at the very time when this note was written. To crown all, the duke of Lafoens (a brother of Cadaval), who, on the death of the late king, had been one of the deputation who carried to Don Pedro in Brazil the homage and allegiance of Portugal, and the recognition of every European power, invited the Portuguese nobility to sign an atrocious act of rebellion of the very same character with that of the municipality. Never were the nobles of a land insulted before by a proposal of such damning perfidy—yet many signatures were obtained, though, in numerous instances, it met with just and indignant scorn. M. Santarem's note, therefore, deceived nobody, much less the foreign ministers; they had been accredited to Don Pedro in being accredited to his representative; they could not shut their eyes to the fact, that they were now dealing with a man who was snatching the crown from Don Pedro's head; they, therefore, all

met to confer on the answer which should be given, when they unanimously agreed that they should notify to the minister, that they suspended all official intercourse with him and the government of which he was a member, until they should receive further orders from their courts.

The treason thus announced was soon completed. These addresses, from half a score of miserable officials, of his own appointment, constituting municipalities, and from a number of noblemen who, by the very fact of affixing their signatures, forfeited every title to the name, the Regent dignified with the appellation of an unanimous expression of the public opinion. Public opinion, however, so expressed, was not expressed in the manner which the fundamental laws of the kingdom had prescribed as proper to be observed in the election of its sovereign; but it furnished to him, he said, an irresistible reason why the mode prescribed by these fundamental laws should be adopted, and an opportunity should be furnished to his faithful people of giving effect to their wishes in a legitimate form. On the 3rd of May, accordingly, he issued a decree, convoking, for that purpose, the Cortes of Lamego, the ancient three estates of the kingdom, who had not been assembled since 1697.\*

\* The following is the Decree:—

"The necessity of convoking the three estates of the kingdom, already acknowledged by the king, my father, (now in glory), in his decree of June 4, 1824, having increased by reason of late events, and I, desiring to satisfy the urgent representations which the clergy, the nobility, the tribunals, and all the municipalities have submitted to my royal presence, have thought proper, in conformity with the opinion of learned persons, zealous for the service of God

The decrees of the Regent had hitherto run in the name of Don Pedro; this ordinance ran in his own name. He forestalled that very sanction which he was declaring to be indispensable. The guilt of audacious treason sat lightly on his soul, but the ridicule of convoking an assembly in Don Pedro's name to vote Don Pedro from his throne would have wounded his pride. By his mean falsehoods, by his contempt of all natural affection, and kind domestic feeling, by his revolting hypocrisy, by his deep and daring perjuries, Don Miguel had already rendered himself thoroughly contemptible and detestable; by issuing this decree he had forfeited his head. He lay already under the ban of every honourable mind; by this act he laid himself under the ban of the law, and to that law he ought to have made atonement with his worthless life, if the men of Portugal had not been dull and brutish as stocks and stones, as despicably slavish as he was daringly wicked.

So soon as this atrocious decree was known out of Portugal, the marquis Resende, and the marquis Itabayana, the Brazilian ministers

and the good of the nation, to convoke the said three estates of the kingdom in this city of Lisbon, within thirty days from this date of the letters of convocation, for the end that they, in a solemn and legal manner, according to the usages and style of this monarchy, and in the form practised on similar occasions, may recognize the application of grave points of Portuguese right, and in that way restore public concord and tranquillity, and that all the important business of the kingdom may take consistence and just direction. My council of ministers is to understand my order in this sense, and cause it to be executed.

"Palace of Ajuda,  
May 3."

(With the royal  
signature.)

to the courts of London and Vienna, made public a protest against the usurpation, and in defence of their master's rights. They described the address of the municipality of Lisbon, and the Regent's decree, (which, however, with a foolish affectation of respect for the royal blood, they imputed to treason and force practised against him), as criminal violations of the incontestable rights of his majesty Don Pedro, and his daughter Donna Maria—rights which the governments of Europe in general, and the Portuguese nation in particular, had solemnly recognized. They protested, therefore, against them, against the abolition of institutions granted by the king, and legally established and sworn to in Portugal, and against the unlawful convocation of the antient states which had ceased to exist no less by prescription than by the introduction of the late constitution. "As," said they, in conclusion, "this solemn protest cannot be regularly notified to the existing government of Portugal—since, in consequence of having openly violated all the conditions which his majesty Don Pedro IV. had imposed upon the said government, and of having endeavoured to render doubtful his imprescriptible rights by the decree issued at Lisbon, it cannot be considered in any other light than a government *de facto*, with which all official communications on the part of the foreign ministers resident at Lisbon have ceased—we have determined to address this protest, as it is our duty to do, to the Portuguese nation, firmly persuaded, that they will not be appealed to in vain; and that their fidelity, inherent and hereditary, will not



suffer a perfidious and perjured faction to overturn the tutelar principle of legitimacy, which forms the basis of the peace of Europe, and which all its sovereigns have so nobly engaged to maintain inviolate, as the surest means of securing their own welfare and that of their subjects."

And it did seem, for a while, as if the appeal was not to be made in vain. The hope that Portugal would shake off the yoke of this nefarious usurpation arose from the army, a great part of which had preserved its fidelity against all the management and seduction of the government, although its favourite and constitutional leaders had not only been removed, but had sought refuge in Britain from the persecution which would probably have attacked their talents and influence, even while it spared the resistance of less able, and therefore less formidable, though not less honest men. The municipality of Oporto, fashioned for the purpose, had gotten up an address after the style of that at Lisbon. From this address, all the respectable inhabitants of the city firmly dissented; and, having assembled, they declared their determination to support the rights of Don Pedro. The 6th regiment of infantry formed part of the garrison, having arrived on the 6th of May, while the city was still in a ferment. This was a regiment which had been principally raised in Oporto: the men, well disposed of themselves, were confirmed by the example and exhortations of their relations and acquaintances, and fixed, in their turn, the resolution of the 18th infantry which was likewise in garrison. On the 16th of May, these two regiments met in arms in the great square, and announced

their determination to resist the usurpation of their master Don Pedro's crown. A regiment of cavalry, another of Caçadores, and a third of artillery, which completed the garrison, on learning the occurrence, immediately joined their comrades. The citizens were equally unanimous. The inhabitants and the garrison of Oporto having thus declared against Don Miguel, a provisional government was established in the name of Don Pedro; and the ultra commandant, who had replaced general Stubbs, fled in dismay. So soon as the event was known at Coimbra, the students of the university armed themselves, and marched to join the little army of Oporto.

The troops in Oporto had been previously assured of the accession of the garrisons of Braya, Valença, and Penafiel, on the north bank of the Douro, and being joined by them, the whole force marched towards Lisbon. On their way they were reinforced by the regiments stationed in many of the towns in Upper Beira, who were animated by the same spirit; and, now amounting in number to about six thousand men, they advanced without opposition to Coimbra, of which they took possession. They had among them no officer of distinguished rank, or high character. Their ablest generals were refugees in England. The provisional junta of Oporto, so soon as it was formed, dispatched intelligence of the counter revolution to them in London, and formally communicated it, in the name of the king, to the marquis Palmella, who had represented the regent at the court of St. James's, but had declared his functions to be at an end on the publication of the

decree of the 3rd May. As the junta acted in the name of the king his master, the marquis without hesitation recognized its authority, and resolved, along with his exiled companions, immediately to return to put themselves at the head of the attempt to redeem the kingdom. In a few days after the receipt of the intelligence, the marquis Palmella, along with counts Villa Flor, the most distinguished of the Portuguese officers, de Taipa, and Sampayo; generals Saldanha, Xavier, Stubbs, and some others of less note, sailed from Plymouth for Oporto, where they counted upon arriving by the 20th June.

When the knowledge of these events reached the capital, they threw the usurper and his adherents into perplexity and consternation. They were ignorant of the extent of the movement; they dreaded the influence of example upon the military; they wanted money to equip and pay up the troops which were at their command. Their first step was, to declare Oporto to be in a state of blockade (22nd May) in order to deprive the constitutionalists of all succours from without, especially from Britain. Though the British government had so far reprobated the proceedings of Miguel, and denied the title by which he now held his power, it acknowledged and observed the blockade, as being established *de facto* by the presence of ships of war, and by an authority which was held to be *de facto* master of Portugal. To raise money, Miguel applied to the bank of Lisbon for a loan: the bank, knowing the weakness of his honesty and of its own resources, refused the request. He then

fell back upon the wealthiest of those who had supported his tyranny, and compelled them, by forced loans, to supply his wants. By these means he was enabled to send a body of troops from the capital (25th May) to join the regiments with which the governors of the northern and eastern provinces had been ordered, on the first alarm, to march into Upper Beira, through which the constitutionalists were advancing. The governors, who had all been selected from among his own creatures, served him with activity and fidelity, and the troops which they commanded remained faithful. Unfortunately, too, the constitutionalists, after having advanced, without opposition, considerably in front of Coimbra, on the left bank of the Mondego, suddenly stopped short. Whether from want of skill and determination in their leaders, unaccustomed to conduct important operations, and unwilling to advance farther into the interior, until they should have the aid of some of the distinguished general officers who were on their way from England, or whether they feared that the troops collecting from the eastern and northern provinces might close upon them from behind, and cut off the retreat to Oporto in case of a reverse; certain it is, that they lingered about Coimbra till beyond the middle of June, while it was always thought, that, if they had pushed on without delay to Lisbon, they would have been received with open arms, and the contest would have been ended. The delay, from whatever cause it proceeded, enabled the generals of Miguel to advance against them at last, with superior numbers, both in front and in flank, and to

threaten to hem them in between the Mondego and the Vouga. On the 24th of June the constitutionalists sustained on equal terms a vigorous attack made upon their advanced guard in front of Coimbra; but finding themselves in danger of being outflanked by superior forces, they commenced a retrograde movement on the 26th, and recrossed the Mondego to fall back on the river Vouga, the only good military position between Coimbra and Oporto.

On the very day on which this movement was made, the generals from England landed at Oporto, having unfortunately been detained upon their passage six days longer than they had calculated. On the 29th, those of their number, who were appointed by the Junta to take the command of the troops which were expected to be found on the Vouga, set out from Oporto; but they had not got farther than four leagues from that city, when they received information that an action had taken place that morning, on the bridge of the Vouga, in consequence of which (though the Miguelite troops had not forced the bridge) the commander of the Constitutionalists thought it necessary to fall back and abandon that advantageous position. There remained, then, no course to be taken before an enemy superior in numbers, than that of continuing to retreat to the suburb of Oporto, which is built on a hill to the north of the Douro, and which is separated from the city only by that river. The corps, which had thus fallen back, consisted of about three thousand good troops of the line. In the retreat from Coimbra to the Douro, all the militia corps, which had attached themselves to the constitutional

army, had left it and returned to their homes. Desertion, too, the usual effect of retrograde movements had thinned some of the regiments, and the peasantry, among whom they were acting, had generally espoused, under the dictation of the priests, the side of Don Miguel. With these three thousand men, about one thousand to the north of the Douro, and one thousand five hundred Oporto volunteers, it was required to make a stand against double the force in troops of the line which were on the south of the Douro, and at the same time to defend the city against from five thousand to six thousand troops of every description, which were only at three leagues' distance, on the north of Oporto, and were advancing against the town by three different roads at once. Even on the supposition that they had attacked the Miguelite army in front, and had gained the advantage, the corps of three thousand men, which had no means of recruiting itself, was not sufficient to take advantage of a victory, and to leave behind it a garrison to defend Oporto against the attack with which it was threatened on the opposite side. In case of a reverse, again, these troops had no means of retreat except across the river behind them, and they would have been surrounded by enemies who would have attacked a town without fortifications or means of defence against such a superior force. There remained only the alternative either to defend themselves in despair in the town of Oporto, or to evacuate it, and, uniting in one corps all the disposable troops, to cut their way through the enemy on the north of the Douro, in order, as a last resource, to gain the frontiers of Galicia.

On the morning of the 2nd of July the government Junta assembled. Having heard the opinions of the generals appointed to command the troops on the south of the Douro, and of general Stubbs, commandant of the town, they decided that it was necessary to adopt the latter alternative. The Junta was consequently dissolved; all civil and military authority being previously delegated to a committee, composed of two of its members, and to the general who was to take the command of the troops, in order to effect the evacuation of Oporto, and conduct them to the Spanish frontier. The members of the Junta and the other individuals who did not intend to follow the army, and yet could not remain in the town, immediately embarked. The only chance they had for escaping the blockading ships depended upon taking advantage of the night which would elapse before the entrance of the enemy's troops. In this they were fortunate enough to succeed, and arrived safely in England, whence the most distinguished of them had departed not many weeks before with very different prospects. Next day the troops passed to the northern bank of the Douro, and commenced their retreat towards Spain through the province of Minho. On their march they had some severe skirmishing with guerilla parties, and, from the state of the roads, had to leave behind them the heavy artillery with which they had encumbered their retreat. On the fourth day they reached the Spanish frontier. They were not received with cordiality; but they were not given up, and were allowed to travel forward to Ferrol and Corunna, and thence they were conveyed to England. Besides the

regular troops, there were in this unfortunate band, a great number of persons belonging to Oporto, who had taken arms as volunteers. A dépôt of these refugees was established at Plymouth. Thus suddenly did the hopes of a counter revolution fade away, and thus speedily and unexpectedly did the usurper reap the proverbial advantage of a suppressed insurrection.

A similar attempt at resistance, which was made in Madeira, did not prove more successful. The government of Lisbon, doubtful of the submission of general Valdez, the governor of the island, sent out a successor of its own choosing to replace him. But Valdez had determined not to acknowledge the title of Don Miguel, and to hold the island for Don Pedro, in which he obtained the concurrence of the principal inhabitants. When the frigate, which brought the new apostolic governor, arrived at Madeira on the 25th of June, her salute was answered, to his excellency's great surprise, by a discharge of shotted-guns from the batteries; and speedily understanding how matters stood, and not having come prepared for war, he did not attempt to land. The priests having gotten up an insurrection in favour of Don Miguel, Valdez instantly attacked the rebels, routed and quelled them. The government at home, however, having its hands set free by the unfortunate issue of the counter revolution of Oporto, forthwith dispatched an expedition to reduce Madeira. It appeared before Machico on the 22nd of August. It was received with some shots from the land batteries, which, however, were quickly silenced by the fire of the squadron, and on the same day, the landing of the troops took place without opposi-

tion. Next day they marched upon Funchal, which they entered after some trifling opposition, the governor not having more than two hundred men for the defence of the town. Valdez, with the most opulent and influential inhabitants of the place, sought refuge on board an English sloop of war lying in the harbour.

When the counter revolution in Oporto carried consternation to Lisbon, Don Miguel had provided for his safety in the city by hurrying into its dungeons multitudes of the citizens who were suspected, justly or unjustly, of favouring the constitution. By the middle of June he had filled its prisons with nearly three thousand victims of his jealousy or revenge. Every packet that sailed for England carried into voluntary exile numbers of useful and respectable citizens: the industry and wealth of Lisbon were disappearing with its liberty and peace. Instead of endeavouring to prevent, the usurper saw with pleasure, the departure of men like count Villa Real, count da Cunha, count Ficabra, and many other noblemen of distinguished rank; for their absence facilitated his management of the aristocracy in the solemn meeting of the three estates which was now to crown his perfidy. The decree of the 3rd May had ordered them to assemble in thirty days from that date; but the day of meeting had been postponed, to give time for changing the members of some of the municipalities who would not prostitute their offices at the despot's nod. No delicacy was observed in the management. Wherever a municipality hesitated or refused to send up, at his command, an address or "acclamation," as it was termed,

offering him the crown in the character of absolute king, and stating moreover, that it made the offer voluntarily, its members were instantly dismissed, and more obedient instruments installed in their place. Prepared as every thing had been, the convoking of the three estates was a work of supererogation; for what they were now to express they had already expressed. There was to be no deliberation; they assembled to speak the words which the princely traitor had already made them repeat to satiety. He had secured the opinion of the municipalities, by identifying them with his own blind and devoted menials; and as to the church, it was her advice that was urging him to the crime, it was her influence that put the knife into his hand, and bound the victim at his feet. As to the peers again, the most able, the most upright, the most influential members of the nobility had been ordered or frightened by him into exile; those who remained, with some splendid exceptions, had sullied their rank by a darker stain than almost ever before had disgraced the honours of chivalry—mean, unmanly licking the dust from the feet of a perjured and unnatural usurper—perfidy towards a liberal, and an absent king—treason against a defenceless child, and that child about to become a woman.

At length the three estates assembled in Lisbon on the 23rd June. The session was opened with a speech from the bishop of Viseu, who, not much more than twelve months before, had opened the session of the constitutional Cortes of that very monarch whom he was now about to depose. The three constituent parts of the es-

tates then proceeded to deliberate, in three different churches, on the matters laid before them. The simple question was, whether Don Pedro or Don Miguel was, by the law of Portugal, king of the realm. Without a moment's hesitation or debate, they decided by acclamation, that Don Miguel was the only legal sovereign, that Don Pedro had no right over the kingdom, and that every institution, therefore, which he had introduced, had been, and was, radically null and illegal. This infamous vote was given on the 26th of June. On the 28th Don Miguel by an ordinance confirmed the judgement, and formally assumed the style and title of "Don Miguel by the grace of God, king of Portugal and the Algarves." At the same time, a decree was made recalling Chaves and his gang of rebels, and restoring them to their estates, honours, and employments, as faithful subjects and meritorious supporters of the throne. Thus, in less than three months, was brought to a triumphant conclusion a scene of hypocrisy, treason, and usurpation, to which the annals of history will scarcely afford a parallel—a prince entitling himself to boast that to the attempted dethronement of his father he had added the actual dethronement of his brother and his niece, not by possessing higher talent or superior merit of any description, but simply by being able to trample under foot every obligation, human and divine, and to face with equal imperturbability the scorn and reprobation of mankind, and the retributions of the unseen Power whose most awful sanctions he had violated, and whose image he disgraced.

So soon as the title of king was thus formally assumed, the ambassa-

dors of all states, except Spain and the Pope, quitted Lisbon, and Miguel was left to feel that the first consequence of his crimes was to cut him off from the usual relations with every Christian prince. He indulged on the occasion in some vulgar and impotent wrath; then he had recourse to barefaced falsehood, announcing that their governments had recalled them at his desire, to replace them by others, who, being less addicted to free-masonry, would be more agreeable to his majesty; but he did not improve the lesson which the occurrence taught him, to conciliate respect by using, with moderation and mercy, the power which he had acquired by so much guilt. Now clothed in form, as he had long been in reality, with absolute power, and triumphant over the only band that had dared to oppose him in arms, he gratified his hatred and revenge by revelling in the luxuries of proscription and confiscation. One of his first acts, after he had been declared king, was the appointment of a special commission (14th July) to traverse the kingdom for the punishment, at its discretion, of all who had borne any share in the insurrection, as he of course termed it, of Oporto. The powers of the commissioners were almost unbounded, and were all discretionary. The commissioners were four judges, or *dezembargadors*, all of them bearing a bad reputation in a not very reputable fraternity, notorious only for partiality, servility, and violence, the partisans of a faction, not the even-minded judges of a land. To sharpen their cupidity, and ensure convictions at their hands, they were to be recompensed for their services out of the confiscated property of

the unhappy individuals whom they should condemn. They were directed to proceed first to Oporto, and they speedily converted it into a city of mourning. The list of proscription for that city (for such lists were circulated all over the kingdom) contained at the very first six hundred and fifty names of persons of all ranks and employments, and the insertion of a man's name was an order for his imprisonment. In the course of a month one hundred and twenty-five of these had been tried by the commission, of whom eighty were ruthlessly condemned to death. The rapacity of the judges would have done good in securing dispatch, if it had not at the same time secured almost indiscriminate conviction. To be a violent partisan of the king was the only protection against a prosecution; and a prosecution, in its mildest sense, meant indefinite imprisonment. Even where straggling acquittals occurred, there followed no liberation; for the intendant of police ordered, if he thought fit, the acquitted wretch to be detained during pleasure. Such was the will of the government: Portugal knew no other law.

In the beginning of October, the prison of the Limoeiro alone in Lisbon, contained two thousand four hundred prisoners, of whom one thousand six hundred were confined for political delinquencies. The total number of individuals throughout the kingdom incarcerated on similar charges, or who had avoided the scaffold and the dungeon by flying into exile, amounted to upwards of fifteen thousand men, among whom were forty-two members of the Chamber of Peers, including some of the highest nobility, and

seven members of the Chamber of Deputies. When Saldanha was dismissed from the ministry in July 1827, the populace of Lisbon shouted for his return. For these cries, which he called seditious tumults, Bastos arbitrarily threw a number of individuals into prison, and there he kept them.

We have seen that, in the spring of the present year, a committee of the Chamber of Deputies reported, that these imprisonments were illegal, and that the magistrates, who had ordered them, ought to be brought to trial. The arrival of Don Miguel saved the guilty instruments of power, but sealed the fate of its innocent victims—for whose liberation the Chamber, and its committee, had taken no thought, even while they declared that the imprisonment was illegal. Miguel had now time, not to inquire, but to punish. These miserable men, whose gravest fault had been a noisy expression of esteem towards a popular and deserving minister, who was not agreeable at court; but who had been guilty of no breach of the peace, and had ceased even to shout the instant that the public authorities expressed dissatisfaction, were now transported to the African coast, some for life, others for a limited period.

Miguel seemed incapable of entertaining any other feeling towards his subjects than a savage appetite for indiscriminate punishment: while his proscriptions scattered death and imprisonment, and exile, his confiscations imposed beggary. Rapacity here hurried him on as well as cruelty, and he overtook even the absent. He decreed that the property of all Portuguese, of whatever rank, convicted of rebellion, should be confiscated; and to

create a conviction cost him only a word. He decreed that the property of all Portuguese, who had left the kingdom without his permission, should be confiscated to his use; a most cruel provision in any circumstances, refusing to the peaceful even the power of withdrawing beyond the reach of giving offence, but, when used as an *ex post facto* enactment, utterly atrocious.

Yet all his cruel rapacity could not fill his treasury. To the luxury of annihilating private comfort, he added the enjoyment of having destroyed public credit;—but in destroying the value of the public securities, he had the satisfaction of reducing respectable families to beggary; so that even here he gained something for the only happiness which he could feel. The loan which bore five per cent had been at eighty-two when he arrived in Portugal. It descended as his star rose; and when he was declared king, it sunk to fifty-two, and could find no buyers. The four per cents could find none at forty-two. Fraud and meanness were employed to supply the wants of the royal beggar, as if he had been afraid the world should suspect that any one imaginable vice had been left out of his character. A lottery having been granted to the Foundling Hospital, no sooner was the number of one of the largest prizes ascertained, than the draught from which the ticket was cut received a new cut. When the holder of the ticket presented it, in order to receive his nine thousand milreas, it was applied to the falsified draught, and, as it did not agree with the notch of the ticket, he was dismissed as the holder of a forged document; while the director of the hospital sent the amount immediately to the Treas-

ury, without even waiting for the appearance of the supposed existing true ticket. That was fraud. A government, however wicked it may be, cannot always support itself by plunder and confiscation, and so Don Miguel found it. As a last resource, he came before his subjects in *forma pauperis*, begging their voluntary contributions. The names of the charitable donors were honourably paraded in the Lisbon Gazette: they contained dukes, and counts, and marquises, and barons, and bishops, and the whole munificent alms amounted to somewhere about 4,000*l*.

While Don Miguel had been plotting to deprive Don Pedro of the crown, the latter had formally and finally resigned it. On the 3rd of March, he signed the following decree at Rio Janeiro: "The period having arrived which I fixed for the completion of my abdication of the crown of Portugal, according to my decree of the 3rd of May, 1826, and it being necessary to give to the Portuguese nation, always jealous of its independence, an indubitable proof of my desire of its being perpetually separated from Brazil (of which I have the distinct glory and pride of being sovereign), so as to make even the idea of their being reunited impracticable, I am pleased, of my own free and spontaneous will, after having pondered on this most important business, to order, as by this my royal decree I do order, that the kingdom of Portugal be henceforward governed in the name of my dearly beloved daughter Donna Maria II. already its queen, according to the constitutional charter by me authorized and given, ordered to be sworn, and sworn; declaring, moreover, most expressly, that I have no further claim or right



whatever to the Portuguese crown. The Infant Don Miguel, my much beloved and esteemed brother, regent of the kingdoms of Portugal and Algarve, and my lieutenant, is charged with the execution and publication of the present decree." No occurrence could have placed in a stronger light, than the issuing of this decree, the monstrous inconvenience, if not the impracticability, of attempting to govern Portugal from the other side of the Atlantic. If the emperor, when he signed it on the 3rd of March, had known what Don Miguel had been doing, and what dispositions he had manifested during the preceding ten days, he assuredly would never have put his hand to it. All he then knew was, that his brother had reached London in the end of December on his way to Lisbon; that he had accepted the regency with seeming gratitude and submission; that he declared, apparently with all cordiality, his determination to preserve the institutions which Don Pedro had created. The emperor, therefore, sensible that the pride of the Portuguese was wounded by the idea of being governed by the mandates of a monarch from another hemisphere, and affectionately anxious to smooth the path of his infant daughter to her throne, draws up the decree in the fulness of fraternal confidence, removing every restraint from the authority which he had already delegated to his brother. For the effect of the decree was this: the act which made Don Miguel regent, being an act within the constitutional powers of the emperor, was still valid, because it was not recalled; but the right of the emperor to advise and control that regent was at an end, because the emperor had ceased to be king.

Donna Maria was now queen of Portugal; the abdication of her father was complete and final. Miguel could no longer be the regent for Don Pedro; his decrees could not run in the name of an abdicated king. He was now regent for Donna Maria, appointed to that effect by her father. In her name the decrees must run; from her alone must the control proceed, which a constituent exercises over the acts of his representative. So long as she was a minor, that power of control was nothing, and Don Miguel, under the name of regent, would have possessed, in fact, not a secondary, but a primary authority.

If Don Pedro would not have signed the decree, had he known at Rio, on the 3rd of March, what was then known in Lisbon, it is equally certain, that he would not have thought of making it public, had he been able to foresee how matters would stand on its arrival in Europe. It arrived at the time when all Europe had been astounded by Miguel's decree of the 3rd of May, convoking the ancient Cortes to despoil his brother of his crown, and abolish his institutions. The emperor's decree, therefore, in the circumstances which had occurred, had no longer a meaning. By it he abdicated the crown; Miguel was maintaining that he had never possessed a crown to abdicate. By the decree, the emperor declared his daughter to be queen; Miguel was maintaining that the daughter would be as much an usurper as the father. By the decree, the emperor made Miguel a regent; Miguel was denying that he had any title to interfere at all, and was claiming the throne in his own indefeasible right. The Brazilian ministers, therefore, M. M. Resende and Itabayana, only

did what their master himself would have done, when they kept back the decree, and prevented it from being officially communicated to any of the European powers.

It must have been with sentiments of grievous vexation, and—what is far more worthy of sympathy—it must have been with feelings of disappointed affection, both for what his brother had done, and what his daughter was to encounter—that the emperor received the intelligence of his dethronement. But he was helpless. To think of reconquering his kingdom by proclamations and decrees, would have been infinitely more chimerical than to think of governing it by them. However, he did address a proclamation to the Portuguese people on the occasion (July 25). He enumerated the illegal and unconstitutional acts which had been committed amongst them, down to the decree of the 3rd of May; he gave these proceedings their proper character; and spoke with due severity of their advisers and promoters. It was natural that he should spare the reputation of his brother; it was prudent that he should not proclaim the corruptions of royal blood; but he went unnecessarily far, and almost insulted the knowledge of the people whom he addressed, when he represented that brother as the subjugated victim of a party whom he detested, and imputed all the evils that had happened to a faction which oppressed equally the regent and the nation. The faction, to be sure, was as selfish and mischievous a faction as could be found; but Miguel was very far indeed from being a passive or unwilling instrument in their hands. The emperor, from his knowledge of the old queen

and her minions, may have believed his representation to be more correct than in truth it was; but in that case, he was sparing his brother at the expense of his mother. The notice which was taken of this proclamation in an article in the Lisbon Gazette, written by one of Miguel's ministers, shewed how little the latter and his friends were inclined to return the fraternal leniency of the emperor. It was a commentary on the proclamation, and a series of insults to Don Pedro. It compared him to Robespierre; it assured the world, that he must have written the document in question under the influence of "the horrid sect of freemasons, who are the enemies of the throne and the altar;"—"The raving follies of the proclamation," it was said, "are so monstrous, that neither ancient nor modern history can supply so disgraceful a production."

The emperor, in his full confidence in his worthless brother, had sent to Europe, with a numerous retinue, his daughter, the young queen Donna Maria. It was intended, that she should land at Genoa, and proceed to Vienna, to her grandfather, the emperor of Austria; but when the frigate which conveyed her arrived at Gibraltar (September 2), and the full extent of Miguel's guilty triumph was ascertained, the young queen's conductors thought it prudent to take a different course, and they brought her to England. She landed at Falmouth on the 24th of September. She was received with royal honours, and entertained with all the magnificence which her tender years allowed, and with all the kindness which her years, her sex, and the peculiarity of her situation, demanded.

## CHAP. IX.

SPAIN.—*Alarms of Insurrection—Disturbances at Saragossa—Final Departure of the French Army of Occupation—Arrangement as to British pecuniary Claims.*—ITALY.—*Hostilities between Naples and Tripoli.*

THE history of Spain during the year, is a blank. She was as little known as if she had been blotted from the face of Europe. Even the most contemptible of the many states that had arisen in the transatlantic colonies of which she had been the mistress, excited greater interest than her long "sad day of nothingness." The insurrection in Catalonia, which gave some interest to the concluding months of the preceding year, had been quelled. The market, the gibbet, and the gallies, did their duty, without compunction, upon the rebels: the fanatical priests who had preached sedition, were reduced to silence by terror, or by higher commands. In the month of January, transports sailed from Barcelona for the other side of the Mediterranean, carrying away thirty-seven ecclesiastics, secular or regular, and two hundred and fifty-six citizens, condemned to drag out their lives, as banished felons, amid the burning sands, and beneath the pestilential skies, of the Spanish transport settlements in Africa. This was the merciful doom reserved, as it was announced, for all who had so compromised themselves, that a prosecution in the usual form would have been followed by a sentence of death, that is, for all whom the despot, or

the despot's agents found it desirable, on whatever account, to remove by the mere mandate of brute authority.

The king, who had visited, as we have recorded, the disturbed province, in order to tranquillise it by the authority of his own august presence, and convince the turbulent who rebelled in his name, that he was not a prisoner, or an instrument, in the hands of liberals, remained at Barcelona, till he had sated himself with the infliction of punishment, and believed that the last seeds of revolt had been destroyed. He then took his departure for the capital by Arragon and Navarre, and, after sojourning for some time in the provinces, returned to Madrid in the beginning of August.

But he did not leave behind him the deep tranquillity which he flattered himself with having established. Small bands of armed men made their appearance on various points in Catalonia, Arragon, and Valencia. They seemed to be nothing else than robbers, who cared not for politics, and could have no desire to excite insurrection except as a means of enabling them to plunder on a more extensive scale. They were always represented, however, as the forerunners of organised sedition, and the public ear was

incessantly alarmed with the discovery of paltry pretended plots. A dangerous conspiracy was said to have been detected in Barcelona itself, in the month of August. It was announced, that the conspirators had been seized while sitting in dark divan, and that, in the place where they assembled, were found papers, pistols, and daggers, concealed in a trunk. Twelve individuals, of whom ten were military men, one a painter, and another a professor of languages, but all of them alleged constitutionalists, were condemned to die. The captain-general, in the proclamation in which he announced the punishment of the conspirators, ascribed the discovery of the plot to "divine Providence, which seems desirous of preserving to Spain the advantages of a paternal government."

About the same time, a rumour was spread abroad, that symptoms of disaffection had appeared about Gerona, and that malcontents in Valencia had formed a design upon Tortosa and Peníscola, which the vigilance of the government had discovered and disappointed. The world had no means of judging how far these frequent alarms were well founded—what was the extent of these ever-recurring plots—what were the objects of the disaffected—who were the men that directed them. Only one fact was certain, viz. that every alarm of this nature was immediately made the pretext for seizing the persons of individuals, and consigning them to the dungeons of Ferdinand, without farther inquiry, and without hope of release. If the tools of government were desirous, either for public or private reasons, to rid themselves of the presence of an obnoxious Spaniard, it was easily

effected. The governor made his garrison beat to arms; he doubled the guards; he called out the police; he announced the discovery of a plot; he seized his victim, and locked him up in prison. To every thing, however, the Spaniards quietly submitted. If we except the bands of robbers who traversed the lawless kingdom in every direction, carrying their depredations to the very gates of Madrid, and who were scarcely more the enemies of life, property, and good government, than was Ferdinand himself, there was no violation of the public tranquillity (if that is to be termed tranquillity which is the silence of the grave) except in the case of a trifling disturbance at Saragossa, which had no connection with political agitation. The ecclesiastical chapter of Saragossa had demanded from the market-gardeners of the province, payment of a tithe of their produce. The latter resisted the imposition as oppressive and illegal, and the question, after having been decided by the primary tribunal in favour of the gardeners, was brought before a higher court, where the influence of the churchmen prevailed, and the exaction of the tithe was confirmed. On this, measures were taken for the seizure and sale of the effects of the gardeners, as far as was sufficient to cover the tithe which they owed. Just before the day fixed for the sale, numerous groups of gardeners collected in the squares and streets of Saragossa, bearing the cockades of royalist volunteers, and armed with large bludgeons. Some of them posted themselves at the city gates for the purpose of preventing the exit of any field labourers, "so long as their differences with the ecclesiastical chapter remain unsettled,"

adding, "that until then no labourers should go out to work for any of the surplice gentry." Their hands were increased by a great number of the inhabitants of the faubourgs, armed with sticks; and the whole body paraded the streets, crying out, "Long live the king, and no more tithes on vegetables." They afterwards proceeded to the place where the property which had been seized was to be sold, and uttered loud threats against the archbishop and the clergy. The captain-general, wishing to use gentle means rather than force, sent to the rioters the king's lieutenant, and the captain of the *Minones* (soldiers of the Pyrenees), who enjoyed great popularity. These two officers endeavoured to induce the multitude to return to their duty; but the insurgents cried out that the demand of the ecclesiastical chapter was as unjust as the decision of the court which had set aside the judgment of the first tribunal before which they had gained their cause. They would not be satisfied, they said, until the order to pay the tithe was reversed, and until the chapter gave up the seizure which they had made. It was then agreed, that a deputation from amongst them should go before the captain-general. This was done, and the deputies of the gardeners renewed their demands. The captain-general, judging from the temper of the people, that the employment of gentle means would be much more effectual than force, promised that the seizure should be taken off, and that the tithe should not be exacted. This promise was received with transports by the gardeners, and tranquillity was restored, at least in appearance. It deserves to be mentioned as a proof

of the determination of the populace, and of the utter forgetfulness of law which a lawless government had produced, that some of the gardeners, who had been prevailed upon by the priests to pay the tithe, were assassinated. The popular movement was said to be under the guidance of men of a much higher rank, and was suspected to be only the beginning of a much more extensive scheme. While the disturbance lasted, however, the *Negros*, or political liberals, prudently kept themselves within doors, lest they should be compromised in the tumult.

In the course of the year, Spain was relieved from the last remains of the French army of occupation. Ferdinand, in the end of 1826, had desired their removal, and it had been agreed that they should take their departure in the following year. This resolution was altered in consequence of the establishment of a constitutional government in Portugal, and the wish of Ferdinand to be secure against its influence. From that quarter he had no longer any fears. The constitution of Portugal was at an end: that country had now gotten a despot of its own, a ruler according to Ferdinand's own heart, a match for him in every species of political atrocity, and more than a match for him in personal profligacy. Spain, too, presented no alarming symptoms of the existence of liberal ideas. The government, during the five years that it had been protected by the French troops, had employed exile, and the dungeon, and the scaffold, too liberally and effectually, not to have crushed every expression of an aspiration after a better state of things. The only rebels with whom it had lately to deal, were rebels because

they thought that the king was not enough of a despot and had a lurking liking to constitutional notions. Ferdinand, therefore, felt, that he might dispense with the further protection of his French allies. Pampeluna and St. Sebastian in the north, Cadiz in the south, and Urgel on the north-eastern frontier, were the only fortresses which they still occupied. From the two former they were withdrawn in the spring of the year. Cadiz was the last position that they retained. It was given up to Spanish troops in the course of September, and, before the end of the year, every French soldier had recrossed the Pyrenees, relieving Spain from a visitation which had bestowed no benefit upon it either in liberty, or in morals, but which had confirmed, if it had not planted, the melancholy reign of ignorance and oppression.

The Spanish government was as poor in pocket, as it was beggarly in disposition, and dishonest in principle. With difficulty could it be brought even to recognize its debts, to say nothing of payment. It still refused to acknowledge the bonds for the loan which the Cortes had negotiated in England; but there was a debt of a different kind, and likewise to British creditors, which it was at length prevailed upon to settle, at least upon paper. During the struggle of the Spanish people against France, about the period of 1808, many British individuals then connected by commercial habits with Spain, as well as others who were not, had furnished the Spanish forces and authorities with stores, provisions, and various goods, for which they received vouchers or memorandums, to which in some instances the authorities them-

selves had not hesitated to affix their names. The claims, in some cases, were founded on acts of the Spanish authorities by which British subjects had been forced to contribute to the immediate exigencies of the times by forced loans, or other illegal exactions. To these were added losses at sea by British subjects, in consequence of their ships or property having been detained, and sometimes illegally confiscated and sold, by Spanish cruisers and ships of war. The claims of these persons were permitted to remain unadjusted from 1808 to the year 1823. In the latter year, on the 12th of March, it was agreed between the British government and that of Spain, by treaty, that they should be referred to a mixed commission of Spanish and English commissioners, who were, as the terms of the treaty ran, "to decide on these claims in a summary way," in order that such British subjects, as had suffered in consequence of the detention of their property under such circumstances, might receive satisfaction. This commission met in October, 1823, and above three hundred claims were referred to it, the amount of which was between 3,000,000*l.* and 4,000,000*l.* sterling. Every impediment was raised, every possible delay, even if only to obtain a single day, was resorted to by the Spanish commissioners. By involving the claimants in this labyrinth and intricacy, during eighteen months in which the commissioners sat, no more than eighteen claims were investigated out of three hundred and thirty; and four claims out of these eighteen were determined to be just. Thus, several persons, whose property had been seized on the

high seas sixteen years before, contrary to the law of nations, were reduced to poverty. The secret, however, of these delays was soon after revealed. A suggestion was made by a person connected with the government of Spain, that, as the proceedings under a commission of this nature were always excessively dilatory, it would be advisable to make an offer to accept a given sum in liquidation of the whole demand. This sum was fixed at 800,000*l.*, and the claimants were given to understand, that this would be the amount likely to be afforded by Spain in discharge of claims amounting to upwards of 3,000,000*l.* Upon this suggestion the British merchants agreed to act, and they made a proposal which was copied from the plan of the Spanish agent himself, who had originated the suggestion. It produced, contrary to expectation, no good result; and the only object which the Spanish government appeared to have in contemplation was, to induce the claimants to make a proposition, in order that they might have it in their power to quote the sum so proposed as an admission that, in point of fact, no more was due. The Spanish government through its agents, then proposed to pay 500,000*l.*, thus abating even the diminished sum demanded by the claimants. There was this additional breach of faith, that the Spanish minister at London, in the year 1824, had told their agent, that such a moderation of their demands should be without prejudice to their claim. Yet, so far from this promise being kept, the offer to accept a limited sum was made, in the spring of 1826, a proof that such was the *maximum* of their demand. The next step

was still more disgraceful. The Spanish agent professed to Mr. Cock that his government was willing, as a proof of the honour of the Castilian character, to add to the sum of 500,000*l.* already offered, an additional 50,000*l.*, such total of 550,000*l.* being in full discharge of British claims. Such was the course of mean and paltry higgling adopted on this occasion, that it almost amounted to a clear evasion of the claim, or an attempt to annihilate it altogether. For some time matters remained in this state of uncertainty, until the gentlemen, who acted for the British claimants, were invited to Paris to settle the matter with Señor Aguado, the banker of the Spanish government at Paris, and Don Antonio Uriarte, keeper of the Great Book of Spain. The English agent was furnished with a notarial copy of the powers which had been granted by his Catholic majesty to these gentlemen, by which it appeared that they were fully authorized to effect an arrangement, with the concurrence of the Spanish ambassador, the duke of Villahermosa; and they gave the most positive assurances, that any agreement, which might be entered into, would not require to be confirmed by their government but would be final and conclusive. Accordingly, on the 4th February, 1827, an agreement, under the hands and seals of the Spanish commissioners and ambassador, and of the agent of the English claimants, was concluded, by which it was provided that the sum of 300,000,000 of *reals*, amounting to 3,000,000*l.*, should be delivered in about two months, in seven thousand seven hundred certificates of *rentes* or *annuities*,

inscribed in the Great Book of Spain, bearing interest from the 15th January, 1827, at 5 per cent., as in full for the whole of the British claims under the convention. The two months expired, but no certificates were ready, nor had a single step been taken towards the execution of the agreement. Application was made to the Spanish government, and that government unblushingly disavowed the agreement, on the lying pretext that the commissioners and ambassador had exceeded their powers. This the commissioners and ambassador indignantly and positively denied. The ambassador returned to Madrid to wipe off the imputation, and, instead of being received with disapprobation, was honoured with the order of the Golden Fleece. Thus matters remained, till count Ofalia arrived in London, again to renew the negotiation. During twelve months afterwards, ineffectual offers were made to effect an arrangement; until the court of Madrid raised the offer from the 550,000*l.* formerly tendered, to 700,000*l.*, adopting a system which would have disgraced a pedlar. The sum offered was then raised to 900,000*l.*, which the British claimants, now in despair, seemed willing to accept; but still the Spanish agents adopted every expedient of trickery and delay, to postpone a final settlement. The claimants, at length, had recourse to parliament. Their petition, detailing the disgusting train of chicanery and lying, by which a crowned king was evading the payment of just debts, recognized by a solemn treaty, was presented to the House of Commons on the 15th July, by sir James M<sup>c</sup>Intosh. From all sides of the House there

was but one expression of satisfaction at the anxiety with which our foreign secretaries, from Mr. Canning downwards, had supported the interests of the unfortunate claimants, and but one expression of utter loathing and scorn at the baseness, and audacity, and meanness which had characterized the government of his Catholic majesty. It was suggested that the crown should be addressed on the subject, as it regarded not merely the rights of private individuals, but the observance of treaties by an allied government. The suggestion, however, was departed from on Mr. Peel remarking that it would be premature, as no copy of the treaty had been laid before the House, or been moved for, and stating that there was now a greater prospect of an amicable settlement than at any previous time. There can be no doubt that the exposure in parliament brightened that prospect, and facilitated the negotiations. At all events, in the course of October a convention was finally concluded between lord Aberdeen and count Ofalia. It was agreed, that the sum of 900,000*l.* sterling should be paid by Spain in full of all the claims presented to, and registered by, the mixed commission, appointed in conformity with the treaty of 1823. The money was to be paid by instalments, as follows:

200,000*l.* on or before the 8th of December next.

200,000*l.* on the 8th of March, 1829.

350,000*l.* on the 8th of June.

150,000*l.* on the 8th of September.

The sum of 600,000*l.* at the least was to be paid in sterling money. For the remaining 300,000*l.* the Spanish government was to be at liberty to grant debentures, bearing interest of 5 per cent., at the rate



of 100*l.* in debentures for 50*l.* money, reserving to itself the right of paying them off at any time within four years of their date at 55 per cent., or at a subsequent period at 60 per cent., giving in either case six months' notice.

In ITALY, a single spark, that disappeared almost before it could be remarked, merely notified that the embers of Carbonarism were not yet extinguished. In the mountainous district of Vallo, in the kingdom of Naples, a small troop of insignificant persons formed themselves into a junta, in the course of the summer, displayed the tri-coloured cockade, and proclaimed the French constitution of the year 9; they received no countenance in their wild exploit from any of the neighbouring communes. On the approach of a small division of the military, which had been sent to put an end to their freaks, they offered no resistance, but instantly dispersed. Yet so easily does political alarm propagate itself, that this prank played in the mountains of Naples, effected a fall in the value of the public funds in Vienna.

Besides this internal event, Naples had a little war of her own

in consequence of a quarrel with the Pacha of Tripoli. His highness had offered some insult to the Neapolitan flag, and as he refused to give redress, a Neapolitan squadron of frigates, corvettes, and gun-boats, was dispatched to Tripoli to exact it by force. The fleet bombarded the town for about two hours on the 23rd of August, without making any useful impression. Its operations were suspended during the two following days by the violence of the weather. The bombardment, if so it might be called, was continued on the 26th, 27th, and 28th; but the Neapolitans, having already had some of their gun-boats burned by the enemy's fire, kept at so respectful a distance from the Tripolitan batteries, and armed vessels, that few of their shot and shells even reached the town; and, on the 29th, the admiral got under weigh, abandoning an expedition which had produced nothing but an useless, and not very honourable, waste of money and powder. Naples found it better to negotiate than to fight; and settled her quarrel with the Pacha by a convention on the 28th October.

## CHAP. X.

THE NETHERLANDS.—*Discussions on the Liberty of the Press—Progress of the Insurrection in Java.*—GERMANY.—*Weimar—Baden.*—RUSSIA.—*Hostilities with Persia renewed—Progress of the Russians—A Treaty of Peace is concluded.*

IN the Netherlands, during this year, the king's government exposed itself to some unpopularity, and excited against itself a good deal of warm discussion, by certain proceedings which it adopted against the press; not, indeed, contrary to law, but under a law which was justly deemed oppressive. In that country, the law of the press was made at a time when the independence of the country was but ill secured, and when the union between the Belgic and Dutch provinces was far from being consolidated. It was enacted in a period of agitation, and was chiefly calculated to repress excitements to insurrection or rebellion. The latitude of punishment, which it permitted, was therefore excessive, and the discretion, which it intrusted to the judges, unlimited. According to the quality of the libel, the court might condemn the party accused to 10,000 or 100,000 florins,—to an imprisonment of one month, or of ten years,—to hard labour, or to any other rigorous penalty short of death. No jury was interposed between the prisoner and judges appointed by the crown, in cases where the crown was prosecutor; and the subject had no security but in the mercy of a tribunal, on which the press, which suffered by

it, was not allowed to invoke the control of public opinion. The immense power thus intrusted to irresponsible magistrates was, as might have been expected, sometimes abused; and oppressive judgments, inconsistent with the general tenour of the government, were often the subject of complaint. The journals, though free to speak against the Jesuits, and to sneer at the apostolical party in France, were thus restricted in their observations on domestic topics within narrow limits. About thirty or forty persons, including six ecclesiastics and two printers, had been prosecuted within a few years. The editor of the *Spectateur Belge* had been condemned to two years' imprisonment for publishing a controversial letter of an inhabitant of Antwerp, and a note of cardinal Gonsalvi, previously printed at Cologne: and the proprietors of another journal were condemned in July for denouncing, on the 13th March, a toll-duty, which, very possibly in consequence of their representations, had actually been abolished two months before it was determined to prosecute them. At the present time, a particular instance, as always happens, brought the general policy and spirit of the law into question. A couple of foreigners

had been ordered to leave the country. Certain articles, animadverting on this exercise of the prerogative in terms not at all agreeable to the government, appeared in a newspaper called the "Courier des Pays Bas." Proceedings were forthwith commenced against the editor and printer of the journal, on which the authors immediately gave themselves up. The proceedings of the tribunal of Correctional Police, at least in cases like this, seem to be abundantly rapid and summary. The arrests took place on the 28th of October; and, on the 7th of November, the court pronounced sentence, condemning one of the writers to imprisonment for a year, the other for eight months, the printer for six months, and remitting the editor to another tribunal, as having attempted to sow dissension among the Belgians.

The Chambers were sitting when these proceedings took place, and the subject immediately attracted the notice of the deputies. A. M. Brouckere moved for the abrogation of the ordinances of April 1815, and of March 1818, which constituted the penal code touching this matter. The debate lasted five days; it was animated and instructive; every member was present, except five who were detained by illness. The laws in question, the mover said, had produced monstrous persecutions, although, in 1815, when a conqueror menaced the political existence of the state, the sovereign had necessarily adopted arbitrary regulations, justified by the circumstances in which he found himself. "The press is the only means of communication between the government and the nation, it makes a way through all obstacles. In a constitutional state,

the king can do no wrong; he must be informed by the press, which is a check on the arbitrary acts of ministers. The liberty of the press may be abused; but this is an inconvenience of trifling importance, compared with the mischief which the government may do, when the liberty of the press does not exist. Under the present law, our individual freedom depends on the procurators of the king, and their substitutes, and, ultimately on a single minister. Since 1817, there have been fifty-six persons accused by virtue of these laws, which ought to be erased from our statute-book as a disgrace to us; for without public discussion there is no public liberty." By far the greater number of the speeches were in favour of the motion, and those, which were against it, were not in favour of the law. Almost all who opposed the motion protested their attachment to the liberty of the press, and their desire to see the laws in question altered; but thought, that, as the king had promised that a measure on the subject should be laid before the Chamber in the course of the session, it would be best to wait for the royal proposition. The ministers tried to close the discussion with the fourth day's debate, but they were left in a minority. On the final division, however, they carried the rejection of the motion by a majority of 61 votes to 44. The debate did honour to the ability, and the division did honour to the spirit, of the Belgian deputies.

In the eastern dominions of the Netherlands, civil war still continued to rage. The military operations of 1827 had been suspended in Autumn by the Dutch accepting the proposals of the insurgent leader for an armistice and

a negotiation. The negotiation took place, but it terminated, in the end of September, without having led to any result. The Dutch governor, in an address to the people of Java, which he published on the occasion, imputed the failure to the ambition of *Dopo Negro*, now the head of the armed natives, who had made, he said, inadmissible demands, not only unreasonable as regarded the Dutch, but humiliating likewise to the sultans, the great men, and the priests, and even altogether contrary to the religion of the country. The proclamation did not state what these demands had been; and as the Javanese published no gazettes, we cannot judge how far the Dutch authorities described them correctly. It was perfectly natural that the success, which had hitherto attended the insurrection, should have given its leaders confidence. But when the Dutch government told the people of Java, "It would not have been difficult for us, by means of our own force, and it would have been still less so, supported by the efficacious assistance of the great emperor of *Socracarta*, as of our faithful allies the sultans of *Madura* and *Sumanah*, to reduce the insurgents and to punish their rebellion; but we have spared them, because we love the Javanese people, and because most of them had been misled by their instigators: and it was for that reason, and solely out of love to the nation, and attachment to the country which it inhabits, that very recently, when a considerable force was ready to crush the party of the insurgents, we gave to *Krai Modjo*, who appeared to have placed himself at their head, an opportunity to make peace, and to return to obedience, and to spare

the lives of so many unfortunate people."—When, we say, the Dutch government told the people of Java all this, we cannot help suspecting that it was guilty of the silliness of telling them what every man in Java knew to be not true, and what the military events of the insurrection contradicted. If it was so easy for the government to vindicate its authority against rebellious subjects, it had acted with inexpressible folly in allowing them, year after year, successfully to resist its power, and to shake its very foundations. Governments do not lose battles against insurgents for the sake of philanthropy.

The military operations, therefore, were renewed so soon as the season permitted. The Dutch force was now in a more effective condition than it had been at former periods of the contest. Besides the reinforcements which had been received in the preceding year, upwards of six hundred fresh troops arrived from *Holland* in January, and, in the course of the summer, considerable bodies of auxiliaries were obtained from *Ternate*, and the neighbouring islands. The forces of the insurgents sometimes amounted to thirty thousand men. There was no regular campaign; the system of *Negoro*, was one of constant alarm, and exhausted European troops in an Indian climate by imposing perpetual watchfulness, and unceasing activity. According to the Dutch accounts, the only accounts of these transactions accessible to the public, the insurgents never stood to fight, but fled immediately on the approach of the troops. But they were no sooner dispersed on one point, than they re-appeared, in equal force, upon another. When it was necessary, however, not only

did they fight, but, it was admitted, they fought with great courage and perseverance. They defeated a strong detachment under a colonel Nahays; they took Bandjar, a large ship-building establishment; and cut off the communication between the capital and Sourabaya by taking possession of the road with an overwhelming force. On other points, again, the Dutch claimed the victory; and their own account of the state of matters on the whole was, that affairs, if not much better, were very far from getting worse.

Among the states of GERMANY the year passed over in undisturbed repose. The confederation lost by death, the grand duke of Saxe-Weimar, the sovereign of a very limited, but most happy state,—among the least powerful princes of the confederation in territory and influence, and a cipher in the political arithmetic of Europe,—but the most respectable of its princes in every thing that makes power lovely and estimable. He had been the first German prince who took under his protection the rising literature of his country; he had gathered around him, at his little court, the greatest of the great men who, during the last fifty years have been elevating German literature to its present rank. Weimar never came into notice, when the counsels of empires were to be arranged, or their armies to be marshalled; but Weimar was the first name pronounced, when poetry, or philosophy was to be cherished. As a prince, he governed with mildness, with kindness, with unspotted justice. He loved liberty, and he established it among his subjects. Before either Wirtemberg or Bavaria introduced the institutions which they now pos-

sess, he had placed the grand duchy of Weimar under the protection of a representative system. In the family vault in which he was interred, his coffin, by his own desire, was placed between that of Schiller, and the spot which is reserved for that of Göthe.

The students of Heidelberg, and the workings of the secret and impenetrable Burschenschaft which connected them with all the students of Germany, and all the students of Germany with each other, still continued to pester the grand duke of Baden. He attacked them with an edict which set forth, that a resolution of the German diet, in 1819, had strictly prohibited all secret associations in the universities, and that he had himself issued various ordinances to destroy their pernicious influence; that late events, however, proved that they still subsisted, and still produced the same fatal effects. He therefore declared, that these associations should henceforth be treated, not as transgressions of the discipline of the universities, but as misdemeanors, cognizable by the courts of justice; and that the authors, principals, and other functionaries of these societies, even if they had no criminal object, should be punished by three or six months' confinement in a fortress. Persons suspected of participating in secret associations might be dismissed from the universities without any formal proof. If the object of the society was criminal, the penalty decreed by the law was to be inflicted. Any of the inhabitants, who knowingly allowed meetings of secret societies in their houses, were to be fined from 50 to 100 florins. It is true that almost any thing would be justifiable, which could eradicate these mischievous

associations; yet this edict proceeded partly on a principle of very dangerous and questionable severity. It was excellent to make adhesion to these societies an offence punishable by the ordinary criminal courts, and to withdraw it from the tender jurisdiction of the professors; but besides this, it ordained that the academical punishment should be inflicted, or at least gave the academical tribunal the power of inflicting it, on mere *suspicion*. Now, the academical punishment might be expulsion from the university, and expulsion from the university blasts, in Germany, all a young man's best prospects in life. The power thus given was a terrible one; but fortunately it was given to men, always kindly disposed towards the students, and whose interest it never could be to diminish their numbers. "The late events," to which the edict referred as justifying its severity, were a rebellion of the Burschen of Heidelberg, occasioned by the institution of a public library by the more respectable classes of the inhabitants, and some members of the university. They were entitled to do what they chose with their own library; and they made regulations to prevent the interference of the intrusive and overbearing Burschen. The Burschen instantly rose in a body; demanded the repeal of the obnoxious regulations; marched out of the city, when that was refused, and took up a position on the banks of the Neckar, where they maintained themselves, till expulsion and expostulation together brought them back to college.

While the rest of Europe enjoyed peace, RUSSIA was involved

in war. We have already recorded,\* that the Persian government, acted on, it was said, by the intrigues of Turkey, had refused to ratify the preliminary treaty of peace which Abbas Mirza had concluded with Russia in the end of last year. The resolution was madness. The events of the war, brief as it had been, must have convinced Persia that resistance was vain; only unaccountable ignorance could permit her to believe, that Turkey, in existing circumstances, could come effectually to her aid, when all Turkey's anxiety was to avoid a war; and she ought to have known enough of human nature, or at least of Russian policy, to be aware, that every additional day's march which general Paskewitsch, was obliged to make, would extend the frontier of general Paskewitsch's master, when the peace, which was unavoidable, should come to be concluded. The Persian plenipotentiary saw all the mischief and danger of the unadvised step which the schah had taken. He hastened back to Teheran to prevail upon him to retrace it; and, in the mean time, the Russian army resumed military operations, notwithstanding the severity of the season. Major general Pankeratieff, appointed to act on the right, with the detachment under his command, had occupied, on the 27th of January, and without any resistance, the town of Ourmior, which is surrounded with ditches and walls, one of the most considerable in the province of Adzerbidjan, and affording great resources for the supply of an army. On the other side, lieutenant-general Suchtelen had advanced on the left, with the

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\* Vol. LXIX. p. 294.

intention of taking possession of the fortress of Ardebil. Scarcely had he appeared before the walls of that place, the strongest in Adzerbidjan, when the Persian governor opened the gates to him on the 7th of February. Even before the news of these successes could reach Teheran, and as soon as they were informed there of the renewal of hostilities, the shah, alarmed at the new dangers which threatened him, thought only of averting them by all the means in his power. He hastened to send a direct communication to general Paskewitch, to assure him of his pacific intentions, and to announce the immediate remittance of the sums to complete the pecuniary indemnity demanded by Russia, and the half of which had already arrived at Miana. At the same time he directed Abbas Mirza to hasten on his side the conclusion of the treaty, giving him the necessary full powers. Peace was finally concluded at Tourkmantchai on the 28th of February. Persia paid dearly for her folly in having provoked this imprudent and impolitic contest; while Russia gained the two objects for which she would make war on all mankind, increase of territory, and payment of her expenses. By this treaty Persia gave up to Russia the whole Khanat of Erivan, on both sides of the Araxes, and the Khanat of Nakhitchevan, which thus brought Russia, creeping onwards, still farther south. But this was not all. Along the most southerly part of this frontier the Araxes was now declared to be the boundary. But on this part of the Araxes was the strong fortress of Abbas Abad, and, unfortunately for Russia, it stood on the right bank of the river. Persia, therefore, was com-

pelled to cede the fortress, too, with three wersts and a half of the surrounding country. Persia farther agreed to pay the sum of 20,000,000 of rubles, and consented, that, while both powers should have the navigation of the Caspian for commercial purposes, Russia alone should be entitled to keep vessels of war upon it. She further accorded an amnesty to such inhabitants of Adzerbidjan as had espoused the cause of Russia, allowing them to emigrate into Russia if they should be so inclined, and granting them, for that purpose one year in which to dispose of their moveable property, and five years to dispose of their lands. Russia, in return, recognized the crown prince, Abbas Mirza, as heir apparent of the Persian crown. In the policy of Russia there is nothing more insidious than her practice of first stirring to rebellion provinces of the countries which she invades, and then stipulating for a pardon to their rebellion when she makes peace. The population of these provinces (and they are always frontier provinces) come to regard her as a protector; she acquires a right to take care that the indemnity is duly observed; rebels pardoned by compulsion are never treated with kindness; and their protector can never be at a loss for complaints of violations of treaty, to serve as pretexts for a war, whenever he shall wish one.

The Russian army which had been employed against Persia was thus left at liberty to lend its aid to the attack which was now meditated against Turkey, in whom the invader must expect to find a much tougher enemy. Persia had been presumptuous, rash, and feeble; Turkey was cautious, prudent, and vigorous.

## CHAP. XI.

**RUSSIA AND TURKEY.**—*The Grand Vizier writes to the Russian Government to have the Negotiations renewed, to which Russia returns no Answer—Instructions of the Porte to the Governors of the Provinces—Measures adopted by Turkey in the contemplation of War—Russia declares War against Turkey—Answer of Turkey to the Russian Declaration of War—Russian Answer to the Letter of the Grand Vizier—The Russian Army begins the Campaign—Siege of Brailow—The Russians take Brailow, and cross the Danube—Another Division crosses at Issaktchi, and takes that Fortress, with Hirsova, Tulcza, and Kustendji—Prince Menzikoff takes Anapa—The centre and left Divisions join at Karassu—Description of Shumla and Varna—The Russians advance from Karassu, and take Bazardjik—They arrive before Shumla, and drive the Turks from the heights—They resolve not to attempt Shumla till re-inforcements arrive—Siege of Varna—Obstinate defence of the Turks—Operations before Shumla—Successful attack of the Turks on both flanks of the Russian position—They defeat General Rudiger—Siege of Varna—The Grand Vizier approaches to the relief of Varna, but is unable to force the Russian position—Defeats the Russians in an Assault upon his Camp—Determined resistance of the Turks in Varna—Their Commander, the Capitan Pacha, refuses to Surrender—Yussuf Pacha betrays the Place—The Capitan Pacha, with Three Hundred Men, retires into the Citadel—He is allowed to retire unmolested—The Russians retire from before Shumla, pursued by the Turks—They retreat beyond the Danube—Operations of the right Corps of the Russian Army—Siege of Silistria—The Russians raise the Siege, and retire across the Danube—Operations in Little Wallachia, where the Russians defeat the Turks, and take Kalafat—Campaign in Armenia—The Russians take Kars, and defeat the Turks at Akhalzik.*—**GREECE.**—*Convention for the Departure of the Egyptian Army from the Morea—French Expedition to the Morea—The Fortresses in possession of the Turks are surrendered—Proceedings of the Government of Greece.*

**T**HE ambassadors of England, France, and Russia, had quitted Constantinople on the 8th of December, 1827. The sublime Porte had scarcely expected to find its plans broken in upon by so decisive a step, which hastened a catastrophe that it willingly would have avoided, and put an end to the dilatory negotiations by which it was gaining time to prepare for a contest. When the ambassadors



demanded their passports, the reis effendi endeavoured to alter their purpose, representing to them the impolicy of departing when so much might still be expected from negotiation, and the impropriety of removing the means of amicable arrangement without express orders from their courts. He demanded from them a written and official declaration, that they were, or conceived themselves to be, authorized by their courts to quit their posts, without giving any further exposition of the motives of their resolution. With this demand the envoys refused to comply, and insisted, as the condition of their continued residence, and of continued negotiation, the immediate acceptance by the Porte of the terms on which the three powers had resolved, by the treaty of the 6th of July, 1825, that the warfare with Greece should be terminated. The divan remaining firm in its resolution to reject so formidable an encroachment on the integrity of the empire, the ambassadors were reluctantly allowed to depart. Their departure, however, produced less alarm and confusion among their respective countrymen residing at Constantinople, than the existence of hostilities between the Porte and European powers had been wont to excite. Much confidence seemed to be reposed in the wishes of the Turkish government to avoid every measure which might widen the breach: the vigorous internal police maintained by the reigning emperor gave full assurance that the furious bigotry of the mob, which on similar occasions had been the principal source of danger, would not be permitted to overcome the fears and caution of the government. The three ministers, on

the eve of their departure, had announced to the Porte, that they intended to recommend their fellow-countrymen, who might remain in Constantinople, to the protection of the envoy of the Netherlands; but the divan would not admit of this interference, and ordered that the subjects of the three powers, whose ambassadors had left the capital, should be placed under the immediate protection of the Porte, that every thing which regarded their persons should be exclusively confided to the reis effendi, and that their pecuniary affairs and litigations should be left to a special commission.

The anxiety of the Porte to retain, by retaining the ministers, the means of prolonging the negotiations, induced it, immediately on their departure, to take a step not common in the annals of Turkish diplomacy. On the 12th of December, the grand vizier, manifestly in order to give the Russian government an opportunity, if it should be so inclined, of again having recourse to amicable discussion, addressed a letter directly to count Nesselrode, the Russian minister for foreign affairs, complaining of the conduct of the Russian ambassador, M. de Ribeaupierre, in leaving Constantinople, entirely on his own responsibility, and without a reason. For the Turkish diplomatist argued, that, as the rejected proposals regarding Greece had been contrary to the faith of existing treaties, the rejection could never justify the departure of a resident envoy, appointed merely to watch over the due execution of these treaties. "It is certain," said this epistle, "that as the residence of the representatives of friendly powers has no object but the maintenance and

execution of existing treaties, a representative acts contrary to the law of nations, when he leaves his place of residence on account of discussions which have no connexion with these treaties. M. de Ribeaupierre was next informed, that, if he was authorized by his court to leave Constantinople in this manner, he had only to deliver to the Sublime Porte a note containing the reason assigned by him;—but this also he refused. The Porte then seeing itself obliged to take a middle course between giving its permission and refusing it, the ambassador left Constantinople of his own accord. The present friendly letter has been composed and sent, to acquaint your excellency of these circumstances. When you learn from it, that the Sublime Porte has, at all times, no other desire than to preserve peace, and that the event in question has been entirely the act of your own minister, we hope that you will endeavour on every occasion to fulfil the duties of friendship." To this letter, the Russian government did not deign to give any reply, till the beginning of May; and then it sent its answer by the hands of count Wittgenstein at the head of a Russian invading army.

When it was seen that negotiation was finally at an end, Turkey found it necessary to throw off the mask. To gain time for her military preparations, had been the only object which she had in view in proposing to treat; having now no alternative but resistance, she thought it prudent to rouse the spirit of the people for the contest, by calling forth all the violent prejudice and bigotry to which Islamism had so frequently been indebted for its conquests. Accordingly, early in January of the

present year, while the internuncios of Austria and Prussia were still labouring to render the propositions of the allies palatable to the Porte, and the Porte itself appeared to be anxiously inclined to an amicable arrangement, a document was made public, in the form of a dispatch from the reis effendi to the pachas of the provinces, which put an end to all hopes of a friendly adjustment. It described the war, which was about to open, as being one which was purely religious. The hostilities of Russia, the sultan assured his subjects, were not directed merely to the mutilation of the empire; they were undertaken with the design, and, if successful, could not fail to have the effect, of establishing the religious heresies of the infidels on the utter destruction of the institutions of the prophet. Every topic was made use of which could inflame the religious ardour of an enthusiastic, ignorant, and superstitious, populace, and give to every defender of the crescent, a personal interest in the combat that was to follow. "It is well known," was the outset of this manifesto, "that, if the Mussulmans naturally hate the infidels, the infidels, on their part, are the enemies of the Mussulmans—that Russia, more especially, bears a particular hatred to Islamism, and is the principal enemy of the Sublime Porte." For sixty years, it was said, she had eagerly taken advantage of the slightest pretexts for declaring war; she had been the protector of disobedience in the principalities; she had encouraged, if she had not originally instigated, the insurrection of the Greeks. The sultan was perfectly correct in giving this description of the policy of Russia; but he went on

to speak of the treaty of Ackermann as one which had been unjustly extorted—which ought not to have been signed, and should not, therefore, be any longer considered binding. This was to furnish Russia with a much more substantial cause of war, than any of the pretexts which he accused her of having hitherto used. He then stated frankly, that all his negotiations, and the apparent equanimity with which he had submitted even to the defeat of Navarino, had been only devices to delay actual hostilities, till he should be able to sustain them. The sultan knew he was addressing a people who would not find fault with him for holding that no faith was to be kept with heretics. He mentioned the propositions pressed upon him for the settlement of Greece as having no other object “than to throw into the hands of the infidels all the countries of Europe and Asia, in which the Greeks are mixed with the Mussulmans, to put the Rajas by degrees in the place of the Ottomans, and degrade the true believers to the place of the Rajas;—to convert the mosques into churches, and profane them, perhaps, with the sound of bells—in a word, to crush Islamism, rapidly and easily.” They were propositions, therefore, he said, to which reason, policy, and religion had equally forbidden him to listen seriously for a moment. But “though the object of the Franks had been perceived from the beginning, and though every thing announced that the answer to their propositions would at last have to be given by the sabre alone, yet, to gain the time necessary for warlike preparations, the Sublime Porte endeavoured to temporize, as much as possible, by sa-

tisfactory replies and official conferences. Even after the battle of Navarino, with the design of gaining time, at least till the summer should approach, every art of management was resorted to in the conferences and communications which followed.” “This war, therefore,” he concluded, “must be considered a purely religious and national war. It is not, like former wars, a political contest for provinces and frontiers; the object of the enemy is to annihilate Islamism, and to tread the nation of the Mahometans under foot. Let all the faithful, then, rich and poor, high and low, recollect, that to fight for us is a duty. Let them have no thought of their arrears, or of pay of any kind. Let us sacrifice willingly our properties and our persons, and struggle, body and soul, for the support of our religion. The worshippers of the prophet have no other means of working out their salvation in this world and the next.”

When this document became known, and when it was plain that it would only furnish to Russia an additional pretext for a war which she was determined to wage, the Porte would willingly have disavowed it. The document, it was said, was not to be considered as an authoritative declaration of the Turkish government even to its own subjects. It had neither been printed, nor had it been read in the mosques. If it seemed to rouse the people to resistance as against the enemies of their religion, yet it had been neither addressed nor communicated to the people. It was merely a private dispatch, directed to the agas, or governors of the provinces, for their guidance in case of a defensive war—the only one into which

Turkey would allow herself to be provoked. The reis effendi inveighed bitterly against the artifices by which the private instructions of his government to its own functionaries had first been discovered, and then propagated throughout foreign countries as an authoritative expression of its intentions and sentiments towards other governments. But, be this as it may, the truth or tendency of the facts was not altered by the covering in which they had been wrapped up. It was still true, that Turkey, in pretending to negotiate, had only been seeking delay to prepare herself for war. It was still true, that, while continuing to solicit the renewal of amicable propositions, she had resolved to reject them even at the risk of an armed resistance, and that she was determined, when that resistance should become necessary, to give it the character of a religious contest. There was, perhaps, little in either of these circumstances for which mere politicians could be entitled to blame her. To temporise is not prohibited by any diplomatic decalogue, or by the practice of any diplomatic sect. To give the people of an invaded country the ardour which religion can infuse into superstitious, as well as into intelligent minds, is, to every government, a perfectly fair weapon of defence.

The Porte, moreover, shewed by other circumstances, about the same time, that it considered itself on the eve of war. The greater part of the subjects of the three powers, resident in Constantinople, had remained, as has been already mentioned, on the departure of the ambassadors, and had been taken under the special protection of the government. In the month of

January, lists of them were made up, and they were ordered, with a few exceptions, to leave the capital on a very brief notice. It was not to be expected, that those among the subjects of the Porte itself, whose creed and supposed partialities might render them suspicious, would meet with milder treatment. Several of the most respectable Armenians were put into confinement; and this was followed by a firman, ordering all the Armenians from Angora, to settle their affairs within twelve days, and to return to their own country, never again to revisit the capital. The reason assigned for this despotic proceeding was, that, "there is in the capital a very great number of Armenians from Angora, priests, money-changers, mechanics, and merchants, and also others who are mere idlers, most of whom have not kept within the bounds of decorum, and attended to their own affairs, but have ventured on various acts incompatible with their situation as subjects of the Sublime Porte, and which would not have failed, in course of time, to give a dangerous tendency to the spirit of the nation; and as, on account of their excessive number, the innocent cannot be distinguished from the guilty, therefore, to prevent any interruption of public order and tranquillity,"—they were all ordered into banishment together. The number of Armenians subjected to this indiscriminating sentence of relegation, amounted to about twelve thousand. The greater proportion of them were Catholics. The Bosphorus, too, was closed, without any particular reason being assigned for the adoption of a measure which affected the commerce of all nations; and, on the pretext of its being necessary to

insure a proper supply of provisions to the capital, forcible possession was taken of the cargoes of all vessels laden with corn, without distinction as to the country to which they might belong.

Aware that war must now come, the Porte carried on with much activity its preparations for resistance; it never entertained any idea of becoming the aggressor. Every measure within the reach of Turkish despotism was adopted to insure a general arming of the people; and, although there was still a lingering spirit of dissatisfaction on account of the destruction of the janizzaries, the sultan did not find much difficulty in filling his regiments with men. A great proportion, however, of these levies were raw soldiers, without experience or confidence; and, under the system which the reigning sultan had introduced, they were to be suddenly trained to, or were to exercise without having been trained to it, a mode of warfare foreign to their habits and unacceptable to their prejudices. Reinforcements were hastened forward to the fortresses on the Danube, where the first wave of the invasion was expected to break, and to the strong-holds in the passes of Mount Hæmus, through which the advancing stream would have to take its way. In the rear of these positions, preparations were made for forming an extensive encampment in the neighbourhood of Adrianople. At Constantinople itself every corner resounded with the din and bustle of arms—the reviewing of soldiers, the casting of cannon, the repair and construction of fortifications. The weakest point of Turkey was in her naval power on the Euxine. The battle of Navarino

had deprived her of her fleet; that event now turned out to be all that Russia could have desired for her own individual interests; it left her the undisputed mistress of the Black Sea. The sultan, however, seemed resolved to meet the approaching danger with that determined and desperate resolution required in a conflict which he believed to have no other object than to expel the successors of Mahomet from Europe.

The language of the sultan's despatch to his pachas assuredly did not occasion the war, though it may have hastened its actual explosion, and, by putting an end to all hopes of successful negotiation, may have furnished to Russia an excellent pretext for bringing forward other grounds of complaint which she had been accumulating. On the 26th of April, the Russian government issued its declaration of war against Turkey, and directed its armies to march. The more substantial reasons of hostilities were the alleged repeated violations, by the Sublime Porte, of its treaties with Russia, and especially of the convention of Ackermann which was not yet a year old. By these treaties it had been stipulated that Russian ships should enjoy the unimpeded navigation of the Danube, the Euxine, and the Turkish seas; that their cargoes should not be sequestrated, nor sold against the will of the masters; and that Russian merchants should be allowed to travel and sojourn in the Turkish dominions, so long as they might see fit. In violation of these engagements, the Porte had expelled all Russian subjects and merchants from its dominions; had closed the Bosphorus against the passage of Russian ships; had detained the Russian vessels in the

ports of the Euxine, and in the harbour of Constantinople; and had violently taken possession of their cargoes at prices arbitrarily fixed. These infractions of treaty, it was further said, were proved to be deliberate and systematic, by the language of the late manifesto of the Porte, which spoke of the convention of Ackermann as an engagement entered into under mental reservations, and to be observed only until it could be violated with impunity. In the same faithless spirit had been the conduct of the Porte towards the principalities. Russia had stipulated for an amnesty to the Serbians: in the face of that amnesty, Turkey had invaded their territory, executing indiscriminate massacre and proscription. Russia had guaranteed the privileges of Wallachia and Moldavia; Turkey had violated them by introducing a system of sweeping plunder. Russia, along with its allies, had interposed in favour of the Greeks; whose insurrection, however, Russia had neither instigated nor aided; but Turkey, not satisfied with refusing all terms of accommodation, had persisted in cruelty and injustice towards the emperor's fellow christians, and had been guilty of that breach of faith which brought on the battle of Navarino. Farther, Turkey had made herself an ally of Persia in the war just terminated between the Shah and Russia: it was by her instigation, and on an undertaking, that she was about to relieve him, by declaring war, that the Shah had been induced to refuse to ratify the preliminaries of peace. Finally, the Porte had given just offence by the language which it had used towards Russia in the late proclamation, describing her as

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the natural enemy of Turkey, and holding her out to the mussulmans as an object of universal religious execration. Therefore Russia declared war, disclaiming all intention of seeking territorial aggrandizement, for she had already countries and cares enough, but to compel Turkey to observe faithfully the treaties which she had violated—to secure the liberty of the Bosphorus and the free navigation of the Euxine—to obtain an indemnity to her subjects for the losses which they had sustained—and lastly, to enforce from Turkey payment of all the expenses which the war might occasion to the invader. Russia always makes war in the spirit of an Attorney anxious about his "Costs."

The Porte, in its counter-manifesto, declared every one of these alleged causes of war to be untrue or unjust, and the whole of them to be merely a cover for that love of conquest over Turkey which never ceased to actuate the Russian cabinet. If there had been any violation of treaties, Russia alone had been guilty. At the peace of Bucharest, which terminated a war of aggression on the part of Russia, the latter was bound to evacuate certain fortresses along the Asiatic frontier. Instead of giving them up, she had retained them, notwithstanding the repeated applications of the Porte, merely because it was convenient for her to do so. During the conferences at Ackermann, the demand for these fortresses, in fulfilment of that treaty, had been renewed; and the only answer of Russia was, that as she had kept them so long, she might as well keep them still. It had been stipulated, likewise, that the Russian tariff should be renewed every two years; but for

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twenty-seven years, notwithstanding all the demands of the Porte, it had undergone no change. When the Greek insurrection broke out, Ypsilanti, issuing from Russia, raised a rebellion in Moldavia against the Porte. When he failed, he again took refuge in Russia, along with Michael Suvo, the hospodar of that province. The Porte demanded, in terms of existing treaties, that they should be delivered up; but Russia refused, alleging as her reason, that humanity forbade her to respect treaties, or deny her protection to the rebellious, subjects of her ally. "These instances," said the sultan, "shew strikingly the respect which Russia entertains for justice and the faith of treaties." On the other hand, the infractions imputed to Turkey were groundless. In regard to Servia, the amnesty promised to its inhabitants for the part which they had taken in favour of Russia in the former war, had been faithfully observed, after the peace at which it was stipulated. But they had thought fit to rebel against the sultan, and the sultan had inflicted punishment where it was deserved, and he was well entitled to do so. In Wallachia and Moldavia—although Russia had insidiously seized the moment when a dangerous insurrection in these provinces had just been quelled, and the flame of rebellion was spreading in Greece, to demand their evacuation by the Turkish troops, every thing which she demanded had been granted, and lord Strangford, the British minister, had declared officially, in full confidence, that there was no longer any subject of dispute between Russia and the Porte. The seizure, again, of the grain on board of Russian ships, and the

closing of the Bosphorus to prevent the grain from being removed, were measures rendered necessary by the measures of Russia herself and her allies, to prevent Constantinople from being visited by a famine equally menacing to its Christian, as to its Mahomedan population. By the blockade which Russia and her allies had established in the Levant, the Turkish troops in the Morea had been cut off from their usual resources: the corn of Rumelia, destined for the capital, had to be employed to supply them; and it became necessary to adopt the measure in question to make up the deficiency in the market of Constantinople, which was equally felt by the merchants of all friendly nations.—The corn of the Russian merchants was purchased at the current market price, and the amount was paid to the owners. All this was an inevitable consequence of the blockade of the ports in the Morea; while that blockade itself, and the whole conduct of Russia and her allies in the affairs of Greece, had been in gross violation of the laws of nations and the undoubted rights of the sultan. In the conferences at Ackermann, the Russian ministers had distinctly admitted that the Greek question was an internal affair of the Porte; explicit declarations were entered upon the protocol of the conferences that Russia would not interfere; and on that declaration the convention of Ackermann was closed. But scarcely had the declaration by Russia, that no interference between Turkey and Greece should take place, been finally settled, when M. de Ribeaupierre came to Constantinople for the very purpose of interfering, and it appeared that a treaty had already been concluded, without the knowledge of the

Porte, under which the interference was to be by force of arms—a threat immediately carried into execution in the battle of Navarino, “an event unexampled in the history of nations.”

To the charge of having concluded the convention of Ackermann under a mental reservation, the Porte answered, that it did not seem easy to prove the existence of a mental reservation, or to see how it could be a cause of war where no actual infraction had taken place. Most of the articles of that convention had been executed before M. de Ribeaupierre arrived at Constantinople; and the means by which the others might be best executed were under amicable discussion between him and the Turkish government, when he introduced the subject of Greece, the exclusion of which had been the basis of that very convention, and took his departure, not because the Porte was unwilling to go on with the fulfilment of the convention, but because it would not recognize the independence of the Morea. As to the late proclamation, which seemed to have given so much offence, being a private communication made to its own subjects by the Porte who alone knew its motives, its contents, it was said, could not furnish a ground of quarrel to a foreign power. At all events, as the course of communication between the courts had been kept open by the Grand Vizier's official letter to the Russian minister for foreign affairs, Russia, even supposing the proclamation to have given her ground of offence, might have applied amicably to the Porte to ascertain the truth, and have her doubts cleared up. “Far from following this course, she hastened

to class that proclamation among her complaints and pretexts.”—As to the charge of having instigated Persia to continue the war, “it is,” said the sultan, “a pure calumny. The Sublime Porte observed the strictest neutrality. If some neighbouring pachas made preparations, they were only measures of precaution, usual to every state bordering on two nations at war.”

On considering these counter-manifestos, it is clear that the war which Russia was now about to wage, was a war founded on her own individual interests, and her own peculiar causes of complaint. Although the Greek question figured in the declaration of the emperor Nicholas, as a fitting topic on which to proclaim his love of religion and humanity, the settlement of that question was no object, and, therefore, was no cause of the war. To compel the fulfilment of treaties which regarded only Russia and Turkey was the single avowed purpose of his arms; and if he had no ground of complaint in relation to these treaties, then he had no ground of complaint at all. But, although nothing connected with the contest between Turkey and Greece was even pretended to furnish to Russia a cause of war, yet, if the statements of Turkey were true, the state of the Greek question removed nearly all the peculiar grounds of complaint on which Russia professed to proceed. These were principally infractions of the convention of Ackermann, and a declaration of the Porte that it was not binding—a declaration from which the Porte was manifestly willing to withdraw. But if it was true that Russia, in the conferences at Ackermann, had admitted the Greek question to be



one of internal administration with which she would not interfere, and if this was held out as one of the inducements by which Turkey was brought to enter into that convention, with what reason or justice could Russia complain of its infraction, at the moment when she herself was trampling it under foot, and maintaining a fleet in the Mediterranean for the very purpose of violating it in triumph? If the fact was so, with what countenance could a Russian diplomatist complain of "mental reservation," who had himself declared in 1827 that his government would not do what he knew his government had bound itself by a treaty in 1826 to do by force of arms? Then, the infractions of treaty set up by Russia, are of a very doubtful complexion—the seizure of the grain, and the expulsion of the Russian merchants from Constantinople. As to the first, originating as the measure did, from the proceedings of Russia herself, and knowing, as all the world knows, how completely Constantinople depends for its supplies on the provinces, and the frightful consequences of a scarcity to the whole Christian population—even if Turks are to be reckoned as nothing—the explanation offered by the Porte was deserving of all consideration; and it savoured of a too keen appetite for war to seize upon it instantly as a ground of hostilities. The same measure was adopted towards the subjects of other powers, Austria, for example; but it did not lead to the marching of an Austrian army. The expulsion again of the Russian merchants, included the removal of those of France and England; but neither England nor France declared war.

Moreover this step was not taken till a month after the Russian minister had quitted Constantinople. His departure put an end to all amicable relations; Russia was not entitled to make any measure of precaution which Turkey might subsequently adopt, a cause of a war which Russia had already virtually declared. The ground, too, on which the Russian envoy took his departure was the same with that on which the ministers of England and France proceeded, viz. that the Porte refused to accept the propositions of the three powers regarding Greece; and yet Russia expressly disavowed that refusal as a cause of war. When she issued her declaration of war on the 26th of April, her foreign minister condescended at the same time to return an answer to the Grand Vizier's letter of the 27th of December. This document amounted to an admission that Russia had no ground of complaint, excepting what followed the departure of her minister from Constantinople on account of the Greek question. Count Nesselrode states in that epistle, that every thing which M. de Ribeaupierre had done regarding the affairs of Greece had the authority of the emperor; that the proposals made were intended for the true benefit of the Turkish empire; and that after the Russian envoy had urged them so often, he was not bound to state them again, at the request of the Porte, without a reason, or to wait for instructions which would have been superfluous. "He had no alternative left, but to maintain the dignity of his court by quitting Constantinople, at the same time giving the Porte a salutary hint, and leaving it time to reflect on the dangers that sur-

rounded it. The emperor sees with regret, that the Porte replies to *this very friendly policy* by actions which annul its treaties with Russia; that it has impeded the trade of the Black Sea, has attacked Russian subjects; and lastly, has announced to all mussulmans its resolution to return evil for good, war for peace, and never to fulfil solemn conventions. After so many hostile measures, continued notwithstanding the representations and endeavours of the courts allied with Russia, your excellency will not be surprised to learn, that I am ordered to reply to your letter of 27th December by the annexed declaration, which will be immediately followed by the march of the Russian troops, which the emperor orders to enter the dominions of the sultan to obtain satisfaction for his just complaints." This document proves distinctly, in the first place, that the Russian minister quitted Constantinople solely because the Porte would not consent to recognize the independence of Greece; and Russia explicitly avowed that this refusal was no cause of war. Why then did she withdraw her minister from Constantinople? Why break up all amicable relations? Is not the ordering of a minister to leave his court, unless certain propositions are accepted, in itself an act of hostility, and a virtual declaration that amity and friendly intercourse are no longer to exist; and was the sultan bound to regard such a step in a different light from that in which the same proceeding would have been viewed in any European court? But in truth Russia *had waged actual war*, and had waged it, too, on that very ground which she now would not assume as a justifiable

cause of war. She had interfered with force of arms to prevent the sultan from exercising his undoubted right of reducing a rebellious province. She and her allies may have been right, or they may have been wrong, in so doing: in shrinking from stating it as a just cause of war, they admitted that they were wrong. But assuredly *it was actual war*. Russia had blockaded the Turkish ports; she had cut off the supplies of the Turkish armies; she had borne a share in destroying the Turkish fleets: after having done all this, she orders her ambassador to leave the Turkish court, because it will not admit all this to be "friendly policy;" and yet insists at the same moment that Turkey shall go on in the strict observance of peaceful conventions, as if all the relations of amity were still existing! Truly the absurdity of this is only equalled by its hypocrisy. Russia will not allow a Turkish vessel to leave a port in the Morea, and yet denies to Turkey the right of preventing a Russian vessel from passing the Dardanelles. Russia will not allow the sultan's subjects to pass from one part of his own dominions to another; and yet complains of him for refusing to Russian subjects a peaceful abode at Constantinople. Having equipped an armament for the very purpose of acting hostilely against the sultan's fleet, she has the boldness to blame him for not allowing the exportation of grain from his own capital to supply that very armament which was to leave him without a navy. While she is positively engaged in active and destructive hostilities against him, she demands that he shall consider himself to be in strict alliance with her; and while she is blow-

ing his ships out of the water, and stripping him of one of his fairest provinces, she clamours for a faithful observance of the convention of Ackermann. Modern Europe has scarcely seen a more shameless avowal of mere power in the face of reason and justice.—But, again, while this epistle of count Nesselrode distinctly assumes, as the only grounds of the declaration of war, things which the sultan had done after he found himself engaged in actual hostilities with his gigantic and insidious neighbour, it farther proves, that Russia did not even attempt to remove misunderstanding on these points by a single word of negotiation or explanation: they are all set down as having occurred after she had herself obstructed the path of peace, by withdrawing her minister. Considering the relation in which she actually stood to Turkey, it was from her, as the party whose conduct was positively hostile, that the desire of amicable arrangement ought to have proceeded. She does not utter a word. The Porte, on the other hand, does more than it was bound to do. By the letter of the Grand Vizier of 27th December, it invites negotiation on these matters. But Russia, as if dreading the possibility of a friendly adjustment, allows this letter to remain unanswered during four months. In the interval, she does not make a single complaint; she does not state a single grievance; she does not demand a single explanation. As to the only causes of hostility which she dares to avow, not one token of displeasure escapes her, until she sets them down in an actual declaration of war, and marches an hundred thousand men to support them. Here, too, her

conduct was ambitious, sanguinary, and unprincipled—for surely no conduct can be more atrociously sanguinary than that of a monarch who hastens to a havoc, to which no limit can be assigned, as the only means of redressing a supposed injury of which he has not even complained.

The truth is, that Russia was resolved upon war, and, to 'her, the object of that war was just what has been the constant object of Russian policy since the days of Catherine, the extension of the Russian frontier at the expense of Turkey. Nicholas, indeed, disclaimed any purpose of territorial aggrandizement, and modestly represented the multitude of savage and barbarous hordes over whom he already swayed the sceptre as furnishing abundant occupation for his imperial cares. Such professions, accompanied by such conduct, are hypocrisy, and all conquests have been made under the cover of similar disavowals. What Russia was doing was too unreasonable and unprincipled to inspire any confidence regarding what she might afterwards do. Although the modest and humble emperor felt himself, while on the banks of the frozen Neva, scarcely equal to the toil, of governing the nations whom heaven had already committed to his care, he would have found, within the walls of Constantinople, and on the more genial shores of the Bosphorus, that his imperial soul could expand with the limits of his dominions, and watch over the new millions whom arms had subjected to his yoke. Even the erection of Greece into a Christian state, subject only to the nominal superiority of the Porte, appointing its own rulers from among its own members,

secured against the presence of Turkish troops, or even of Turkish proprietors, was, as between Russia and Turkey, an actual dismemberment of the Ottoman empire, and, as regarded Europe, an actual extension of Russian power.

The Russian Declaration was followed immediately by the march of the Russian troops, which, for some time, had been accumulating in Bessarabia. On the 7th of May an army of a hundred and fifteen thousand men, headed by count Wittgenstein, began its movements in three divisions. The first, under general Roth, was to occupy, in the mean time, Wallachia and Moldavia, and watch the fortresses along the right bank of the Danube, where it separates these principalities from Bosnia and Servia. This division formed the right of the whole army. The centre, commanded by the grand duke Michael, the emperor's brother, after crossing the Pruth, was to approach the Danube, and reduce the fortress of Brailow, or Ibrail, on the left bank of the river, which it was thought imprudent either to employ troops in marking, or to leave unobserved in the rear. The third corps, under general Rudzewitch, forming the left of the whole army, was to cross the Danube at Issaktchi, between Brailow and Ismael, and, pushing forward, carry some of the ports in the Euxine, to secure the regular supplies of the army by sea. The Russian fleet, under admiral Greig, had the command of the Black Sea. The battle of Navarino had cut off this arm of the Turkish power. It was thus that France and England had literally fought the battles of Russia, and had done more for her success in a campaign in which they could not wish her success,

than she would have been able to accomplish for herself. Being then joined by the centre, which was to pass the Danube at Brailow, after having reduced that fortress, the centre and the left united, were to advance against the strong positions of Shumla and Varna. When they should have made themselves masters of these fortresses, the keys, on that side of European Turkey, they would be masters of the passages across the lofty ridge of Mount Hæmus, now called the Balkan, and might either pour themselves down into the plains of Adrianople, or repose, during the winter, in the cities which they had conquered, according as the season, and the facility or difficulty of keeping up their military equipments, might render advisable.

The right corps, under general Roth, encountered no opposition in taking possession of the principalities. He was in a friendly country, rather than in an enemy's, for the Wallachians and Moldavians are much more Russian than Turkish in their habits and inclinations. The centre corps, which was to move on Brailow, having passed the Pruth, made themselves masters, without opposition, of Galacz, a place of no importance. The few Turkish troops who were stationed in it retired to Ibrail, which had been prepared for an obstinate resistance. Its position was favourable for defence; the fortifications had been put into good repair; it was well supplied with provisions, and was garrisoned by five thousand men. The Russian army, provided with a full park of artillery for the siege, sat down before it in the middle of May. By the 21st they had brought their works within an hundred toises of

the place, and began to bombard it. The Turks defended their position with much greater bravery and determination than their adversaries had expected. They repaired, with great activity and expedition the breaches made by the batteries of the invaders. They made frequent and sometimes very successful sallies, interrupting the progress of the siege, and keeping their adversaries in full employment. The siege had continued for a month, when the Russians, having effected a practicable breach, determined to storm (June 15). Three mines were to be sprung at once, and on the instant that they exploded, the troops were to mount to the assault. One of the mines exploding too soon, buried the officer who was to fire the second, and the latter was not sprung at all. The third exploded, and the men mounted the breach. On the right, a party succeeded in scaling the walls, but, as they were not supported, they were all killed, with the exception of a subaltern officer, who threw himself into the Danube. On the left, the assault was not more fortunate. The Turks fought obstinately for every stone, and, after some desperate struggling, the Russians were compelled to retire. The Turks immediately made a sally, and attacked the enemy's works, but were, in their turn, repulsed with considerable loss. The Russian accounts admitted a loss of seven hundred men killed, including two generals, and fifteen hundred wounded, among whom were ninety-five officers. Next day the mine which had not exploded before the storm was successfully sprung. On the 17th the Turkish commandant requested an armistice for ten days, promising to surrender the place

on the expiration of that time, if it should not then be relieved. The Russian commander would allow him only four-and-twenty hours, at the end of which the fortress was given up. The Russians found in it a large quantity of cannon and ammunition. One half of their own park of artillery had been rendered useless. At the same time, the position of Matchin, opposite Brailow, on the right bank of the Danube, was surrendered. The passage of the river being thus clear, the centre of the Russian army now passed, after leaving a garrison in Brailow, and advanced to join the left division in its camp at Karassu.

That left division itself, about the same time that the centre moved up the left bank of the Danube against Brailow, had effected the passage of the river nearer Ismael, in the neighbourhood of the Turkish fortress Issaktchi. They speedily made themselves masters of that fortress, as well as of Hirsova, or Kirsova, another fortress on the Turkish side, and farther in advance. They next reduced Tulcea, which was obstinately defended by Ibrahim Pacha, and then Kustendji, a small sea-port on the Euxine. A detached body, assisted by the fleet, had laid siege to Anapa, a sea-port on another part of the Black Sea, strong by its natural position as well as by artificial defences. The works were carried on regularly; but it was the 9th of June before the Russians succeeded in surrounding the place with a strong line of circumvallation, intersecting the neck of land on which Anapa is situated, and extending on each side to the sea. In a few days the works were advanced to the glacis, and three breaches having been made on the 22nd of

June, the governor was summoned to surrender. At first he insisted on leaving the place with arms and baggage, declaring that, unless this were granted, he would defend himself to the utmost. The negotiations were broken off, and preparations were making to carry the place by storm, when the governor agreed to surrender at discretion. The garrison had consisted of three thousand men. They had defended themselves bravely for forty days. When they capitulated, all their means of farther resistance were exhausted, and, as Turkey had no fleet in the Euxine, they were cut off from supplies. A few days afterwards Tulcza likewise surrendered. Kustendji, another small sea-port, was also reduced. Thus, when the centre and left divisions of the army were re-united at Karassu on the 1st of July, they had made themselves masters of Brailow, Matchin, Issaktchi, Hirsova, Anapa, Tulcza, and Kustendji; and, by the possession of the last, they had secured their communication with the fleet. The Turks, where they did resist, had resisted with bravery and determination. They had already shown Europe that Nicholas was not to get to Constantinople without an abundance of hard fighting. They had not wasted their strength in attempting to maintain every trifling post. They had lost fortresses, but they had gained much in gaining the delay occasioned by the obstinate defence of Anapa and Brailow, which had confined the Russians to the north-eastern corner of Bulgaria, while the means of powerful resistance were accumulating before them at the foot of Mount Hæmus.

To force a passage across that difficult ridge, and thus lay open

the way from Bulgaria into Rumelia, the Russian army, whose losses had been repaired by re-inforcements, and which now boasted the presence of the emperor himself, broke up from Karassu on the 6th of July. Across Mount Hæmus they could not pass, until they should have made themselves masters of the fortress of Choumla, or Shumla, the yet unconquered bulwark of Northern European Turkey. This fortress, situated on the northern declivity of the Balkan, occupies the interior of a crescent, surrounded to the south, west, and north, by steep and lofty mountains, which, presenting a thick and tangled surface of thorns and briars, render the approach of an invader nearly impracticable. It is open only on the east, where the ground stretches out into a wide plain towards the Euxine, and through that plain passes by Pravadi, the road to Constantinople. Art had done for it on that side what nature had done on the others. A deep fosse, and thick walls, flanked with towers, extended three miles in one direction, and a mile in the other. Thus fortified, Shumla had hitherto resisted every attack of Russia. Prince Romanzoff had attempted it in 1774, but was driven back from its walls with great slaughter. Then general Kaminsky penetrated to it, and endeavoured to carry it by assault, but he, too, was repulsed with grievous loss. In the last war it was again attacked, but was defended till every inch of ground around it was ploughed up by the bullets from the Russian batteries, and the invaders were at last compelled to abandon the enterprise, leaving behind them so many of their men, that the pacha who commanded in

it boasted, in his dispatches to the sultan, of having "as many Russian heads as would build a bridge from Shumla to heaven." It was against this fortress, carefully prepared with all the munitions of war, and garrisoned with the flower of the Turkish army, that the Russians were now again advancing. Within its walls lay forty thousand armed men, and at their head was Hussein Pacha, the bold and intrepid reformer of the Turkish soldiery.

Where the plain which stretches from Shumla to the eastward, terminates in the waters of the Euxine, and nearly on a line, in that direction, with the fortress, stands the sea-port town and citadel of Varna, another of the keys of Northern European Turkey. It is strongly fortified: it is strong by its maritime situation between the lake of Dwina and the sea, but the latter source of strength rather furnished, on the present occasion, a facility of attack, in consequence of the Russians being the undisputed masters of the sea. It was strongly garrisoned, too, as its importance demanded. Its possession was essential to the success of any attempt upon Shumla. The farther the invaders left the Danube behind them the more dependent did they become upon the sea for their supplies; and Varna was necessary to maintain the communication of the army with the fleet which, again maintained the communication of the commissariat with Odessa. Varna and Shumla, then, were the objects which the Russian army, headed by its emperor, had now before them.

That army, it has been mentioned, broke up from Karassu on the 6th of July. On the 8th they took possession of Bazardjik, a

small town on the road to Shumla, which the Turks did not attempt to defend. Hussein Pacha had pushed forward so far a large body of cavalry as a reconnoitring party. They had some skirmishing on the 8th with the van of the Russians, but retired as the main body of the army came up. One corps, under general Suchtelen, now diverged in the direction of Varna, which it reached on the 14th, and having driven the Turks within the walls, threw up redoubts and entrenchments as temporary defences, while it took up its ground to prepare for the siege. The main body, in the meanwhile, moving on Shumla, reached Jenibazar on the 18th, without having encountered any opposition. Small detachments of the Turks shewed themselves every now and then to reconnoitre, but always fell back before the advanced guard. On the 20th the Russians reached the heights above the town, which had been occupied by a strong body of Turkish cavalry. During the following days they attacked and carried these heights, and on the 27th they had fairly established themselves before Shumla, their position extending from the heights just mentioned upon the west down into the plain on the banks of the Parawadi, and the great road leading to Constantinople. On the night between the 27th and 28th the Turks constructed a redoubt in front of the fortress to act upon the position occupied the previous day by the Russians, upon the heights above the town. On the 28th, the Russians, in order to counteract the extension of these works, which would have commanded their camp, established a battery on the right wing of their position, which effectually silenced

the fire of the enemy, the Turks having abandoned their works and retired with precipitation into the town. Having failed in annoying the camp of the besiegers by their redoubt, and being compelled to discontinue the works which they had begun to construct, the Turks made a sortie with a large body of cavalry to attack the Russian battery. This movement was executed with great spirit, and led to a sanguinary conflict, though the forces engaged on both sides were inconsiderable. The Turks, being repulsed from the battery, directed their fury on two regiments of Chasseurs, which defended the extreme right of the Russian position, and on this side, likewise, though they gained a partial success, they were ultimately defeated. On the 29th and 30th, the Russians proceeded in the construction of works on the heights, amid attacks similar to those which they had experienced on the previous day, the Turks making an unsuccessful attempt to turn the left wing of the Russian position, having previously failed in an attack on the right. Having thus maintained themselves in possession of the heights, and invested the fortress on the north, they next interrupted its communications on the south. General Rudiger, on the 31st of July, succeeded, after considerable resistance, in establishing himself at Eski Stamboul, a position on the road to Constantinople, and behind Shumla, with the view of preventing the arrival of convoys and re-inforcements from the capital.

These dispositions, however, were not made with any idea of blockading the place; that was rendered impossible by the ex-

tent of the mountains amongst which it is situated. Neither was it intended to form a regular siege; for that the Russians found themselves too weak. The plan of operations which they adopted after much deliberation was this: to observe Shumla, and paralyze the army of Hussein Pacha, while they waited the arrival of the large re-inforcements which were on their way from Russia, even the imperial guards having been ordered to march for this important service. In the mean time they meant to press the siege of Varna, which they expected would fall in the course of a month; then to take advantage of the re-inforcements to reduce Shumla, or leaving it behind them, push on to Bourgas on the road to Constantinople. The emperor, therefore, having thus far accompanied his army, repaired to Varna on the 2nd of August, taking with him a re-inforcement from the army before Shumla to aid in the siege of the former; and from Varna he immediately sailed for Odessa, where the empress was awaiting him.

Considerable reinforcements had already entered Varna, the Russians being confined to the ground on the north and south. Even in these directions, the besieged had occupied a position considerably in advance, from which it was necessary to dislodge them before the approaches could be begun. Prince Menzikoff, who now took the command, succeeded in carrying that position on the 2nd of August. The fleet having arrived on the same day to execute the operations on the sea side, and having reinforced the besieging army with the troops who had been employed against Anapa, the Russians proceeded to



press the town vigorously. They constructed a chain of redoubts in front of their position extending from the heights which they occupied to the sea. They were not allowed to proceed unmolested. Every other day the Turks sallied from their walls, and attacked the besiegers in a style of persevering bravery with which the Russians had not laid their account, and which, though not successful in driving them from their position, greatly retarded their progress, and made terrible havoc among their officers and men. On the 7th of August, the Turks began, in the morning, an assault which lasted till sunset, and which the Russians themselves described as having been "murderous." A similar scene occupied the whole of the 9th, and in the course of it, a new feature in Turkish warfare appeared. The bayonet was a novel instrument to the mussulman—it is one of the first fruits of the late reformation in the army. Four times, in the course of that day, the Turkish troops charged the Russian infantry at the point of the bayonet without shrinking. The place was not yet invested on the south side where it is almost washed by the waters of the lake Dwina. The investment of it on that side was of the utmost importance, because, while it was open, both provisions and reinforcements could be thrown into the town. A corps was despatched to the south of the Dwina, there to establish itself on the road leading into Varna from Constantinople. The Turks noticed the movement, attacked the corps upon its march, and put it utterly to the rout. The batteries which the besiegers had as yet brought into operation were too distant to do much mis-

chief. Amid these frequent and destructive sallies, however, they had gradually been gaining ground, and by the 19th of August had completed a parallel which would enable them to render the bombardment much more effectual. On the 21st, the Turks made another of their furious sorties, to attempt its destruction. They were finally repulsed, but only after inflicting a severe loss in men. So imminent was the danger to the whole Russian position, that prince Menzikoff was compelled to expose himself to the utmost personal danger, and was so severely wounded, that he was under the necessity of resigning the command. He was succeeded by count Woronzow.

Hussein Pacha kept the army which had been left to observe him in Shumla, equally upon the alert. Not confining himself within the walls, his detached bodies were hovering round the enemy's position in all directions, attacking their convoys, and threatening their works. At length he ventured on an operation of greater consequence. The Russians had strengthened the position which general Rudiger had occupied in his rear at Eski Stamboul, and it was of high importance that they should be driven from it, both because it interrupted his own communication with the capital, and because it was known that the grand vizier was now approaching in that direction, at the head of a strong reinforcement, to the relief of Varna. On the night of the 25th of August, Hussein directed two separate bodies of his troops to attack the main position of the Russians on both flanks at the same time; a third he held in readiness to fall upon general Rudiger's post

at Eski Stamboul. Some hours after sunset, these three divisions left Shumla together. That which moved against the right flank, made their approach so cautiously, that they entered the first redoubt almost along with the Videttes who gave the alarm. The Russians rallied, and a desperate struggle ensued; but the Turks carried the redoubt. Three times the Russians tried to recover it; their officers, and general Wrede himself, who commanded on that point, fell, leading them on, but every time they were repulsed. The Turks made good their possession till they secured, and carried off as trophies to Shumla, six pieces of artillery which were mounted in it. The simultaneous attack made on the left of the position was equally violent. Four battalions of the Russians were almost cut in pieces, and some cannon carried off; one battalion alone lost, according to their own account, three hundred men. Both these assaults, however, were only feints to cover the third, which was made at the same time, on the troublesome position at Eski Stamboul. It was triumphantly successful. Rudiger was driven from his entrenched position, and compelled to re-unite himself with the main body by a circuitous route. The rear of Shumla was cleared, nor did the Russians again attempt to intercept the communication between the fortress and the capital. These operations were valuable in another point of view. They proved, that the new system to which the Turkish military had been trained, had not impaired their activity—that they could use it, and use it with effect—that they could be trusted to execute combined movements of some delicacy, and re-

quiring discipline as well as determination. A body of the Russians was encamped at Jenibazar, at some distance from the fortress. Hussein attacked them on the 31st of August, and drove them, with the loss of their cannon and ammunition-waggons into the surrounding woods. On the 9th of September, he again assaulted simultaneously both wings of the main position. Every week witnessed vigorous attacks of the same kind. In all of them, as usually happens, both parties claimed the advantage; but in the end of September, Hussein was manœuvring in the rear of the Russians, between them and Silistria, and they had announced that it would be necessary to quit their position, although they ascribed that necessity to the difficulty of finding forage for their horses.

In the mean time, the reinforcements which had been expected from Russia, had arrived; but instead of being employed in the service to which they had originally been destined, viz. in attempting Shumla, or passing on towards Constantinople, it was found necessary to devote them to the siege of Varna, and leave Shumla undisturbed. In the beginning of September, the emperor had returned from Odessa to the besieging army; and the troops being encouraged and relieved by the arrival of the reinforcements, the Russians pressed their operations with redoubled vigour. They succeeded, on the 12th of September, in establishing a strong detachment on the south side of the town. It maintained its ground against repeated assaults of the Turks, and the consequence was, that the place was now almost in a state of blockade. The works, too, had

been pushed close to the walls, and the batteries were playing upon them incessantly from a distance of thirty toises. Still the Turks spared not their blood. They pursued the same system of incessant and desperate sorties with which they had begun, never carrying any part of the works so as to retain it; but always inflicting by their obstinate valour, a severe loss. At length, on the 14th of September, the besiegers having made a breach which they thought practicable, and obtained access to it by a mine, having thrown the counterscarp into that part of the fosse which was opposite to it, instead of storming, they sent in a flag of truce, calling on the capitán Pacha, who now commanded, to surrender, as their communications with any quarter from which he might have expected reinforcements, were now cut off, and he could no longer hope to maintain himself in his position. A temporary suspension of hostilities ensued, and an interview took place between the capitán Pacha and admiral Greig. But the latter discovering as he alleged, that the Turkish commander had no other object than to gain time, broke off the conferences, and, on the 15th the cannonade re-commenced. The batteries, too, which had been newly erected on the south side of the town, were now brought into play, and the fortifications were every where becoming a heap of ruins. Still the garrison shewed no inclination to yield. Thoroughly, indeed, had the Russians reckoned without their host, when they framed their plan of operations, as they alleged that they did frame it, on the hypothesis, that Varna could not hold out longer than a month.

Sensible of the importance of the fortress which was defending itself so well, the sultan had made every exertion to relieve it. The grand vizier had been dispatched from Constantinople at the head of twelve thousand fresh troops. Had he expedited his march by a single week, he would have entered Varna without molestation; as it was, the corps under general Golowkin, which had entrenched itself on the Dwina, was now between him and the fortress. On the 15th of September, he had arrived at the Kamtchi: Omer Vrione was despatched to join him with eight thousand men of the garrison of Shumla, and count Wittgenstein, on the other hand, had sent a large division of the army before Shumla to support Golowkin. The Turks failed in an attempt to drive back Golowkin, but they entrenched themselves at no great distance. Prince Eugene and Golowkin, in their turn again attacked Omer Vrione, on the 18th of September. In their return, they were repulsed with great loss, a misfortune which they ascribed to the impetuosity of their valour, which carried them too far forward. However, the vizier, and Omer, made no farther exertion for the relief of the garrison, which seemed to be left to its fate.

The springing of mines, and the constant fire from the batteries still continued to demolish the fortifications, and still their defenders seemed determined to die behind the last rood of wall that would stand. Their numbers were now miserably diminished by the mortal combats which they had incessantly waged, but their activity and resolution were unabated. By the beginning of October the Russian mine had been carried under the principal wall of the fortress. The

Turks entered them four times in the course of one night, but could make no impression on superior numbers, except by inflicting and receiving death. Two of these mines were sprung on the 3rd and 4th of October, and made two new breaches, but still no attempt was made at a storm. On the night of the 7th, indeed, they tried to surprise one of the bastions which had been broken up by these mines, under cover of feigned attacks made simultaneously on three other points of the works; and they told a strange story of their sharpshooters on this occasion having penetrated not merely into the bastion, but into the heart of the town, and returned unobserved with a number of Christian women and children whom they had found in prison. The assault, however, was utterly unsuccessful. They were driven back on every point. As they themselves acknowledged their own loss to have been four hundred men in killed and wounded, and even guessed the loss of the Turks at no more than six hundred, the historical probability is, that, in this, the last action of the siege, they not only lost their object, but sustained far heavier injuries than their successful adversaries.

On the two following days, however, according to the Russian accounts, proposals were made for a capitulation, and, on the same authority, they ended in nothing. However, on the evening of the 10th October, Yussuf Pacha, the second in command, appeared in the tent of the Russian general, declared that the fortress was no longer tenable, but that as the capitan pacha, the commander-in-chief, was determined not to surrender, he, Yussuf Pacha, had deserted his leader and his post,

and had come to the Russian camp "to place himself under the emperor's protection." His submission was thankfully received, and immediately communicated to the garrison. His own troops, who seemed to have been prepared for it, as immediately joined him, and came over in crowds to the Russian camp. The capitan pacha, though thus deserted, retired into the citadel with three hundred men who still remained faithful, and the Russians entered the defenceless city on the 11th of October, after a siege of eleven weeks. As Yussuf was clearly a traitor, Europe did not hesitate to say that Russia had made him a traitor, and in the agony of her despair, had purchased Varna with gold. In the agony of despair she assuredly was. The garrison shewed no disposition to yield; the night of the 7th had shewn her what unflinching resolution she had still to encounter; she had never ventured even to think of attempting to storm; it was with difficulty that her troops could maintain themselves in the face of the force that was before them; the season was about to compel her to raise the siege whatever might be the injury that would result from her being so signally foiled. There was enough of motive therefore to make her emperor willing to bribe. The eager anxiety of Nicholas to get possession of the place, is best proved by the fact that when the capitan pacha, after retreating into the citadel, refused to listen, even then, to any proposal of a surrender at discretion, he was allowed to retire unmolested with his little band of faithful followers. The traitor was rewarded by the emperor with an ample pension, and retired to live in splendid infamy at Odessa.

The sultan confiscated his property; he deprived the grand vizier of his office, for to his inactivity he ascribed it that the fortress had not been relieved, and he named as his successor in that office the capitan pacha by whom it had been so gallantly and so faithfully defended.

This magnificent exploit of the Russian army stealing into Varna (for whether the treason sprung from bribery or cowardice, clear it is that Varna was not taken by Russia; that its capture was no military exploit), closed the campaign. On the 15th of October, indeed, some skirmishing took place, without any result, between Omer Vrione and the division under prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, to the south of Varna; but the latter immediately returned to join the rest of the army in hurrying back to the Danube with all possible speed. The emperor himself was at Odessa, on his way home to St. Petersburg by the 20th of October. The army in front of Shumla was withdrawn into the neighbourhood of Varna. But Hussein was immediately upon it, and garrisons being left in Varna and Bazardjik, the retrograde movement was continued to the Danube, and across the Danube, great part of the baggage being abandoned in the retreat.

We have said nothing of the operations of General Roth's division, which, forming the right of the whole army, had been intended to occupy the principalities. General Roth having encountered no opposition in traversing Wallachia, approached the Danube at Oltenitza, intending there to cross it, and form the siege of Silistria, a strong Turkish fortress on the right bank, which the main army, when it advanced upon Shumla and Varna

had left directly in its rear, and which required, therefore, at all events, to be observed, to prevent its garrison from endangering their communications with the Danube. General Roth, however, found it not advisable to attempt the passage of the river at Oltenitza. He descended the river to Hirsova which the Russians had taken in the beginning of the campaign; there he passed, and retracing his steps upon the right bank, sat down before Silistria on the 21st of July. His army sat before it during four months till the retreat of the main army from Bulgaria. The siege was a series of sorties like that of Varna, but neither so frequent, nor so mortally contested. The garrison was prevented from disturbing the main army, and from coming out of the town except to be driven back, or to go back voluntarily after killing a certain number of Russians; but the Russians likewise were prevented from entering the town, although in their turn, they killed a certain number of Turks. When the main army recrossed the Danube in November, the invaders were loath to finish the campaign by retiring discomfited likewise from Silistria, but they were equally anxious to place the Danube between themselves and the Turkish armies. They prepared to draw off by converting what they had called a blockade into a bombardment, determined to wreak at least upon the walls of Mussulman houses the vengeance which they were prevented from wreaking on the Mussulman heads. They began the bombardment on the 2nd November, and cannonaded the town two days and two nights. As the Turks, however, betrayed no disposition to yield, the Russians on the 10th November raised the

siege, and betook themselves to the other side of the Danube, with the loss of a great deal of baggage, and almost all the horses of the army.

Further up the Danube, there had been some fighting between the seraskier of Widdin and the Russian general Geismar, who commanded in little Wallachia. The scene of their operations was the country between Crajova on the one side and Kalafat on the other. After a couple of months spent in mutual attacks which produced no result, general Geismar gained, on the 26th December, the only thing like a victory that adorned the campaign. On that day the Turkish troops, eighteen thousand in number, under the command of the pacha of Widdin, advanced against the positions of Czoroi. General Geismar engaged them. The action was continued with great resolution on both sides, from seven in the morning till two in the afternoon, without any decisive result, both parties retiring to their former positions; but at night-fall general Geismar took advantage of the fancied security of the enemy, advanced rapidly, and attacked the camp, which the Turks had already begun to strengthen with some redoubts. The enemy, though far superior in numbers, could not withstand the impetuosity of the assault; they were broken on all sides, and sought safety in flight, with the loss of cannon, colours, prisoners, ammunition and baggage. They took refuge in their intrenchments at Kalafat. General Geismar resolved to attempt Kalafat itself. After a march of fifty wersts (nearly thirty-four miles) in one night, he appeared before the fortress, and the garrison abandoned it with the greatest precipitation, and fled to Widdin.

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While the events which we have recorded were taking place in Bulgaria and Wallachia, fortune was more indulgent to the Russian arms in Armenia. The war with Persia was finally at an end, before the war against Turkey was declared. General Paskewitch who had commanded in the former, immediately took his share in the latter, by attacking the sultan in the Asiatic Pachalicks. In July he laid siege to Kars, one of the principal fortresses in that part of Asia, situated on the summit of a mountain, having one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon mounted upon its walls, and containing a garrison of eleven thousand men. Upon another summit of the mountain, commanding the town, the Turks had formed an entrenched camp, which it was necessary to get possession of in order to carry on the siege. The Russians attacked it with the bayonet, and drove the Turks from their entrenchments, and, entering the city along with them in their panic flight, made themselves masters of the fortress. He next reduced Achakalaki, and, having received reinforcements from Georgia, he then advanced against the strong fortress of Achalzik, in the vicinity of which the Turkish forces had concentrated themselves to the number of between twenty and thirty thousand men under the command of the pachas Mustapha and Mehmed Kios. They were stationed in four entrenched camps. The Russians attacked them on the 24th of August, and, after an obstinate combat, which lasted from day-break till considerably after sun-set, took possession of all the four camps, with the whole of the enemy's magazines. The Turks were pursued upwards of thirty

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wersts, till they took refuge in a forest. Mehmed Kios, who was wounded, succeeded in reaching the fortress of Achalzik with five thousand infantry. Three days afterwards, the conquerors took the city of Achalzik itself by storm, after an assault of thirteen hours, in the course of which the garrison of four thousand men were put to the sword. On the following day the citadel surrendered by capitulation. Paskewitch next overran, with little opposition, the pachalick of Bajazet, and was preparing to march against Erzerum, in the end of October, when the approach of winter put an end to the campaign.

While the oppressor, and the insidious patron, of Greece were thus grappling with each other in mortal conflict, GREECE herself fortunately was allowed to feel that her day of blood and desolation was past. Ibrahim found himself condemned to inactivity, and condemned moreover to starvation, if he remained in the Morea. The exhausted country itself could not supply his army; the sultan, combating for existence in the north, had no aid to spare for his friends in the south; and all communication with Egypt was prevented by the presence of the allied fleets. He had no choice but to return to Egypt, and the allies were willing to afford him every facility for his departure. His scruples regarding the honesty of giving up his post without the authority of his master the grand signor, were overcome by the authority of his father, the Pacha of Egypt, with whom admiral Codrington arranged the evacuation of the Morea at Alexandria, by a convention dated 6th August, 1827, which stipulated as follows:

Article 1. — "His highness Mehemet Ali Pacha engages to give up all persons under his control made slaves after the battle of Navarin, who have been sent to Egypt, and will immediately place them at the disposal of admiral Codrington. His highness likewise promises that he will, in conjunction with the consuls of different nations, use his utmost endeavours to induce such persons as have purchased any of the slaves to deliver them up. And admiral Codrington, on his part, engages to set at liberty all Egyptian soldiers taken prisoners; and to give up the corvettes that have been captured in the waters of Modon by the Hussar. 2. The troops shall evacuate the Morea as soon as possible, and he will send the necessary ships to Navarino to take the Egyptians on board. 3. The transports shall be conveyed by English and French ships, which are to sail in company with them to Navarin, or to some other harbour. 4. The transports on their return shall be escorted out of harbour, till they arrive within sight of Alexandria. 5. No Greek, male or female, need accompany the persons named in this treaty, unless they are desirous of doing so. 6. Ibrahim Pacha is allowed to leave some men in the fortresses of Patras, Castel Tornese, Modon, Coron, and Navarin, to occupy these places," and by an additional article the Pacha engaged "that, on no account whatever, shall there remain more than one thousand two hundred Egyptian troops, to occupy these fortresses; and his highness engages to send orders to that effect to Ibrahim Pacha." The reason why these five fortresses were excepted from the convention was, that the garrisons, which

occupied them, consisted principally of Turks and Albanians, over whom the Pacha of Egypt could not pretend to have any authority, and whom the allied powers could find no difficulty in reducing by force; and the stipulation that the Pacha should have the power of shutting up one thousand two hundred of his Egyptians along with these garrisons seems to have been intended as a salvo to the barbarian's conscience—as something which would entitle him to say that his servants had shared the common lot of other faithful servants of the sultan.

The Turkish and Albanian troops in the excepted fortresses, when augmented by the one thousand two hundred Egyptians who were to join them, would amount in all to about eight thousand men. To obviate the irritation, and most probably the blood-shed which would have been occasioned, if the task of reducing them had been assigned to the Greeks, it was agreed that this step should be taken by the allies themselves. They had not a single soldier, English, French, or Russian, in the Morea; but France undertook to furnish a sufficient number of troops in good time. An expedition was immediately fitted out from Toulon. It carried nearly twenty two thousand French troops to reduce these five places, whose whole garrisons did not amount to one half of the number. They arrived at Navarin nearly at the same time with the transports sent by the Pacha of Egypt, in conformity with the convention, to carry home his son and his troops. Ibrahim himself performed every part of the stipulations with perfect good faith. If he had been inclined to be treacherous, the

naval force assembled in the bay of Navarin, and the military power that had been so unexpectedly introduced, would have convinced him that it was useless. He embarked on board his transports twenty-one thousand men, who still remained to him of the many powerful legions which Egypt had lent to the cause of Turkey. On the 4th of October he set sail, and finally relieved Greece from a presence which had been so fatal to her hopes of freedom.

All that now remained to be done for liberating the Morea from foreign power was to reduce the fortresses in the hands of the Turks. General Maison, the commander of the French expedition, immediately proceeded to make this part of the scheme effectual. On the 6th of October, the second day after Ibrahim had sailed, Navarin was summoned to surrender, and the demand was supported by a body of French troops under the walls, ready to commence operations. The Turkish governor answered evasively "The Porte is not at war with the French or the English; no act of hostility will be committed; but the place will not be given up." The soldiers immediately set to work: a detachment of sappers speedily made a hole in an old breach, and the French soldiery marched in, meeting with no opposition from the garrison of five hundred and thirty men, among whom were four hundred of the one thousand two hundred Egyptians whom Ibrahim had left behind. On the same day the same demand was addressed to the governor of Modon, and the same answer was returned. The gates



were forced open, and he and his garrison quietly submitted. Coron was more contumacious; but Coron too, agreed to follow the example of Modon, when once assured by a messenger of its own that Modon had truly set that example; and Coron accordingly opened its gates on the 9th. The castle of Patras had already shown the same complaisance to the French general Schneider, on his forming three regiments of infantry, with a quantity of artillery, within cannon shot of the walls. The Morea castle alone remained, and alone gave any trouble. It was found necessary to erect powerful batteries, and keep them playing for a whole week, before the garrison would agree to surrender the fort. By the end of November all the expected places had been reduced, and the Morea, freed from foreign control, was now left at liberty to select the course which she might choose to follow in the paths of civil life.

The President M. Capo d'Istria had arrived and been installed in his office early in the year. In a sort of inaugural address which he delivered, he told his countrymen that the first care of their government should be to deliver them from anarchy, and conduct them by degrees to national and political regeneration. "It is only then you will be able to give the allied sovereigns the indispensable pledges which you owe them, in order that they may no longer doubt of the course which you will take to obtain the salutary object which led to the treaty of London, and the memorable day of October 20th. Before this period you have no right to hope for the assistance that I have invoked for you, nor for any thing

which can serve the cause of good order at home, or the preservation of your reputation abroad." He seemed to conduct himself with moderation, and yet with spirit. He did not seem inclined to allow the supreme power to be trifled with, or to be made merely an instrument to secure selfish ends to powerful intriguers. "For the good of our country," so he was said to have expressed himself in the deliberative assembly, "for the good of our country I would sacrifice my life—I have sacrificed my enjoyments, my health, and my fortune—but I cannot risk my character. I demand that my orders be punctually executed, and that nobody allow himself more opposition to my will than this snuff-box which I crush" (he held in his hand a snuff-box which he trampled under his feet)—"for we must yet obey blindly." He set himself sternly against the piratical habits by which independent Greece had so disgraced itself; and he had authority enough to make the fleet, which was placed at his disposal, carry his orders into punctual execution.

As yet neither he nor the government had enjoyed leisure to frame any system of finance. The men, who had been accustomed to act in the affairs of the country, had borne very unfortunate reputations in money matters. It appeared that, probably from his personal influence, if it was not given on political considerations, he had obtained a loan of money from Russia; for, in a proclamation which he published on the occasion of the Russian declaration of war being officially transmitted to him, he said, "Our wants are already known, and his majesty the emperor of Russia has

the goodness to place at the disposal of the Greek government pecuniary aid, which will infallibly furnish it with the means of providing for the most pressing wants of the army, the fleet, and other branches of the public service. This succour has, however, been guaranteed to us only on the conditions of making use of it with the greatest economy, solely for the defence of the country, to repulse the enemy, and to alleviate the extreme distress of the people, which has been greatly increased by the contagious disorder which the presence of the Turks has brought us, and which threatened us with still greater sufferings. We are thoroughly convinced, that his majesty the king of Great Britain, and his majesty the king of France, will on their part grant us similar succour. Meantime, however, considerable as these subsidies may be, which will be given us simultaneously by these powers, the crisis of our affairs is not the less difficult, and the only means of getting out of it consists in showing ourselves worthy, by the amelioration of our internal situation, of the succour which we have received and of that which we shortly expect."

In the present "high and palmy state" of the fortunes of Greece, the very first question, which pressed itself upon the government, was, what were to be the boundaries of the new state. This was a question which the allied powers, parties to the Treaty of London, would have to settle with Turkey; but the government, as was natural and right, had its own ideas upon the subject. The commission of the national assembly addressed "a declaration

to the allied powers," in which they proposed that the northern boundary should be the northern mountains of Thessaly on the eastern side, and the course of the Vogussa on the western, thus excluding Macedonia. The first part of the line was to begin in the environs of Hatrin, pass by Savia at Greneura, following the course of the Haliacmon, up to the highest summit of Pindus: the other would commence in the district of Cenitza and descend to Vehemeru. These limits, they said, seemed to be pointed out by nature herself, and had always gotten the better of military and political events. The Greeks, however fond of extending their colonies, had never been able to establish themselves beyond the banks of the Vogussa. On the other hand, numerous irruptions made into Epirus in the middle ages by conquering nations, especially by the Slavonians and the Albanians, did not succeed in destroying the Greek race, its language, and that spirit which was natural to it. That race, on the contrary, remained essentially predominating, so powerfully did its local connexions prevail over the effects of time and the force of events. If you went down from the mountains of Thessaly, you passed from a country, which by its geographical position had preserved itself very unmixed through successive ages, into Macedonia, peopled in a great measure by Mirous and Bulgarians. It was true that this boundary would include some small districts, the population of which had taken no share in the national struggle, but, on the other hand, it would leave out other districts which

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had taken an active part in the war, and whose highest wishes would be to form part of the renovated common country. The natural conformation of this line, moreover, gave it a political recommendation. Where boundaries do not coincide with some great natural features, but are lines arbitrarily laid down, they produce uncertainty, they furnish a dangerous facility, and therefore a temptation, to violation, and sooner or later, produce discord between the neighbouring states.

## CHAP. XII.

UNITED STATES.—*Tariff Bill—President's Message—BRAZIL—Peace concluded with Buenos Ayres—Mutiny at Rio Janeiro—BUENOS AYRES—COLOMBIA—Meeting of the Grand Convention—Address by Bolivar—The majority of the Convention is hostile to Bolivar—Therefore the Convention is dissolved—Bolivar is invested with supreme power—A conspiracy against Bolivar breaks out in Bogota—Punishment of the Conspirators—Revolution in Bolivia—Bolivar declares war against Peru—PERU—MEXICO—Conspiracy of General Bravo, the Vice President—Election of a new President—General Pedrazza is chosen—Insurrection against his election—Insurrection in the Capital—Pedrazza leaves Mexico—CHILI—Mutiny of the military against the Government—GUATEMALA.*

IN the United States, the public mind was exclusively occupied, but at the same time very eagerly occupied, with a bill introduced into Congress for raising the duties on manufactured articles imported from other countries, and on the raw materials of manufactures which formed branches of American industry. No measure, since the Federal Union was finally established, ever excited more vehement party spirit, or gave to that party spirit more unconstitutional language, than did this measure for the regulation of trade. It did not divide merely individuals; it divided the states; and while it thus threw them into hostile masses, it impressed these dissensions with that unreasonable violence arising from personal interest, which makes such discords strain hard upon the bands which hold a political confederation together. The object and the effect of the bill were simple enough, viz. to throw obstacles in the way of foreign materials and manufactures which America her-

self could produce. In its principle, therefore, there was nothing new. There might be some novelty in seeing it adopted by a state so purely mercantile, and which for many years had annually boasted that she was the sole depository of very different and far sounder maxims; and perhaps it was more extraordinary still to find her establishing it as the law of her policy, at the very time when European states were shaking themselves loose from its observance; but still it was a matter on which difference of opinion had existed, and did exist; it required in its discussion much wisdom and moderation; it did not require either animosity or faction.

The New England States, who have never been convinced that they have their just weight and influence in Congress, considered it as a measure, by which their private and public prosperity was to be sacrificed to create an unfair, and an unsound, because an artificial, advantage to the landholders of the

middle and western states. With no other object, said they, could it possibly have been brought forward. Nearly the whole revenue was derived from duties on imports; and if it had been necessary to raise the tariff of Custom House duties in order to meet the growing expenditure of the state, no objection could have been made to the new impositions. But this pretext was never used—and could not have been used. The existing duties were more than sufficient for every state necessity, and afforded a surplus by which the national debt was placed in a situation of rapid redemption; the new ones were to diminish the revenue, for their very object was to prohibit, or to limit, importation. The avowed purpose, therefore, of the law, said they, “is the creation and encouragement of domestic manufactures, at the expense of those portions of the union whose trade depends on the exchange of their raw or agricultural produce for the products of foreign manufacturing labour and skill. It is an attempted triumph of one half of the states over the other,—an experiment which must totally alter the direction of industry in a great part of the Union—a sentence of confiscation passed on the trade of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, and some other districts, for the benefit of Tennessee, Kentucky, the Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, and other districts where manufactures are established;—in short, as the means of enriching the central and western states at the expense of the rest of the confederacy.” This is the great evil and danger of federal unions. In all cases, self is a sufficiently active corrupter of public, as well as of private, duty;

but its taint is a thousand times more deep and poisonous, where to the man's own personal self, against which an ordinarily well-trained mind will be on its guard, there is superadded the imposing patriotic-looking political self of one's own country.

All the southern states voted against it: of the New England representatives, twenty-eight voted against it, and only fifteen in its favour. It passed in the House of Representatives, only by a majority of one hundred and five to ninety-four. On the motion that the words “and for the encouragement of domestic manufactures,” should stand part of the title of the bill, Mr. Randolph said, that the motion might pass, for “the bill referred to no manufacture of any sort or kind but the manufacture of a president of the United States”—referring to the idea very generally entertained, that the measure was a trial of strength among the states with a view to the approaching election. A Mr. Drayton moved to amend the title by calling it “an Act to increase the duties upon certain imports, for the purpose of increasing the profits of certain manufacturers:”—to which a Mr. Hodges proposed there should be added, “and to transfer the capital and industry of the New England States to other states in the Union.”

Even after the bill had passed, and become the law of the land, the opposing states did not merely declaim against it as a bad measure, to be repealed as soon as possible, but they began to question the power of Congress to enact it; and to speak darkly about the natural rights of the states. In the Southern states, professors of colleges began to lecture on the nature of the federal Union, for the purpose of

showing, that the general legislature had no power, by the constitution, to alter the direction of industry for the benefit of one part of the confederation at the expense of the rest. The journals of these states even recommended the repeal of the act of Union. A numerous public meeting held in Carolina, for the purpose of petitioning the governor to convoke the legislature of the state to take measures for resisting the new tariff, published an address, in which, after asking the question, what shall we do in the present circumstances, they themselves answer it thus:—"If we have the common pride of men, or the determination of freemen, we must resist the imposition of this tariff. We must either retrograde in dishonour and shame, and receive the contempt and scorn of our brethren, super-added to our wrongs, and their system of oppression strengthened by our toleration, or we must, 'by opposing, end them.' To the very last vote in the Congress we have kept this alternative in our minds, still clinging to the vain hope that some kindred feeling—some sense of constitutional justice—some spirit of forbearance and compromise—such as influenced our fathers when acting together, and the framers of the constitution, would rescue us from this bitter emergency. In advising an attitude of resistance to the laws, we deem it due to the occasion to state our constitutional faith. For it is not enough that imposts, laid on for the protection of domestic manufactures, are oppressive, and transfer in their operations millions of our capital to northern capitalists. If we have given our bond, let them take our blood. Those who resist those imposts

must deem them unconstitutional, and the principle is abandoned as much by the payment of one cent as ten millions." And these Carolinian legislators concluded thus:—"By all the great principles of liberty,—by the glorious achievements of our fathers in defending them,—by their lives in suffering, and their deaths in honour or in glory,—our countrymen, we must resist. Not secretly, as timid thieves, or skulking smugglers,—not in companies and associations, like money-changers or stock-jobbers,—not separately and individually, as if this was our, and not our country's cause,—but openly, fairly, fearlessly, and unitedly, as becomes a free, sovereign, and independent people! Let not time eat away your rights and prescriptions. Plead your sanction to them. Let us assemble in solemn convocation or in legislature; and in firmness, but humility of spirit, rely upon that Providence who has hitherto protected us, to guide and direct our anxious councils."—Other states adopted the less dangerous course of resolving to consume no article the growth or manufacture of those portions of the Union which defended the tariff: "Let the legislatures," said they, "of Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Alabama, meet and prohibit the introduction of horses, mules, cattle, pigs, and other articles from Tennessee, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, — whisky and cheese from New York and Pennsylvania, and we shall soon see what they have gained by their tariff."—By one county it was resolved, that no candidate for the legislature, or for any county office, should be supported, who did not engage to appear "clad in the Georgian homespun." The actual

county members of Congress were also requested to appear in home-spun at Washington during the ensuing session.

In December Mr. Adams addressed to Congress his last message. His four years were about to expire, and it was certain that he would not be re-elected. The representation which he gave of the States, now when he was departing from the government, was one of growing and universal prosperity. He left the finances, he said, in a more flourishing state than the most sanguine expectation could have anticipated, 12,000,000 of dollars having been applied during the year to the extinction of the public debt, and the whole capital of the debt to be due on the 1st January, 1829, being only 58,862,135 dollars. He congratulated the country on the failure of the harvest in Europe, which had added, in grain, an item of large amount to the value of the exports, which, by a general law of prosperous commerce, would produce a corresponding increase of importations, and these, again, augmenting the income, would probably make next year's revenue even higher than that of the present year had been. He gave Congress his opinion on the tariff bill, and his advice as to the temper in which it ought to be dealt with, in the following words:—"The tariff of the last session was, in its details, not acceptable to the great interests of any portion of the Union, not even to the interest which it was specially intended to subserve. Its object was, to balance the burthens upon native industry imposed by the operation of foreign laws; but not to aggravate the burthens of one section of the Union by the relief

afforded to another. To the great principle sanctioned by that act, one of those upon which the constitution itself was formed, I hope and trust the authorities of the Union will adhere. But if any of the duties imposed by the act only relieve the manufacturer, by aggravating the burthen of the planter, let a careful revisal of its provisions, enlightened by the practical experience of its effects, be directed to retain those which impart protection to native industry, and remove or supply the place of those which only alleviate one great national interest by the depression of another."

BRAZIL and Buenos Ayres put an end at last, in the course of this year, by a definitive treaty of peace, to the unnecessary and almost unintelligible war which they had so long waged. The ground of quarrel had been, that Don Pedro claimed Monte Video and the district on the left bank of the Plate river, called the Banda Oriental, as parts of the empire of Brasil, while Buenos Ayres, if she could not claim them for herself, was determined never to acknowledge them to belong to her rival. It was this that had rendered futile all previous negotiations, the emperor and the republic being equally obstinate in maintaining their imagined rights. In the treaty which was now concluded, this difficult point was provided for by the following stipulations:—"1. His majesty the emperor of Brasil declares the province of Monte Video, at present called the Cisplatine, separated from the territory of the empire of Brasil, in order that it may constitute itself into a state, free and independent of any nation whatever, under the

form of government which it may deem most suitable to its interests, wants, and resources. 2. The government of the republic of the United Provinces concurs in declaring, on its part, the independence of the province of Monte Video, at present called the Cisplatine, and its being constituted into a free and independent state, in the form declared in the foregoing article. 3. Both high contracting parties oblige themselves to defend the independence and integrity of the province of Monte Video, for the time and in the manner that may be agreed upon in the definitive treaty of peace." The contracting parties having thus declared the province in question "a free and independent state," to be placed under whatever "form of government it might deem most suitable," they proceeded, in the next articles, to lay down authoritative rules for its guidance in the formation of a provisional government. On the ratification of the treaty, the existing government of the Banda Oriental, and the existing government of Monte Video, were to convoke respectively the representatives of the city and of the province, regulating the number of deputies by that of the inhabitants, and using the form which had been observed at the election of the members of the last legislature. These deputies were to assemble, at a distance of at least ten miles from Monte Video, or any other post occupied by military, and to establish a provisional government, which should rule the whole province, until a regular and permanent government could be framed. They were then to frame a political constitution for the province, on the final settlement of which the provisional government was to

cease. Whatever constitution might be adopted, it was to be submitted, before being sworn to, to the examination of commissioners on the part of Brazil and Buenos Ayres, "for the sole object of seeing that it does not contain any article or articles opposed to the security of their respective states"—a provision which conveys much instruction as to the meaning of "free and independent," when applied by large states to small ones. The contracting powers, having thus retained in their own hands the power of preventing the establishment of any government by objecting to all, engaged to lend their aid to procure for the constitution a fair trial. They provided thus, in the 10th and 11th articles:—"It being the duty of the two contracting governments to assist and protect the province of Monte Video until it be completely constituted, the said governments agree, that, if previously to the constitution being sworn to, and during five years afterwards, its tranquillity and security should be disturbed by civil war, they shall lend the necessary aid to maintain and support the lawful government. After the expiration of the above term, all protection, which is by this article promised to the lawful government of the province of Monte Video, shall cease, and the said province shall be considered in a state of perfect and absolute independence. But both the contracting parties declare most explicitly and categorically, that, whatever may happen to be the use of the protection which, in conformity to the foregoing article, is promised to the province of Monte Video, it shall in all cases be limited to the restoration of order, and shall cease immediately



that the object is attained." The troops of Brazil were to be withdrawn from the province; and those of Buenos Ayres from the territory of Brazil, within two months after the ratification of the treaty, with the exception that Buenos Ayres might retain one thousand five hundred men in the province, until the Brazilian troops should be withdrawn from Monte Video, and that the emperor might maintain one thousand five hundred men in Monte Video, until the provisional government should be installed. These troops, however, while they so remained, were in no manner to interfere with the political affairs of the province, but were to be considered merely as a force to protect and guarantee public and individual liberties and property, and not to act unless the lawful government of the province should demand their assistance. Undoubtedly no treaty could easily be positively bad, which put an end to an useless, impoverishing, and yet trifling war: but some of the provisions of this treaty were of a nature which seemed to provide abundant sources of future jealousy and discontent. Each of the contracting parties, for instance, was allowed to quarrel with any provision of the intended constitution of Monte Video which might seem injurious to its own security; but, just for that reason, the other would deem any such provision most just and proper, and insist that the Monte Videans should be allowed to maintain it. There still remained many points to be arranged between the contending states. These were to be disposed of by a separate negotiation, and plenipotentiaries were to be named, so soon as the ratifications of the present treaty should have been

exchanged. It was stipulated, however, that, "if, contrary to expectation, the high contracting parties should not come to an adjustment in the said definitive treaty of peace, through questions that may arise in which they may not agree, notwithstanding the mediation of his Britannic majesty, the republic and the emperor cannot renew hostilities before the expiration of the five years stipulated in the tenth article; nor even after this time can hostilities take place, without notification being reciprocally given six months before."

The success of the negotiations which terminated in this treaty was perhaps aided by an alarming mutiny among the troops in the capital in the month of June. The Brazilian army contained some battalions of Irishmen. The emperor, moreover, had invited and encouraged an extensive emigration of German colonists, and had then required of them to serve a certain number of years in his army, before allowing them to prosecute their mechanical labours and professions for themselves. This change of condition was submitted to with impatience; but when the emperor, taking advantage of the necessities arising from the war with Buenos Ayres, refused to discharge them at the expiration of the limited period during which they had agreed to serve, a general spirit of discontent was disseminated amongst them, which was inflamed into open mutiny on the occasion of a punishment of five hundred lashes having been inflicted on one of their number who had neglected to touch his hat to an officer. The second battalion, which was quartered at St. Christoval, took up arms, and marched in a body to the palace. They demanded the liberation of

one of their officers who had been suspected of favouring their discontent, and he was set at liberty. They complained of breach of faith. They represented that they had been invited to repair to Brazil as peaceful settlers, each expecting to pursue the trade or occupation which was best suited to him ; and, though they were willing to act as militia for the defence of the district in which they might be placed, they objected to being employed as regular soldiers, and considered that a breach of the contract with them had been committed in sending them from Rio on military service. They therefore required an engagement, that no similar employment should in future be forced upon them, and that they should be allowed without molestation to follow their pursuits as peaceful settlers. They were told, that, if they had complaints to make, they must make them individually, not as a mutinous body with arms in their hands, and that their representations would be laid before the council of state. They returned to their quarters ; but, next day, entertaining doubts of the sincerity of the government, and inflamed by a detachment of the Irish brigade, who had resolved to have a mutiny too, they again took up arms, and proceeded to violence and plunder. They attacked the houses of their Brazilian officers ; they broke open the magazines and shops ; they kept up discharges of musketry in the streets, and perpetrated, during a whole day and night, all the worst excesses of rebellion. Some of their officers, who tried to bring them back to their duty, they put to death ; the others sought safety in flight. To complete the confusion, a battalion of Caçadores, who

suspected their officers of malversation in regard to certain sums retained out of the pay of the men, thought this the proper time to take vengeance, when there was a mutiny, at any rate. They put to death their major whom they chiefly suspected ; and some officers, who interposed to save him, were severely wounded. This battalion proceeded no farther in its excesses ; but the mutineers at St. Christoval, especially, according to the official accounts, the Irish soldiers, having been joined by their comrades, and a number of the lowest populace, whom they armed by breaking open the police barracks, continued to riot, intoxicating themselves with the liquors found in the taverns which they plundered, and firing upon every person whom they met in the streets. To these disorders was added the apprehension of a rising of the negroes, favoured by the apparent suspension of all legal authority ; for, during the two days, and part of a third (9, 10, 11, June) on which these scenes were exhibited, no attempt seems to have been made to repress them. The imperial guards were posted at the palace, and the national troops were kept under arms, but they were kept under arms in their quarters. It was not till the government, on the 11th, applied for and obtained a strong body of marines from the French and English ships of war in the bay, that it ventured to employ a battalion of infantry, with some cavalry and artillery, against the mutineers. After a good deal of firing, the mutineers were compelled to retreat to their quarters, where they were surrounded ; and, on the following day, they surrendered at discretion. They were immediately distributed in small

bodies among the forts, and armed ships, and measures were taken for sending the Irish home to their own country—for on them did the government lay the blame of all the excesses which had been committed.

The suppression of the mutiny was followed by a change of ministry. The emperor was displeased, and apparently with justice, at the want of decision in quelling the revolt, which his servants had displayed; and he was particularly dissatisfied with the minister of war for having managed so badly as to excite it. He, therefore, somewhat unceremoniously ordered that minister to surrender his seals of office. On this fact being announced to the other members of the cabinet, the latter resolved to resign their places, if his majesty insisted on the retirement of their colleague. Having thus made common cause with the minister in disgrace, no alternative remained for his majesty but to submit to their dictation, or to accept their resignations. He did not hesitate in adopting the latter course; and, with his characteristic promptitude, dismissed the whole cabinet at once, only one of them retaining his place.

The new appointments were, Jose Clemente Pereira, to the department of the empire and justice; Jose Bernardino Baptista Pereira, to that of finance; Francisco Cordre da Silva Torres, to that of war; Miguel de Souza Mello e Alvino, to that of marine.

Buenos Ayres found the peace still more desirable than did Brazil. The army, with which she waged the war, had never been well appointed; but her finances, bankrupt in credit as she was, were in no condition to bear any warlike

burdens, however slight. The Congress, indeed, passed most energetic and honest-speaking laws, declaring that "the province of Buenos Ayres acknowledges, in all their force and vigour, the laws by which the domestic and foreign debt of this nation has been contracted, and the obligations created by the creation of public funds"—which was a great deal more than some other of the provinces had the honesty to do. But though they acknowledged the obligation to pay, the payment itself was not made; for there was poverty in the revenue, and there was corrupt, selfish misappropriation, in administering such revenue as was collected.

Peace was equally necessary to enable the distracted republic to improve and consolidate its domestic relations, and remove, if it were practicable, that spirit of disunion among the provinces, which deprived the government of all strength and respectability, and kept it dependent upon discordant factions. When Rivadavia resigned, in the preceding year, on the failure of the negotiations with Brazil, the Congress had voted to him an address expressive of the high sense which they entertained of his service, and their regret at his retirement. His successors, again, had scarcely entered office, when they presented a message which attacked all the measures of the late administration. It stated that, on coming into office, the new government found the army disorganized, the navy useless, and the bank in discredit. The army on the frontiers was suffering every species of privation, and in want of pay, clothing, and horses. The last charge received no countenance from what immediately followed. On the conclusion of the peace, the

army of the republic returned to Buenos Ayres, and the first thing they did was to expel the new government. This revolution was effected on the 1st December. Dorrego fled, but soon afterwards advanced to Buenos Ayres with some militia and Indians; he was defeated, taken prisoner, and shot. Thus the republic of the "United Provinces," in addition to the curse of a government so feeble as scarcely to deserve the name, had the curse of seeing that government, such as it was, made the sport of military power.

**COLOMBIA.** When Bolivar, in the course of last year, was employing his influence and almost dictatorial power to allay the discontents, and quell the disturbances which had arisen in the northern districts of Colombia, he had promised to anticipate the regular period for the meeting of the great convention of the republic in 1831. His pledge was redeemed shortly afterwards by Congress; and a Convention of deputies from all the states of the republic had been directed to assemble at Ocana in the present year, to consider the condition of the constitution, and make what alterations might be necessary to secure that union and civil peace of which Colombia of late had displayed so few symptoms. This convention, accordingly, assembled at Ocana on the 2nd of March. Its proceedings were opened by a long address from Bolivar, in which he pointed out to them the various radical defects which seemed to him to exist in the frame of their government, and the miserable consequences to which they had led. The general description, which he found himself compelled to give of the state of

Colombia, was any thing but flattering to the national vanity. "Colombia," said he, "which was able to raise herself into existence, is now feeble and declining. Identified before with the public good, she no longer conceives her duty to be the only rule of safety. The same men, who, during the struggle, were contented in their poverty, and who did not owe three millions (dollars) to foreigners, have, in order to maintain peace, had to load themselves with debts shameful in their consequences. Colombia, who, in the face of hosts of oppressors, breathed only refined honour and virtue, endures with apparent insensibility the national discredit. Colombia, who only thought on painful sacrifices, on eminent services, is now occupied solely with its rights, while it entirely neglects its duties. The nation would have perished, if a remnant of public spirit had not impelled it to call for the remedy, and rescued it on the brink of the grave. A horrible peril would alone have made us think on the alteration of the fundamental laws; this peril alone was capable of making itself superior to our devotion to legitimate institutions of our own creation, the principles of which had procured for us the desired emancipation. I would add nothing to this fatal picture, if the post I occupy did not compel me to expose to the nation the practical ill consequences of its laws. I know that I cannot do this without exposing myself to malicious interpretations, and that my words will be construed into ambitious ideas; but I, who have not refused to devote to Colombia my existence and reputation, conceive myself bound to make this last sacrifice. I must confess it: our form of govern-

ment is essentially defective. Without considering that we are only just entered into political existence, we have allowed ourselves to be hallucinated by aspiring theories superior even to those which the history of all ages has proved to be incompatible with human nature. At other times we have erred in the means, and ascribed the failure to not having kept sufficiently close to the deceitful guide who was leading us astray, regardless of those who were desirous of following the natural order of things, and of comparing with each other the different parts of our constitution, and the whole with our education, customs, and inexperience, in order that we might not plunge into a troubled ocean."

The great defect of the constitution, according to the *Liberator*, was the feebleness of the executive. "We have made the legislative," he complained, "the only sovereign body, whereas it ought to be merely a member of this sovereign. We have subjected to it the executive, and we have given to it a much greater part in the general administration than what our true interest permits. As the climax of error, all the strength has been placed in the will, and all the weakness in the movement and action of the social body." The executive did not enjoy the power of even proposing laws for the consideration of the legislature, and its right to object could always be rendered nugatory. Its officers were not freely admitted to explain the ground on which the government might wish measures to be adopted, or on which it might reject them, when adopted by the legislature. In all its functions, the civil, the military, and the

judicial, it was but the creature of the legislative body; and the consequence was, that it had been found unable to repress internal sedition, or to repel foreign invasion, until it was strengthened with irregular and dictatorial powers. Nay the constitution itself had made provision for bestowing that almost boundless authority, and the necessity of being so extravagantly lavish, on occasion of every pressure, proved that the general principle of the constitution was one of impolitic and enfeebling niggardliness. Having refused to give solid authority, and thus encouraged insubordination, to repress insubordination it granted powers which were irreconcilable with liberty."

He complained, too, that the army was not on a proper footing. The civil tribunals had an absolute supremacy in military trials, derogatory to the authority vested in the president, and destructive of discipline—of that blind obedience, without which no army can exist for any good purpose. The law, too, which permitted the military to marry without the permission of the government, had been particularly injurious to the army in the facility of its movements, its force, and its spirit. They had prohibited the army from being recruited from among fathers of families—they would not allow a married man to become a soldier, and yet they allowed soldiers to become married men. In the judicial department, there was venality and injustice, which the executive found itself unable to repress; in the financial department, there was a system of mere experiment in administering the revenue, a host of useless placemen, and notorious neglect and dis-

honesty, in its collection. The municipalities were distinguished only by corruption, oppression, and insubordination, and it would be a blessing to the country to abolish them altogether. Police there was none—"not even a shadow of it exists;—security and repose are destroyed." Agriculture had been unable to maintain itself even in its former mean estate, and had sunk into "miserable desolation." Foreign commerce had equally suffered, and the venality, with which the judges sold themselves to protect frauds, had destroyed all confidence in mercantile credit. The national credit had shared the same fate. "Our treasury," said Bolivar, "has, at last, reached the crisis of not being able to redeem our national honour with the generous foreigner who has advanced to us his money, in reliance on our good faith. The army does not receive one half of its pay; and, with the exception of the employés of the revenue, the rest suffer the greatest misery. Shame stops my pen, and I want the resolution to tell you that the national revenue is bankrupt, and that the Republic is beset by a formidable host of creditors." Such was, on the authority of its own government, the state of a country which had been represented to Europeans, year after year, as having advanced rapidly in every comfort, and every ornament that flow from the enjoyment of well-ordered liberty. It amounted to this, that every department of the estate was inefficient and corrupt, founded on absurd principles, and distinguished by unprincipled practice, and that the result of this had already been, the destruction of prosperity and harmony at home, and

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the forfeiture of the national honour abroad.

These were the evils which this grand convention was intended to remedy—and there was no limit to their powers. They had first to settle the radical question, whether the principle of a federal union ought still to be retained—for there was a party, though a small one, of antifederalists. The Convention remitted this question to a committee, and the decision of the committee was in favour of the federal union, they having unanimously reported that the government should remain on the principles laid down in the constitution of 1821. Thus the Convention found itself, in the middle of May, just where it had set out, having determined that the foundation of their government should continue as it was, and having only done mischief in teaching the people, by such a discussion, to consider the very foundations of their government as something merely temporary and variable, connected with no idea of habitual stability. All the important questions—every thing that regarded the rights and relations of the different powers in the state, every thing which was to affect the actually existing evils and do practical good,—remained untouched, and furnished abundant matter of discussion. But the turn, which the discussion took, soon put an end to them. Bolivar, when he pointed out with so much frankness, and with perfect justice, the weakness which the constitution imposed upon the executive, knew well, that, to strengthen the executive, was to strengthen his own power; he had no fear that any other man would be raised to the presidency, so long as he chose to accept it; and the policy of

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his friends, at least was, to bring the Convention to invest him with supreme power, as the only proper remedy for the acknowledged evils of the present system. The Convention shewed a very different temper. There were strong doubts of Bolivar's intentions abroad; and while many were disinclined, on general principle, to give the executive more extensive power than it already possessed, others joined them from views which had reference to the person by whom these powers were to be exercised. The majority of the Convention, from such various causes, evinced this disposition, and therefore the Convention was abruptly dissolved, without leaving a memorial of its brief existence in any one public measure. As soon as the discovery was made by the friends and the partisans of Bolivar that a majority of the members of the Convention were opposed to his views, they immediately vacated their seats in the assembly, which then, having no longer the number required by the constitution to give validity to its proceedings, became virtually extinct.

When the intelligence of its dissolution reached Bogota, a meeting was convened for the 13th of June, of the principal inhabitants both civil and military. Its proceedings were short, but decisive and important. Resolutions were passed by acclamation, declaring Bolivar supreme chief of Colombia, with the most extensive powers;—recalling from Ocana all the deputies sent to the Convention from Bogota,—and inviting Bolivar, who was absent on a tour in the provinces, to repair immediately to the capital, and take upon him the management of affairs, until tranquillity should be restored. On

the receipt of intelligence at Carthagena of what had occurred at Bogota, a similar meeting was convened, and the same resolutions were unanimously adopted. Guayana followed the example, and nearly all the provinces had almost instantly replaced their great national Convention with the person of the president. Bolivar, who was at no great distance from the capital, and who was probably aware beforehand of the movement meditated in his favour, was not slow in obeying the call of the inhabitants. He entered Bogota on the 20th of June, and experienced a reception sufficiently enthusiastic to gratify the highest ambition. A temporary throne was erected for him in the great square, to which he was conducted in triumph, where, being seated, he received the congratulations of the public functionaries, and all the principal inhabitants, on his elevation. In his reply, he gave them distinct assurances of his intention to remain in the country, and of his determination to employ the power conferred on him to save it, by putting down rebellion and anarchy. He thus wanted nothing of a king but the name, and he had the authority, too, of king, free from the restraints of any representative body. One would think, to be sure, that, as the Convention had made no change in the constitution, that constitution, unrepealed by any recognised authority, must still be the form in which the powers of the state would have to act. Not so thought Bolivar. In a proclamation which he immediately issued, he told them, that their old constitution was gone, and they had got him in its place. He promised to convoke the representative body with-

to be enacted, even if the question were, whether it should now be adopted; and there was further the consideration, that, on a subject like this, an apparent absence of fixed and firm opinion was itself an evil. Nothing could give rise to more serious evils, than to keep the public mind in a perpetual state of uncertainty as to the intentions of the legislature. If they resolved at one time that the issue of small notes should cease, and, at another time, that they should continue—if they went on vacillating between one course and another, and finally gave up the principle to which they had repeatedly pledged themselves, they might depend upon it that this country would not for the future place any reliance on their decisions. The question ought to be decided upon the ground of expediency; and the evidence of expediency should be very clear, that could warrant them in retracing their steps, and undoing what they had done with respect to the issue of small notes.

Now, no such expediency existed; for the dangers apprehended from the sudden withdrawal of the small notes, and the want of coin to supply the deficiency, were imaginary. It was true that inconvenience might be felt, if all the small notes were to be withdrawn from circulation on a particular day. But this was not what was enjoined by the act of 1826, and would not be an effect of it. The act stated, that a country banker should not, after the 5th of April, 1829, issue notes under the value of 5*l.*; but it provided that notes issued since February, 1826, might be circulated from hand to hand with the same facility as at the present moment.

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It had only the effect of gradually—it might be said, imperceptibly—cancelling these notes. When the law provided that those notes should remain in circulation so long as they endured—when it only prevented the issue of them by the bankers into whose hands they might return—then the question bore a very different aspect. Accordingly, a gradual extinction of them had been going on since the date of the act. Since February, 1826, there had not been a single country bank-note stamped at the Stamp-office. There had been, therefore, a gradual reduction of the issues in operation since that period; and if the total reduction was likely to be attended with such effects as had been described, the partial reduction going on since that time ought to exhibit some indications of the evils apprehended. But hitherto, at least, no symptom had appeared—no pressure, no stagnation, which any man had ever thought of ascribing to the diminished circulation of one-pound notes, and the increased circulation of sovereigns.

Again, the amount of small notes, which would be banished by the change, had been, it was said, enormously exaggerated. It was too small, either perceptibly to affect the general currency of the country, or occasion the slightest difficulty in supplying its place with gold. The number of notes under 5*l.*, which were in circulation previously to the alarm which prevailed in 1825 and 1826, was 7,800,000*l.* The amount of notes discredited at that period, returned to the stamp-office to be cancelled, or worn out, was 1,700,000*l.*, and it was not unreasonable to suppose that, by the operation of similar causes, up to April 1829, notes to

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from interfering with the proceedings of the conspirators on the other points. The leading conspirators were military officers, and one Houment a French settler. General Santander, the late vice-president of the republic, was accused, immediately after the explosion of the attempt, of not only having been privy to the plot, but of being its instigator.

The conspirators proceeded to action on the night of the 25th of September. A party led by Carrijo, the commandant, Houment, and Lopez, an officer who had been degraded by a sentence of the supreme court of justice, attacked the palace unexpectedly about ten o'clock at night. They killed the sentinels who resisted, and ascended to the upper apartments, where the orderly officer of the liberator opposed their progress, until he was disabled by the cut of a sabre. The assailants then succeeded in penetrating to Bolivar's cabinet. He advanced to meet them, but, seeing their numbers, retired to defend himself in his room; and, when it was found impossible to hold out any longer, he escaped by a balcony into the street, and reached the barracks of Vargas.

The attack on these barracks, conducted by colonel Selva, had commenced as soon as news was received of that on the palace, by placing a piece of ordnance against the gate. But the guard maintained their post with firmness, and, assisted by the soldiers of the same battalion, who, from the upper windows, fired upon the aggressors, they beat back the conspirators, took their cannon, and pursued them in all directions. In the mean time, the third party had succeeded in getting into the prison of general Padilla, by leaping the

wall of the yard; and having reached the room of that general, they shot colonel Bolivar, the officer on duty, whom they found in his bed.

A division of the regiment of Vargas, under the command of lieutenant Forrealoa, having been supplied with ammunition, and headed by general Urdaneta, minister of war, placed themselves in the principal square, and took measures for the defence of the city, and the pursuit of the traitors. Here they were joined by the liberator, who was received with open arms and most enthusiastic demonstrations of joy by all the officers and men.

A public mass was celebrated on the very next morning (September 26) in gratitude for the safety of Bolivar. The citizens crowded round him to congratulate him on the event. Several thousands of the neighbouring peasantry were very shortly under arms, and at the disposal of the government. A decree was also issued the same day, in which Bolivar announced:—"From this day forward I will use the authority which the national vote has confided to me, with the extension which circumstances may force upon me. The same circumstances shall fix the term of the extension of this authority. In pursuance of which, the council of state will advise me of the measures which in its opinion the public good requires, pointing out their greater or less urgency." Besides the conspirators who were made prisoners in the actual attempt, a great number of individuals were apprehended on the following day as being implicated in the conspiracy. Among them was Santander, and two of his aides-de-camp.

No time was lost in furnishing an example of severe punishment. On the 2nd of October, general Padilla, and colonel Ramon Guerra, commandant of the military staff, were executed. Houment was shot upon the fifth, along with colonel Selva, two lieutenants of the artillery, and a partner of Houment. Santander was convicted of having been concerned in the conspiracy, and sentence of death was likewise pronounced against him. Some of the less guilty were only removed to more distant departments, and some were even allowed to retain their public employments. The particular charges, however, against individuals were not published, it being judged better, as the government Gazette expressed it, "to avoid wounding private families, and to keep from public view crimes which were before supposed impossible in Colombia"—good reasons for not exciting public notice by any inquiry or punishment at all—but no reason for exciting public notice by hanging and shooting men, and yet keeping it secret for what they had been either hanged or shot.

The Peruvians in 1827, so soon as they got rid of the personal presence of Bolivar, had overturned all the institutions which he had given them, and from being apparently an object of the most enthusiastic popular admiration, he had become all at once an object of popular odium. They now attacked him in the small republic of Bolivia, a bantling of his own making, which he had honoured with his own name, and nurtured with the pap of a most metaphysically absurd and unintelligible constitution, and where, on his

return to Colombia, he had left his friend and confident general Sucre, to act as dry-nurse under the name of president. After the Peruvians in 1827 unceremoniously shipped off their Colombian auxiliaries to their own country, general Gomarra, with a Peruvian army, had taken his station on the frontiers of Bolivia, under the pretext that Peru dreaded an attack in that quarter from Colombia. The true object, however, seems to have been, to excite an insurrection in Bolivia against the influence of Bolivar, and to be at hand with Peruvian troops to take advantage of it. The project was successful. The Bolivian troops revolted on the 18th of April. General Sucre, in attempting to quell the insurrection, was wounded, and made prisoner. On the 22nd, the governor of Potosi attacked them, and succeeded in expelling them from Chuquisaca, and in rescuing the president. The mutineers, however, kept the field, waxed stronger and stronger, and were at last joined by general Gomarra and his Peruvians, who pretended that he was bound to assist a brave people struggling for its liberties against foreign power. They had now the command of the republic, and immediately set about the introduction of a new system by removing every person, and every thing, which spoke of Bolivar. The president, with all the servants of his government, the Colombian troops with all their officers, were sent off safe to Colombia; the Peruvian general engaging to find the means of conveying them to Guayaquil, and the Bolivian leader to indemnify him for the expense. The Peruvian army was allowed, by a convention, to occupy Potosi; and a constituent

congress was summoned to meet at Chuquisaca, on the 1st of August, under the penalty, that all members, who did not attend, would be deemed undeserving of public confidence.

On receiving intelligence of these proceedings, Bolivar immediately declared war against Peru. Peru, he said, had long been animated by hostile dispositions against Colombia, and had now broken out into hostile acts. She had encouraged a former revolt, among the Colombian troops, for the purpose of aiding her in making war upon the republic; and she had not made war, only because the revolt did not spread so widely as she had hoped, and was instantly crushed. She had now actually invaded a friendly country—for invasion it was under a thin disguise of regard for Bolivia, which she was oppressing. For two years the hostile designs and warlike preparations of Peru had compelled Colombia to maintain considerable forces on foot in the southern departments of the republic, when its people were just beginning to breathe from the pressure of the war. To maintain these troops on the frontiers would be injurious to the agricultural and other interests of the provinces; to disband them would be opening the door to Peruvian invasion, while they would have to remain quiet spectators of the fate of Bolivia, and even furnish new means against themselves. The wisest policy then was, to carry war into the territory of the enemy, before he should bring it into Colombia.

In PERU, on the other hand, the war was represented as a war of defence, against the designs of a successful soldier, who had shewn

not indistinctly his wish to establish over Peru the same despotic control and influence, which he had now, by his intrigues, gained for himself in Colombia; and the necessity of making every exertion to meet the threatened danger was stated to congress by the committee of finance, as a reason why it was vain to think of paying the interest of their European debt. "The lamentable necessity," said they "of keeping up a great military establishment, never before maintained by the republic, for the purpose of securing it against the designs of a warrior as fortunate as he is ambitious,—the extraordinary expenses necessary to re-equip the navy and complete the divisions south and north,—the maintenance of the legislative body, and a thousand other charges, which have suddenly fallen on Peru at a time when it could not recover the losses suffered during the war with the Spaniards, expose us to the degrading alternative of figuring before the nations of Europe and America as a state without credit and without good faith." The government probably did not believe the danger to be so great as they were willing it should be thought to be, in order to induce congress to place the public establishments on a respectable footing. They gained their object. The army was brought into a state of complete equipment, and a frigate of the first class was fitted out by the inhabitants of Lima at their own expense.

The installation of general Lamar in the office of president of Peru, had a beneficial influence in calming the dissensions which previously existed. His measures were mild and conciliatory, and his

brains literally beaten out. In the first volley fired by the blockade-men, an old smuggler, Smithurst, was killed. He was found in the morning lying dead in the road, with his bat still grasped in his hands, the weapon being almost hacked in pieces by the cutlasses and bayonets of the blockade-men. The coroner's jury, which sat on the body of Collins the quarter-master, returned a verdict of "wilful murder against some person or persons unknown." In a few days, the party were betrayed by one of their accomplices, and the ring-leaders were apprehended. Although the informer was what is called "foreman of the company," he had long been an object of suspicion to his gang: but they were too much in his power to venture to discard him.

5. **HYDROPHOBIA.** — A Mr. Bryan, of Leicester, having observed his dog unusually dull, and very snappish, deemed it proper to secure him; but, in the attempt, on November 8th, his left hand was bit in several places; he made a second attempt to place a collar round the neck of the dog, when the right hand was also seized, and was dreadfully lacerated. The wounds were so serious, and so deep amongst the tendons of the hands and fingers, that excision of the parts seemed impracticable; but the usual antidotes were applied, and in two days an extensive discharge commenced in the sores. The patient always appeared very cheerful, and deemed himself secure from any ill consequences. But on Wednesday morning, January 2nd, after passing a restless night, with fever and thirst, he became considerably agitated and fearful on taking some toast and water into his hand. There was a wild

glassy appearance in the eyes, with constant deep sighing, and great anxiety. Some gruel being brought, he became uneasy and restless at the sight of it, and, to use his own words, 'felt as if he should be suffocated, and could not get his breath.' Nearly two pounds of blood were taken from his arm, without producing any sensible effect on the pulse, which was only sixty-eight. In attempting to take a glass of warm ale, which he asked for, he became convulsed, and threw the contents of the glass into his face, without tasting any. The pulse rose to ninety, but the disease continued slowly progressive until Friday the 4th, when he became rapidly worse, being violently convulsed at intervals. The saliva flowed copiously from his mouth; there was some blood mixed with it, in consequence of the great effort he made to eject it. He became very hoarse. The pulse rose from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and sixty-five, became feeble, and scarcely perceptible. The spasms became much weaker, and on the morning of Saturday the 5th, the patient expired. His movements during the progress of the disease were astonishingly rapid; he continued sensible during the whole of his illness.

7. **NATURAL PHENOMENON.** — On the 7th of January, after a violent storm on the preceding day, there was heard, at four wersts from the village of Jokmali, situated fifteen wersts N.W. of Baku, in Persia, a loud noise like that of fire arms, which was followed by the appearance of a column of flame of great height, which burnt for three hours, gradually becoming lower till it was only an arsheen in height, in which state it continued for twenty-four hours.

It covered a space of two hundred fathoms in length, by one hundred and fifty in breadth. The eruption was accompanied by a subterraneous noise like thunder; and this volcano threw up calcined stones of different kinds, and columns of water. There was no crater; on the contrary, the spot from which the flame proceeded, rose about an arsheen, as if it had been dug up. The soil was composed of calcined stones, a thick argillaceous mud, and other burnt substances. Fire continued to issue from it for several days, and flames immediately burst forth when the earth was stirred. The fire was different from that which burns thirty wersts from it, near the temple of the Indians. It was red, emitted no smell, and did not affect the atmosphere.

**ENTHRONEMENT OF THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.**—The ceremonial of enthroning Dr. Sumner, the new Bishop of Winchester, took place in Winchester Cathedral, on the 10th January, being the first instance of a Protestant bishop having been enthroned in that city; and the novelty of the circumstance attracted a concourse of at least ten thousand persons to witness the ceremony. On his arrival at Farnham, on Tuesday the 8th, to take possession of the episcopal palace there, his lordship was met by a numerous assemblage of people, who drew him to the castle, preceded by a band of music, and greeted with continual cheers, the ringing of bells, and every demonstration of popular respect. A similar welcome was given to him on his arrival at Winchester, on the 9th. Nearly one hundred gentlemen and tradesmen on horseback, met him at the entrance of the city, and escorted him to the deanery.

The usual service commenced at ten in the morning of the 10th, the stalls, seats, galleries, and every accessible part of the vast edifice being thronged with people. At the conclusion of the first lesson, the clergymen on duty, and their officers, proceeded to the chapter-room, where his lordship awaited their arrival, in order to be escorted to take possession of the mother-church of St. Lawrence.

This ceremony having been performed by his lordship's tolling the bell at St. Lawrence church, the procession was joined by the mayor, recorder, and aldermen of the city, attended by their mace-bearers and other officers, all in their robes of office, and returned in the same order to the cathedral. Immediately on entering the choir, the bishop advanced to the altar-table, where he knelt for a short time, and then returned towards his throne, to which, having first taken the usual oaths before the whole congregation, his lordship was handed by the chancellor and senior prebendary, who stood on either side of his lordship's seat.

**11. HIGH COURT OF ADMIRALTY.**—David Smith, master of the luggage steam boat *Favourite*, plying on the river Clyde, Norman Jamieson, mate of the said steam boat, John M'Arthur, acting master on board the steam packet *Fingal*, plying between Belfast and Glasgow, and Donald M'Bryd, now or lately seaman on board that vessel, were tried for culpable homicide, in the culpably, negligently, and recklessly directing and managing or steering their vessels, so as on 21st August, to bring them into collision, about half a mile above Dumbarton castle, whereby the smack *Carolina*, which was in tow of the *Favourite*, was brought into

collision with, and upset and sunk by, the *Fingal*, which sailed over the said smack, whereof in consequence Mary Duncan or Anderson, and Margaret Anderson, Grizle Anderson, and James Anderson, her children, were drowned.

From the evidence, it appeared, that the *Favourite* steam boat had the *Carolina* smack in tow for Glasgow, when, at the place mentioned in the indictment, the *Fingal* came up, and rang her bell when about one hundred yards distant. The steam boats, however, continued to advance, and came in collision, in consequence of the one boat not going sufficiently to the north, and the other to the south, but rather keeping midway in the river. The seamen of the respective boats deposed as to the vessels keeping the right side, and threw the blame on each other; and swore they backed the engines about two minutes before they came in contact. The smack, on being struck, instantly sunk. Mrs. Anderson was below, with her three children. When the vessel righted, a voice was heard, and a hole being cut with an axe in the side of the vessel, a boy was got out alive, but Mrs. Anderson and her children were found dead. A seaman of the *Favourite* swore he saw the light of the *Fingal* three hundred yards distant. He cried to starboard, which brought the head of the *Favourite* to the north; but the *Fingal* kept her course right down mid-channel, and struck the *Favourite*. A seaman on board the *Fingal* swore, that the bell was rung, and the order was twice given to starboard the helm, and the vessel inclined to the south. Some person in the *Fingal* cried out, "where is that stupid fellow, (alluding to the *Favourite*) going

across our bows?" The *Fingal* was between two and three hundred tons burden, with engines of one hundred horse power. The *Favourite* was much smaller. In exculpation, the superintendent on the Clyde deposed there were regulations made by the Trustees as to the side steam boats should take; but there was no rule as to them except these regulations. That practice had, however, been generally observed by the steam boats for nine or ten years. There was no rule as to sailing vessels taking a particular side of the river, they being regulated by the state of the wind, depth of water and other circumstances. The panels received good characters. Smith was found not guilty by a plurality of voices, and the other panels were unanimously found not guilty.

12. ACCIDENT AT THE THAMES TUNNEL. — At six o'clock this morning, the night gang left their work, and were succeeded by the day men, consisting of one hundred and thirty excavators. Mr. Brunel, jun., who was present when the relief took place, was giving directions to the workmen, when he remarked that the water drained through the soil at the shield much more rapidly than it had done for some time. The soil itself, which for some days had been strong and clayey, appeared much looser, and water and sand poured through the left of the box No. 1, but not in such quantities as to create a supposition that the evil could not be soon remedied. At about half past six o'clock, however, several hundred weight of mud was forced into the tunnel through the left corner of No. 1 shield. The boxes No. 1 and 2, having yielded to the pressure of the high tides of the season, and permitted the influx of

the river, the water rushed in with such extreme velocity, that the force of the air threw one man upon his back on the stage, and extinguished the gas. The workmen who could get to the eastern arch effected their escape; others were carried by the force of the water to the end of the shaft, and were taken out of the water in a state of extreme exhaustion. At one period eighteen men were all immersed in the water, besides Mr. Brunel, jun.; and that gentleman and twelve of the men, after being repeatedly driven against the woodwork, and severely bruised, were taken out at the shaft nearly insensible. Two men who were knocked down along with Mr. Brunel, and a third, who was a bottom-box man, were destroyed almost instantaneously. The rush was so violent as to destroy the lower part of the staircase by which the labourers ascended and descended, so that it was utterly impossible for them, by any exertion, to save themselves. Three other men, who were at work at the lower boxes of the frame, when the catastrophe happened, likewise perished.

The noise created by the influx of the water was tremendous, and absolutely deafened the ears of those engaged at the base of the shaft. It was so powerful, that the water rose several inches above the level of the shaft, and reached the lodge itself.

Mr. Brunel, jun., was brought out with his ankle much injured in his exertions to save the unfortunate men that perished. He gave the following account of the accident.

"I had been in the frames (shield) with the workmen throughout the whole night, having taken my station there at ten o'clock.

During the workings, through the night, no symptoms of insecurity appeared. At six o'clock this morning (the usual time for shifting the men) a fresh set, or shift of the men, came on to work. We began to work the ground at the west top corner of the frame. The tide had just then begun to flow, and finding the ground tolerably quiet, we proceeded, by beginning at the top, and had worked about a foot downwards, when, on exposing the next six inches, the ground swelled suddenly, and a large quantity burst through the opening thus made. This was followed instantly by a large body of water. The rush was so violent as to force the man, on the spot where the burst took place, out of the frame (or cell), on to the timber stage, behind the frames. I was in the frame with the man, but upon the rush of the water, I went into the next box (or cell), in order to command a better view of the irruption; and seeing that there was no possibility of their opposing the water, I ordered all the men in the frames to retire. All were retreating, except the three men who were with me, and they retreated with me. I did not leave the stage until those three men were down the ladder of the frames, when they and I proceeded about twenty feet along the west arch of the tunnel; at this moment, the agitation of the air by the rush of the water, was such as to extinguish all the lights, and the water had gained the height of the middle of our waists. I was at that moment giving directions to the three men, in what manner they ought to proceed, in the dark, to effect their escape, when they and I were knocked down and covered by a part of the timber stage. I struggled under water for some time,

and at length extricated myself from the stage, and by swimming, and being forced by the water, I gained the eastern arch, where I got a better footing, and was enabled, by laying hold of the railway rope, to pause a little, in the hope of encouraging the men who had been knocked down at the same time with myself. This I endeavoured to do by calling to them. Before I reached the shaft, the water had risen so rapidly that I was out of my depth, and, therefore swam to the visitors' stairs—the stairs for the workmen being occupied by those who had so far escaped. My knee was so injured by the timber stage that I could scarcely swim, or get up the stairs; but the rush of the water carried me up the shaft."

On the following day, Mr. Gravatt went down in the diving bell, and examined the aperture. It was found to be of an oblong shape, extending from West to East, and in length about seven feet. It was quite perpendicular. The ground on either side was so perfectly sound, that notwithstanding the strong current that must of course have accompanied the influx, it still remained unbroken.

13. **VIOLENT STORM.**—On the night of Saturday the 12th, and during Sunday the 13th, a severer storm of wind, than had been experienced for many years, visited the coast. At Plymouth, on Saturday afternoon, there was a great flux and reflux of the tide, which rose and fell two feet perpendicular. Between twelve and one o'clock on Sunday morning, the wind, which had been blowing freshly from the S.S.E. suddenly increased to the violence of a gale. About two o'clock it shifted to the S.S.W., and blew a tremendous hurricane for

two hours. Shortly after four it changed to the W., and became less violent. It was accompanied with vivid flashes of lightning. The harbour, particularly the Sound, was crowded with shipping; and, towards one o'clock, signals of distress were heard from the Sound, though such was the uproar of the elements that the guns were but faintly distinguished in the town, and it was found utterly impossible to render the slightest assistance to the vessels which were drifting. When day-light broke, there were altogether thirteen vessels on shore; six in Deadman's bay, six in Mount Batten bay, and one in Bovisand bay. Eight vessels, however, rode out the gale in the Sound, without damage. Only two lives were lost. The preservation of the crews and passengers, particularly on the dangerous shores of Mount Batten bay, was owing mainly to one individual. The only habitation on the mount, is a cottage, occupied by a labourer: by the exertions of this man and his wife, ropes thrown from the wrecks were fastened to the rocks, and the crews saved: four women and a child were brought ashore from the *Jessie Lawson* in this manner. The hurricane occasioned, likewise, a great destruction of property on shore. In Plymouth, Devonport, Stonehouse, Stoke, and all the villages around, many chimnies were blown down, and a great number of houses unroofed. The north-east minaret of Stonehouse chapel was blown down, and fell through the roof into the chapel. One of the chimnies in the centre range of the buildings of the workhouse, fell through the roof, and broke through part of the upper floor, carrying away two of the joists. There were, at the time, six poor



women lying in bed in the upper room ; but, although the mass fell upon three of the bedsteads, and broke the iron sides of one, only one of the women received any injury. This escape excited the astonishment of all who viewed the premises.

Two hundred trees were blown down at Mount Edgcumbe. On the estate of J. Harris, esq. at Radford, fourteen elm-trees, of immense size, were blown down, most of them being literally torn up by the roots. On the barton of Hooe, eleven trees, of different descriptions, were blown down, and at Totill, about forty. At Portsmouth, Dartmouth, Dover, and Falmouth, the storm was equally severe ; but the shipping in general escaped with less injury. The tempest was the most violent and destructive, that had visited the coast, since November, 1824.

14. PEDESTRIANISM.—Sheppard, the Yorkshire pedestrian, undertook for a wager of twenty guineas to run twenty miles, in three hours. He started from the Maidenhead, Leadenhall-market, and ran with great speed until he arrived at Romford, a distance of ten miles, which he accomplished in considerably less than half the time given to perform the whole of the match. After a short rest, he again started towards London, and arrived at the Maidenhead, at a quarter past one o'clock, having performed his difficult task in a quarter of an hour less than the given time. He was extremely exhausted, and a great number of bets were lost and won on the occasion.

OLD BAILEY SESSIONS.—*Constant Steck*, a native of Germany, a person of respectable appearance and address, stood charged with

stealing an inkstand, value 5s., the property of John Jones. John Pedder stated, that he was in the auction-room of Dawson and Cafe, in Great Marlborough-street, on the day named in the indictment, when he saw the prisoner take an inkstand off the marble slab, with which he walked away. Witness told the prosecutor of the circumstance, and the prisoner said he had purchased it of a person who had left the room. John Jones, the prosecutor, stated that he saw the prisoner with an inkstand, which he considered to be his property : hence he gave the prisoner into custody. In his cross-examination by Mr. Sergeant Arabia, the witness said, that he was a broker, and that he attended sales to buy and sell goods ; there were two hundred and fifty lots for sale that day, part of them belonging to him and part to other people ; the inkstand was not one of those marked for sale ; there were thousands like it, and he would not now swear that it was his property. He did not deny but that it was the practice of jobbers to sell their lots immediately after the purchase.

The prisoner, when called upon for his defence, addressed the Court in the following words :

—“ My Lord and Gentlemen of the Jury,—Overwhelmed as I am at the deplorable situation in which I now stand before you, will, I am fearful, preclude the possibility of my revealing to you what I have suffered both in body and mind, in consequence of the accusation which is now preferred against me, and of which I most solemnly avow I am perfectly innocent. I trust the verdict which you, gentlemen, are about to return will bear me out in that assertion, and restore me to that liberty of which I never

had the misfortune to be deprived, until the present occasion. Gentlemen, I beg to call your attention to the circumstances of this (to me) distressing case, which are simply these:—Having occasion to pass through Marlborough-street, on the day in question, I was attracted to notice a bill of sale attached to the auction-room, and was induced to go in. While there I was looking at an inkstand which stood on the table, when a man standing close by me asked if I would buy it, adding, that he had just given four shillings for it, and if I would give him one shilling advance, I should have it. I agreed to do so, and paid him five shillings, and he went away, and I proceeded to do so in about half an hour, when I was accused of theft and given in custody, although there was no concealment of the article, and I took it from the table in the presence of a number of persons. I need hardly advert to the fact, that the case appeared to be exaggerated against me, probably taking advantage because I was a foreigner, and consequently unable to convince them of their doubts respecting my respectability. Gentlemen, no cause exists why I should be induced to purloin an article of trifling value, as the means I derive from my parents are amply sufficient to procure me a comfortable living in England, independent of which my education and pursuits are a source of income. I came, gentlemen, to this country, twelve months ago, in order to study mathematics, and perfect myself in the English language, and was about to return home on the 8th of this month, and had procured my passport accordingly, which is now become useless in consequence of this abominable charge, which not only gives

rise to delay, but will be the means of deranging my domestic affairs. My passport, certificates, and other credentials, will show that my character has always been unquestionable, and there are persons in court who will give verbal testimony to that effect. My lord and gentlemen, as a foreigner I throw myself upon your protection. I am entirely innocent of the charge, and rely upon your justice, your humanity, and respectability as a safeguard; and hope that, after taking the circumstances into consideration, you will by your verdict, not only restore me to liberty, but thereby enable me to return to my country and friends, where important affairs demand my presence." While the unfortunate gentleman delivered the address, he was at times considerably affected.

Mr. Taplin, the proprietor of a tavern near Soho-square, stated that for the last two months Mr. Steck had lived at his house; he kept gentlemen's company, and appeared at all times to be a gentleman himself, by his conduct, and by his pecuniary means.

Mr. Sergeant Arabin left it to the jury to say, whether under all the circumstances they could suppose that the prisoner was guilty. His defence manifested talent and ingenuity, and no man circumstanced as he was could have a better character. The jury would also bear in mind that the prosecutor would not swear to the property being his.

The jury without hesitation, returned a verdict of *acquittal*.

15. CUTTING TREES.—For a considerable time past the persons residing in the vicinage of Maidenhead-thicket, a large common near Maidenhead, have enjoyed undisturbed the right to cut furze off

the thicket for firing. Some persons, when cutting the furze, having dug up their roots, as being the more useful, because the thicker part of the wood, Mr. Maitland, the lord of the manor, had several of these persons convicted before the magistrates, and punished with imprisonment. Some days after, however, upwards of six hundred young oak trees which he had lately planted on the common were discovered to have been cut down during the preceding night, and with so much industry, that not one was left standing. These trees were about three years' growth, and appeared to have been all cut by the same person with the same instrument.

18. RIOT AT GRANTHAM.—A large body of the men at work on the Ancholme river collected together to attend the funeral of a comrade and took advantage of the occasion to revenge upon the constables of that village the apprehension of two of their gang, who had been committed to Kirton gaol a few days before, for a riot at the Crown Inn. Having got up a sham fight among themselves, and the constables having assembled on account of the disturbance, the sham fight was soon turned into a serious attack upon the constables. Hedge-stakes, rails, and iron-bars, torn from the windows, were hurled at the constables; who in return repelled the assailants for an hour with their staves only, but as the night grew very dark, the yells and overpowering numbers of the bankers so intimidated some of their opponents, that it became necessary to fire a pistol over their heads, in the hope that the certain knowledge of fire-arms being possessed would check their fury. The cry of

"murder the constables, they have only powder," and an immediate violent rush inside and outside the house, into which they had pushed, obliged some one to load his pistol and defend his person. A small slug entered the side of one man, whose unfortunate situation immediately engaged the attention of his rioting companions; and, with the exception of a few random blows with cudgels, the tumult gradually subsided. Several of the principal farmers acting as constables, were dangerously beaten and cut; yet owing to the darkness of the night, only one rioter could be identified; nearly fifty of the gang of bankers fled the county, marked with black eyes and bruised limbs. Of a large quantity of stones which lay near, for the purpose of building a wall, not one remained next morning, when the workmen arrived to make use of them; they had all been used by the rioters as ammunition.

THEATRICAL ACCIDENT.—On Wednesday the 19th during the representation of the spectacle of *Peter Wilkins*, at Bath, Miss Cooke and Mrs. Ashton, the two flying Gawries, were elevated in the third scene, to the height of about ten or eleven feet, when, by the slipping of an iron pinion in the machinery, a cog-wheel became disengaged; and, the windlass being thus left unrestrained, and running rapidly round, they were both precipitated with violence to the ground. On ascertaining the extent of the suffering, it was discovered that Miss Cooke had her ankle dislocated, and her leg seriously fractured. Mrs. Ashton had sustained severe injury in her chest, by falling upon part of the scenery representing a pointed rock.

21. FALL OF BUILDINGS.—

This morning between four and five o'clock, one of the houses in a court called Palmer's Rents, the buildings in which were chiefly inhabited by poor Irish, and had been long in a very dilapidated state, was observed to bulge out evidently with considerable motion, and in a few seconds, the house fell. The vicinity was soon alarmed, and several persons ventured up the court, which was almost impassable. Their advance was considerably impeded by the retreat of numbers of persons in a state of nudity. Lights being procured, the two adjoining houses were perceived to be inclining outwards, part of the front of one of them having fallen. The inhabitants of these two houses, amounting to ten or twelve persons, instantly escaped. The number of persons in the house that fell was fourteen. The landlord of the house, who slept in the second floor, was taken out nearly lifeless—his wife was found under a beam. Two lodgers had their limbs fractured; a man, his wife, and two children, who slept in the front parlour, escaped, in consequence of the house falling outwards.

24. FAMILY OF CRIMINALS.—at the Hull Sessions, *Sarah Stanhope* was placed at the bar, charged with stealing from the person, a promissory note for 20*l.*, a bill for 15*l.*, three promissory notes of a guinea each, a pound note, and a sovereign.—The Jury having without hesitation returned a verdict of *Guilty*, the Recorder, after some observations on the irreclaimable habits of the prisoner, sentenced her to be transported for seven years. She was the daughter of the notorious Snowden Dunhill, of Spaldington-lane, near Howden, the daring and

extensive depredations of whose gang had rendered them objects of terror throughout the East Riding. Snowden himself was tried at the York March Assizes, in 1813, for robbing a granary; was found guilty, and sentenced to seven years' transportation. There were four other bills found against him. Having gone through the term of punishment awarded him by the Court, he returned to Hull; and, having recommenced his old course, he was about three years ago, once more sentenced to transportation, and is now, if living, at Botany Bay. In July last, his son George Dunhill, aged twenty-four, was executed at Hobart-town, Van Diemen's Land. He had been transported from Beverley sessions about eight or nine years ago, along with his mother; and at the same time, his sister Rosa was also convicted, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment in York Castle. At the last Leeds borough sessions she was found guilty of larceny, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment in Wakefield House of Correction, in which place of confinement she now remains. Her two husbands, Wm. M'Dowell of Pontefract, and George Conner, of Leeds, were transported. Sarah, the present culprit, had been imprisoned in York county prison, several years before, for twelve months, and was again tried at Beverley last year. Her three husbands, viz. James Stanhope, *alias* "One-armed Jem," William Rhodes, and James Crossland, of Hull, were each transported. William, another son of Snowden Dunhill, was transported for fourteen years, from York, about ten years ago, and died immediately on his arrival at Sydney Cove, New

South Wales. Robert Taylor, a son of Mrs. Dunhill to a former husband, was also transported.

**24. DESTRUCTIVE FIRE.**—About half-past two o'clock in the morning, the house of Mr. Cain, of the French Horn, Crutched-friars, was discovered to be on fire, and the inmates immediately afterwards appeared at the windows calling for help. Mr. Cain was seen at the second floor, a man named Williams at the third story, and three or four of the lodgers at the others. Williams jumped from the window, and was so much hurt that he was conveyed to the hospital in a coach; Mr. Cain slipped down from the window at which he first appeared, and escaped with some slight contusions. Two young men, lodgers, and Mrs. Cain, saved their lives by jumping from the windows at the rear of the house; but the house was, by this time, one mass of flame, and the daughter of Mr. Cain, aged fifteen, the servant-girl, and the pot-boy, and two other persons perished. The remains of Miss Cain were got out of the ruins about five o'clock. The tottering state in which the front of the house stood, prevented the firemen present, from venturing on any portion of the premises, to discover, if possible, any of the other bodies, which had perished in the flames. Two men, however, mounted by a ladder, to the second floor, and on entering the window they discovered two bodies lying close together on a portion of the floor which had not fallen with the rest. They were both young women, and were dreadfully burnt about the head and upper part of the body. The remains of the pot-boy were dug out of the ruins. The face was not much injured,

but nearly the whole of the flesh from the chest downwards was burnt off. From the position in which the body was found, it would appear that he had never risen from his bed. Not far from the body the head was picked up, and the right hand was close to the side of the head, as if he had pillowed his head with his hand. The left arm was lying nearly parallel to the body.

**26. FALL OF A MOUNTAIN.**—The side of the mountain of Spalontmont, which overlooks Spa on the north side, burst about midnight, enormous masses of rock rolling down on the houses below. The noise of these masses in their fall awakened the inhabitants in the middle of the night; and the patrol instantly made all those persons who lived in the neighbourhood remove from their houses. Providentially, no lives were lost.

**LIBEL.—COURT OF EXCHEQUER.**—*Hall v. Longman and others.*—This was an action of libel, brought by Mr. Hall, a teacher of languages, against Messrs. Longman, Rees, and Co., for publishing a letter of the late Dr. Jones, purporting to be an exposure of the Hamiltonian System, in which the writer, speaking of the plaintiff, said that he had lately attended a lecture given by him, and then proceeded thus:—"The lecturer did not want talents, nor did he want impudence: he wanted nothing but honesty; for the whole of what he called his system was taken from a little work published by me, called *Analogiæ Latinæ*," &c. The trial took place in the sittings after last Term, before the Lord Chief Baron, and the jury found a verdict for the defendants. Mr. Brougham now moved the

Court for a rule to set aside the verdict, and grant a new trial, on the ground of misdirection on the part of the learned Judge. His Lordship, in addressing the jury, said, "The sting of the libel is the imputing to the plaintiff the want of honesty: undoubtedly this is a harsh phrase taken by itself, but it is one which may be explained; and the way in which it is explained on the other side is this—they say it is not an imputation of dishonesty in the common sense of the word, but merely one of plagiarism. It is for you to say whether or not the plaintiff is entitled to any damages. There is no evidence of his having incurred any injury through this publication: it does not appear that he is the "poorer or the less esteemed in consequence of it." The tendency of the latter part of this address, the learned counsel contended, was, by saying that no evidence, *dehors* the libel, had been given of damage incurred by the plaintiff, to mislead the jury into the supposition that such evidence was necessary.

Mr. Baron Garrow.—Can any person understand an imputation to be cast upon a man's moral character by this:—I go to hear a lecture; the lecturer stands up behind his desk and brings to the performance of his task talents, confidence, and a knowledge of his subject. More than this is not required, nor can we conceive what we have to do with his honesty on such an occasion. Well, I say he possesses those requisite qualities which I have mentioned, but add that he wants honesty, not in the ordinary sense of the word, but the honesty or candour to acknowledge that he is indebted for that part of his system, for which he is so much

applauded, to a work of mine, from which it was borrowed. Now, was it not a fair question for the jury to determine whether such a mere charge of want of candour as that, entitled the plaintiff to any damages?

Mr. Baron Hullock.—It is very true, an imputation of a want of honesty is a libel, but it may be so qualified by other expressions as to prevent any person from inferring from it that the party is really dishonest. So, to charge a man with being a felon or a thief is a libel; but if I say to a man "you are a thief," and then state my grounds for so calling him, "because you ran away with my house," which shows that he could not possibly have committed the felony or theft imputed to him, I apprehend that would be no libel. The rule was refused.

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## FEBRUARY.

6. DEATH FROM THE BITE OF A FERRET.—An inquest was held on the body of an infant seven weeks old, which had died on the preceding day in consequence of wounds inflicted by a ferret. The body of the infant presented a horrid spectacle. No trace of the child's features was left: its nose, eyes, and cheeks, as far as the upper lip, were completely eaten off, and in their place nothing was to be seen but the bare bone, and a mass of coagulated blood. It appeared from the evidence of the mother, daughter, and son, (a boy about seven years old), that the child had been left in bed about nine o'clock with another child five years old; the mother had then gone down stairs, and after lighting a fire was sitting by it, being

in a poor state of health, when she heard the infant cry, and desired her daughter to bring it down stairs: the little boy ran up to it, saw the ferret upon its face, and the child all blood: he shrieked out, on which the sister ran up stairs and took up both the child and ferret: but the latter, on getting to the stair-head, she threw down. The child, after lingering in this state until Tuesday morning, died. The ferret had been kept in a box in the house, and had that morning been let out to kill a rat, and not having been put back into its cage, had crept up stairs, and seized upon the sleeping infant. The jury were unanimous in their verdict, that the child had been killed by the ferret, and ordered the animal to be destroyed. The ferret was a very large one, and nearly two feet in length; its front teeth measuring a quarter of an inch.—*Westmoreland Advertiser.*

**CURIOUS FRAUD.**—**MARY-LE-BONE-OFFICE.**—*Eleanor Sinclair*, a lady who had for a long time been known and respected in the parish of St. Marylebone, was charged with the following fraud.

Mr. Robert Bell, a respectable boot-maker, and his family, had been acquainted with the prisoner upwards of twenty-two years. In November last she told them she was about to become possessed of a large fortune. A Chancery suit had been decided in her favour—3,750*l.* stock in the Bank of England, with the accumulated dividends of thirty nine years, were her's,—also an ancient castle called Wellingbeach, near Andover, and money in the War-office, which had been in the hands of the government ever since the first American war. She said the Lord Chancellor was her friend,

and frequently showed them letters apparently bearing his signature, filled with expressions of kindness. By these means she imposed upon the credulity of her friends, and Mr. Bell advanced her small sums of money, amounting to 28*l.* 13*s.*, in consequence of alleged disappointments, in order to assist during accidental delays, which, as she represented, hindered her from receiving the money. In one of the alleged letters from the Chancellor he said, "I regret I cannot meet you this day, for I must sit with the big wigs at Westminster:" In another, "Don't blame the poor Chancellor, the Wellesley case is on this day:" In another, "I cannot attend this day; on Monday I will devote two or three hours, and put you in possession of your funded property, and hope in March to see you seated in your ancient castle. If you can get through the week without assistance, so much the better; if not, you may have a check for 100*l.* by coming to my office in the morning." On the 14th of January the prisoner produced a paper before the family of Mr. Bell, which contained the names of Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Mr. Langford, and two other persons, and said they were her trustees, and that they would meet her and the Lord Chancellor at the Bank that day week, to put her in possession of the stock. In the afternoon of that day week (January 21), she said she had met the Lord Chancellor and her trustees at the Bank, but her business was delayed, for Mr. Robson said there were dividends due for only thirty-six years instead of thirty-nine. However, she was happy to find the mistake

was rectified, by the following letter, written to her by the Lord Chancellor:

"Dear Madam, You must come this evening, or the old gentleman, (meaning Mr. Langford) will be highly offended. Robson, of the Bank of England, sent me a note an hour after we had left, to say the old gentleman was correct, therefore we shall get our business finished the first thing in the morning: remember, we shall expect you about eight, in George-street. Your's sincerely, &c.

(Signed) "J. S. LYNDBURST.  
"Jan. 21."

Notwithstanding the above, disappointment followed disappointment. And at last, on Tuesday, Mr. Bell himself accompanied the lady to the Bank, and sat an hour with her in the Rotunda, but her friends did not come to meet her, and he applied at this office for a warrant to apprehend her.

Mr. Rawlinson asked the prisoner if any one could prove she had such a cause in Chancery, and she made no reply. In answer to other questions, she said she had a husband, but did not know where he was, and she did not intend to cheat Mr. Bell.

7. FOREIGN LOANS.—VICE CHANCELLOR'S COURT.—*Thompson v. Barclay, Herring, and Richardson, and J. A. Powles, & Co.*—The bill filed by the plaintiff, Alderman Thompson, stated, that in August, 1825, the defendants, Messrs. Barclay and Co., the bankers, announced that they possessed certificates of obligation from the Government of the Federal Republic of South America, or Guatemala, and that they were ready to receive tenders for the purchase of those certificates of ob-

ligation, to the amount of 1,428, 571*l.* 8*s.* Messrs. Powles and Co. (who were joined in this suit with Messrs. Barclay, as defendants), sent in tenders for the purchase of the certificates, which they were to pay for in various instalments; the first of which was to be paid on the 22nd of September, 1825, the last on the 22nd of March, 1826. The interest on the certificates of obligation was to commence on the 1st day of August, 1825. In case of Messrs. Powles failing to make good any of the instalments, all the monies paid previously were to be forfeited. The price which Messrs. Powles were to pay for the certificates, was sixty-eight per cent. It was publicly announced that their tender had been accepted; and in the notifications to the public, it was represented that the two firms were distinct and separate parties to the transaction, Messrs. Barclay and Co. being agents only to the Guatemala Government, and Messrs. Powles the contractors for the loan. The partners of the latter firm were the intimate friends of the plaintiff, and they represented to him that they had contracted to take the Guatemala loan, which they expected would bear a premium, and they therefore strongly advised him to purchase a portion of it. By these representations the plaintiff was induced to purchase certificates of bonds of obligation to the amount of 10,000*l.*, at seventy-three per cent., that is, to purchase documents entitling him, upon paying up the whole of the instalments, to receive bonds certifying the special obligation of the Guatemala Government to pay him six per cent, on each bond or certificate of obligation. The plain-



tiff paid instalments to the amount of 4,000*l.*, by the direction of Powles and Co., into the hands of Barclay and Co. When the sixth instalment became due, the plaintiff offered to pay the same, but he was advised not to do so, by Messrs. Powles and Co. on the grounds that a disagreement had arisen between Barclay and Co., and the Government of Guatemala. This advice the plaintiff alleged in his bill, he had since discovered, was given him with the view of making him commit a forfeiture of the money paid. He stated, he had also learned that the defendants, Barclay and Co., instead of having sold the certificates to the highest bidder, privately agreed that Powles and Co. should become the nominal contractors of the loan, at sixty-eight per cent., but that they (Messrs. Barclay) should have a larger interest than Messrs. Powles, and they, in fact, purchased certificates themselves to the amount of 1,000,000*l.* It was agreed that this should be concealed from the Guatemala Government, for whom Messrs. Barclay were agents, as well as from the public, or those parties who might become the purchasers of the bonds. The defendants sold to the amount of 400,000*l.* chiefly at seventy-two, some at seventy-three per cent., but, they never remitted any of the money to the Government of Guatemala. That Government, having become acquainted with the transaction, as to the pretended sale of the loan to Messrs. Powles, refused to acknowledge any of the acts of their agents, Messrs. Barclay and Co., and had refused to pay any of the certificates of obligation. The plaintiff and other purchasers of certificates had declined paying any more instalments, and Messrs.

Barclay had, in consequence, declared all the former instalments forfeited. The plaintiff alleged, that the defendants had committed a fraud in representing the contract by Powles and Co. as *bond fide*, when, in fact, Barclay and Co. were at once buyers and sellers; and he prayed that they might be decreed to repay the money he had advanced, with interest. The defendants put in separate demurrers.

Mr. Pepys, in support of the demurrer, contended, that the plaintiff's case being founded on a contract to receive six per cent., was usurious. Besides, the contract was made in behalf of a state whose existence was not acknowledged by the Government of this country. Both at common law and in this court the decisions were uniform on this subject. Lord Eldon, in the case of the Peruvian loan, had declared that the court was bound to know that Peru formed part of the dominions of Spain, with which we were at peace. It appeared that the contract was made with persons who were treated by Spain as rebels. Our courts of justice, therefore, could not entertain such a contract.

Mr. Bickersteth contended that the contract was in this case to be taken as made in the country where the obligor resided, and where the interest of the money was to be paid,—namely, abroad. It did not appear that the obligors or the Government of Guatemala had contracted to pay the interest to the obligees in this country.

The Vice Chancellor, in delivering his judgment, said, that if the contract had been made here, it would certainly have been void; but he could not say that it had been made in this country. He

confessed, that the case alleged on the face of the bill appeared to be one of fraud, such as would entitle the plaintiff to the equitable relief he prayed. But from all his honour had heard from the mouth of Lord Eldon on the subject of the illegality of contracts for loans to subjects in hostility to states with which the Government of this country was at peace, it did appear to him that the contract before the court, as one of that description, could not be entertained as a subject of suit. On this ground he allowed the demurrer.

**BLASPHEMY.**—In the court of King's-bench Robert Taylor who, at the sittings at Guildhall in October last, had been convicted of delivering an impious and blasphemous discourse, was brought up for judgment. When asked if he had any thing to say before judgment should be pronounced, he delivered a speech two hours long, attacking in the most unmeasured language his prosecutors and their counsel, the jury, Christianity, and the bible. In the course of his harangue, the bench was frequently under the necessity of interrupting him, so violent and indecent were his expressions. He denounced the grand jury who found the bill against him as perjured; he described the Lord Mayor who had committed him as "Persecution sitting in the chair of mayoralty;" the witnesses were "vulgar, stupid kine;" the prosecution was itself a crime. His principles were summed up in this proposition, "It is the everlasting law of Righteousness that, when it made man a rational being, it did wed his capacity of thought to his faculty of speech, never again to be divorced, and

with the power to think gave him the right to speak the thing he thought:" and his conclusion was, "what good shall your utmost power to punish accomplish. Shall it conquer the glorious cause of which I am the martyr? No. Shall it conquer me? No. The consciousness of having deserved well of society shall obtund the anguish that Christian malice would inflict on me, the last perception of my existence shall be the joy of an approving conscience, and the last sigh that heaves this beating heart, shall breathe its curse on Christianity." When he had finished, the court sentenced him to be imprisoned for a year, and to find security for his good behaviour for five years thereafter, himself in 500*l.*, and two sureties in 250*l.* each.

**11. FIRE AT HAVANNAH.**—A fire, which broke out about twelve o'clock on the 11th of February in the suburbs of Jesus Maria, consumed in a few hours upwards of three-hundred and fifty houses, leaving more than two thousand people, of all conditions in indigence; manufactories, moveables, stores, shops, were all destroyed by the flames; the strong wind that prevailed preventing the operation of the fire engines. Unfortunately the quarter of the city in which the fire broke out was composed of very combustible materials, and the rapidity of the flames rendered unavailing all efforts to avert the disaster. It was thought that the creek, which crosses at the end of the suburb would put a stop to the fire from want of fuel; but the violence of the wind, which blew from the east, carried the flames towards the other side, and it was feared at one time that it would even pass

the bridge, communicating directly with the del Horoon. This calamity, however, was averted by pulling down a house, and bringing to bear on this point all the means which the authorities had made available. No lives were lost. Luckily the misfortune was not accompanied by the loss of a single life, although some suffered severely from the suffocating heat and humidity of the atmosphere.

On the succeeding morning, the Governor named a commission of five persons to collect such of the sufferers as should be found without shelter, receiving them in temporary dwellings erected for the occasion, and providing them with the necessary food. The charity of the reverend fathers Belemitas had provided the latter article, they having offered to supply eight-hundred rations of bread for six days, meat, rice, and butter, and three ounces of gold for minor expenses.—In the course of a week more than four-thousand rations were distributed to families utterly ruined by the fire.

15. CASE OF HYDROPHOBIA, BY THE BITE OF A FOX.—An ostler at the Derby Arms Inn, Croydon, was supposed to have died from hydrophobia, occasioned by the bite of a fox kept in the stables of the Derby Arms; and though no symptoms of the malady had been evinced by the animal, the fox was destroyed, not, however, until he had bitten several persons. Among others injured was Robert Kemp, who continued to enjoy good health until Thursday last, when he showed strong symptoms of hydrophobia, and was conveyed to the poor-house, and attended by Mr. Bot-

tomley, the house-surgeon, who immediately thought it necessary to call in the assistance of other medical gentlemen. Kemp was sensible of his situation, and, on seeing several persons standing round him ready to secure his arms in case of a fit suddenly coming on, he assured them that he had no wish to injure them, and that he would not hurt a hair of their heads, at the same moment exclaiming—"Here's an end for me to come to, a strong healthy man of twenty-four!—Oh the poor fox—give me a razor or a pistol—knock out my brains with a hammer—pray destroy me." In this state he continued until night, when he expired. The following account of the case was drawn up by Mr. Bottomley, at the request of several magistrates.

"On Thursday night, Feb. 14, I was requested to visit a very robust young man, aged twenty-four, of the name of Kemp, who was then labouring under considerable nervous excitement, restless, with a dejected and anxious countenance; upon proposing some medicine to him, he said he could not swallow, nor had he been able to do so from eight o'clock that morning, which led me to make inquiry relative to the case; he stated as follows:—About eight or nine weeks before, he had been bitten by a fox, in two or three places on the right hand, the scars of which were then visible, the wounds bled profusely, but healed soon after, and remained perfectly well ever since; for a week past he could not wash his face, and much dreaded any thing touching it. On the morning of the 14th, feeling rather poorly, he thought he would take a glass of gin, but found great difficulty in swallow-

ing it. He next attempted to eat some bread and cheese, and was unable. He said he was sleepy, and kept his bed the greater part of the day, getting rapidly worse, until the time I saw him at night; I with difficulty got him to take some pills, but the feeling of suffocation was so great, as to occasion violent convulsions: he could not bear the opening of a door, or any person breathing on his face, as the least breath of air brought on a fresh paroxysm. The thirst was intense, and he made repeated ineffectual efforts to moisten his mouth. The spasm was so great he could not even swallow the saliva. Each paroxysm was more violent than the last, and he repeatedly begged to be destroyed. About twelve o'clock at noon, on the 15th, he became so violent, as to require the assistance of four men to hold him, though in full possession of his faculties, and not suffering the least pain. At this period the sense of suffocation was so great, he thought he should be able to breathe with more freedom if the doors and windows were opened, which was complied with, without his experiencing the least relief. The symptoms continued to increase with violence, though the most active mode of treatment was pursued, until nine o'clock, when he expired."

**16. ATTEMPT TO BLOW UP A HOUSE.**—At about half-past nine o'clock this evening, an explosion took place in the house of Messrs. Raikes and Newberry, wine-merchants, in Mincing-lane. The warehouse-window was blown into the lane, and that of one of the adjoining houses was shattered to pieces. The following particulars were ascertained:

The partners of the house had

been of late but little in the habit of giving their own particular attention to the business in Mincing-lane, which was left generally under the superintendence of some confidential persons. After the business of Saturday was concluded, these persons had retired from the lower apartments to the rooms on the first-floor. They were not long in the higher apartments, when they heard the noise, and felt the shock of the explosion, which was followed by a suffocating stench of gunpowder, and it was soon ascertained, beyond a doubt, that an incendiary had been at work. A train of gunpowder had been laid in one of the ground-floor rooms leading to a closet, of which no use was made. In this closet was heaped up in a corner a quantity of paper and old rags, with which the train of gunpowder came in immediate contact. So large a quantity of gunpowder had been lodged amongst the papers and rags, that it blew them, the moment the train was touched, right through the window, and left the premises with scarcely a spark of fire upon them.

**17. WRECK OF A STEAM BOAT.**

—The *Stirling* sailed from Fort William for Glasgow, having on board Mr. M'Donald of Glengarry, with his two daughters, on their way to Edinburgh; an Englishman, butler to Mr. M'Donald of Clanronald, and several other passengers. The morning was remarkably stormy; and the gale increasing, and part of the machinery having given way, it was found necessary to run the vessel ashore at Innerscaddell, where she became a total wreck. The passengers and crew, with the exception of Mr. M'Donald of Glengarry, and the English butler,

were all landed in safety. The butler fell overboard at the time the Stirling Castle struck, and his body was washed ashore. Mr. M'Donald's attention was naturally directed to the safety of his daughters; and a boat having been procured, one of them was speedily conveyed to the beach, the rest of the passengers and the crew endeavouring in the meanwhile to escape as they best could. But unfortunately, while the second Miss M'Donald was being conveyed ashore, Glengarry, alarmed by her danger, leaped from the steam boat upon a rock; and his foot slipping, he was precipitated into the water, his head striking with great violence against a ledge of the rock. After being a few seconds in the water, however, he so far recovered from the immediate effects of the contusion as to be able to swim ashore, where he joined the young ladies; and, having rested a little on the beach, he proceeded on foot with his daughters to Mr. M'Dougall's house at Innerscaddell farm, a mile distant. At first, the hurt, which he had received, was not considered to be serious; but the brain had received a mortal injury from the violence of the shock; and he expired about nine o'clock in the evening.

18. ROYAL MARRIAGE.—The nuptials of the princess Feodore with the prince of Hohenlohe-Laungenburg, were celebrated at the residence of the duchess of Kent, in the King's palace, at Kensington.

The members of the royal family arrived at the palace soon after two o'clock. Those present were the duke and duchess of Clarence, the duke of Sussex, the duke and duchess of Gloucester, the princess Sophia, the princess Sophia Ma-

tilda, and prince Leopold, being the whole of the royal family now in England, with the exception of the princess Augusta, who was at Brighton.

As soon as the royal family had all assembled, which was about three o'clock, the party passed in procession to the great saloon adjoining the vestibule, in which a temporary altar had been fitted up, when Dr. Kuper, the chaplain of the royal German chapel, united the illustrious parties according to the service of the Lutheran church.

The bride was given away by his royal highness the duke of Clarence. The princess is in her twentieth year, and has passed nearly nine in this country. The prince is in his thirty-second year.

19. POST-OFFICE ROBBERY.—About six o'clock in the morning, the Hounslow post-office was robbed in a singular manner of about thirty bags, delivered by five of the western mails. It is customary for the guards, while the horses are changing, to throw the bags into one of the upper windows of the post-office, where a servant usually waits to receive them. This had been done, and the servant had just left the room to change her cap, when, in the interim, some fellows ascended by means of a clasp ladder, stole the bags, and made off without being perceived. A light cart had been observed, with a clasp ladder folded behind it, going through Hounslow several mornings, just as the mails were delivering their bags. The fellows in their hurry left the ladder behind them.

27. FIRE.—This morning about two o'clock, a fire broke out in the house of Mr. Bedle, hatter, in Red Lion-street, within a few doors of Holborn. Mr;

Bedle was awoke by the alarm of fire being given, and on getting out of bed, he discovered that the whole lower part of the house was in flames, rendering it totally impossible for himself and wife to effect an escape down stairs. Mrs. Bedle ran about the room in a state of distraction, and her husband, seeing no alternative, snatched up his child that was lying on the bed, opened the first floor window, and dropped it into the arms of a man, who ran out of the opposite house. Then, perceiving the flames rapidly gaining strength, he jumped out of the window into the narrow lane, and was seriously injured in his right arm and side. His wife followed his example, and was very much hurt on the head. Before the inmates could be aroused, the flames spread through the house, and a man named Bartlett, a shoemaker, his wife, and two children, who resided on the second floor, were burnt to death; an elderly woman who lived on the third floor, and who had been bed-ridden for some time, likewise fell a prey to the flames. Three young men appeared at the third floor windows, and they were rescued by the assistance of some persons helping them to escape through the windows of the adjoining house. The conflagration continued raging with the utmost fury until five o'clock in the morning, when it was got under, without occasioning any considerable injury to the adjacent premises. The opposite houses were scorched very much. The firemen, after removing a small portion of the ruins, discovered two of the bodies, Bartlett and his wife; and shortly afterwards the children and the body of the old woman were found. The heads, arms, and legs, were completely burnt off, so that they could

not be identified by their friends or relatives.

**28. MELANCHOLY ACCIDENT.**—This afternoon, at one o'clock, a new vessel, belonging to the New Quay Company, Manchester, was to be launched. A great number of people were present, and about two hundred persons went on board. The whole of the preparations being concluded, the vessel was let go, and bounded away into the river. At first, on going into the water, she appeared to lie a little to one side, though not so much as to cause any alarm, but with the impetus received by descending from the stocks, she keeled, and on striking against the opposite bank, was in a moment upset. The whole of the persons on deck, and a few, who were climbing up the rigging, were precipitated into the river. All the small boats that could be got were instantly brought to the spot, and those who were floating were rescued. Three or four men, two of whom had been on the deck, kept swimming about, and diving and bringing as many to the shore as they could; and in this way a great many were saved. Boat-hooks and drags were then made use of, and several others were got out, apparently lifeless. Every conceivable expedient was had recourse to, to restore suspended animation; but, although in some instances, they were successful, forty-seven bodies were taken out of the river dead.

**29. FALL OF THE BRUNSWICK THEATRE.**—A new theatre, under this name, situated in Well-street, and intended for the entertainment of the eastern parts of London, was opened on Monday, the 25th of February. On Friday following, the 29th, about half past eleven in the forenoon, when the company

were mustered on the stage to commence a rehearsal, and a number of mechanics and artificers were still employed inside of the theatre, the roof suddenly fell in, bringing along with it the front wall. The latter fell outwards into the street, destroying ten houses on the opposite side, and crushing under its mass a dray and horses which were standing in the street. A Jew clothesman who was reading the play bill on the front of the theatre, was killed on the spot, and a servant girl, who was standing at the door of a house opposite, died of the injuries which she received. In the theatre itself eleven persons were killed, among whom was Mr. Maurice, one of the proprietors. About twenty more received fractures and contusions more or less serious, one of whom afterwards died. Mr. P. Farren, the stage manager, was involved among the ruins, but escaped almost miraculously. He was sitting on the front of Mr. Maurice's box, with his feet on the stage, and Mr. Maurice was standing close before him; suddenly a strange noise was heard, not a cracking, but a strangely discordant rumbling sound, which continued several seconds. It fixed general attention, and just at that moment, Mr. Farren, looking upwards, whence it seemed to proceed, saw one of the lustres trembling. The chandelier caught the eye of Mr. Maurice at the same time. Mr. Farren then threw his legs over into the box, and exclaimed, "the wall! the wall!" and at that instant he saw Mr. Maurice retreating from him, making towards the centre of the stage, and he also saw a little girl with her head cut, and bleeding very much. The latter was still within his reach, and he pulled her off the

stage into the box. In an instant the crash took place; down came the roof, bringing with it the galleries, boxes, and scenes; within one minute from the time he was sitting on the front of the stage-box, in conversation with Mr. Maurice, Mr. Farren found himself clinging to a beam of wood, with the little girl before mentioned closely grasped between his legs, and so far removed from any footing, as to render an attempt to extricate himself almost certain death. In this situation he remained for twenty-five minutes, so far as he could judge of time in such a situation, during which he heard distinctly the cries and moans of the unfortunate persons under the ruins. At one time he discovered the stage carpenter, who had struggled and got his head and shoulders from under the mass, and to whom he applied for help. But the poor man replied he needed help himself, and that Mr. Farren's situation was the better of the two, recommending him to hold fast by the beam, and it would save him; the carpenter was afterwards dug out a corpse. Mr. Farren then thought he saw the means of escape, and that he could gain a footing on the ruins below, if he could any how provide for the safety of the child, whom all this time he kept closely pressed between his legs. By a suggestion of his, the little girl made an effort to get on to his back, in which she was successful, and with her in this situation he attempted his descent; they were both taken out in safety. Mr. Goldsmith, another performer, likewise observed the shaking of the chandelier, and had only time to leap into the stage box on the opposite side from Mr. Farren, when the roof fell in. A large beam,

forced down by the weight of the galleries, fell, and fixed itself above him in such a manner, as to form a complete defence against the superincumbent mass, till he was taken out unhurt.

The accident was owing to the roof having been loaded with a weight which the walls were unable to bear. The walls were only twenty-two inches thick; the roof was of cast iron. The roof itself, however, had not been considered too heavy for the walls; but the proprietors, in opposition to the opinion of the architect, had suspended from it the carpenters' shops, and various cumbersome pieces of stage furniture. The Coroner's inquest on the bodies of the killed, returned the following special verdict: "First, Accidental death, caused by the fall of the iron roof, with the matters and things attached thereunto, and therefrom pendant, and part of the front wall and balcony of the messuage in Well-street known as the late Royal Brunswick Theatre. They further find that the said lamentable accident was caused by the hanging of heavy weights improperly to the iron roof.

"Secondly, that the weights so improperly hung were so placed by the orders of the proprietors: they further find that many warnings had been given to the proprietors; they further find that sufficient indications of failure appeared, of which Mr. Carruthers was cognizant, which ought to have been sufficient to induce a prudent man to close the theatre, until the danger apparent from such indications had been provided against.

"The Jury return as a deodand the substances which moved to, and caused the death of, the afore-

said persons," and they explained, that by this they meant the iron roof, the gutters, and the slates; the carpenters' and painters' shops and flies, the proscenium posts, part of the balcony, and cantilivers, and so much of the front wall as had fallen. The inquest, which terminated in this verdict, only on the 11th of April, had been spun out during nearly six weeks; and the inquisition was subsequently quashed by the Court of King's Bench for informality.

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### MARCH.

1. ASSAULT ON BOARD SHIP.—**KING'S BENCH.**—*Grimall v. Heaviside.*—This was an action by a mariner against the Captain of the ship *Thames* for an assault. It appeared from the evidence, that the ship *Thames*, an East-Indiaman, of one thousand four hundred tons, of which the defendant was commander, left England for Canton in the early part of the year 1826. The crew consisted of one hundred and forty persons. The captain, having in March, 1827, taken on board a quantity of rattans for his own private adventure, applied to the crew to part with their hammocks in order to make room for them, and to those who consented to do so, he gave two bottles of rum each. Amongst several of the men who had got intoxicated with the rum a quarrel arose, and three men, named Finnis, Barney, and Headburg, having been found fighting together, the captain gave orders for them to be flogged. Two dozen lashes being ordered to be given to each of the men, they were inflicted by the boatswain's mate, but when Headburg (a Swede) had received his two



dozen, the captain expressed himself dissatisfied with the conduct of the mate, who, he said, had been favouring Headburg, because he was a countryman of his, and immediately ordered him another dozen lashes, which were given; the captain having sworn that he would punish the mate unless he inflicted them. The plaintiff, and another mariner, named Castles, were standing near the captain at the time. Castles having made some gestures which gave offence to the captain, the latter said to him, "D—n your b—d, what are you looking at?" collared him, and said, "I have got my eye on some of you," and then, throwing Castles from him, gave him a blow on the head with his sword. At this time, the whole of the ship's crew were assembled on the quarter-deck. The captain said, "I had thought that this business was done with." The plaintiff replied, "I thought so too." These words one of the witnesses stated were not spoken rudely, but "rather in a friendly way." In a minute or two after, the plaintiff said, "If I had my will, there should be no flogging at all." This was said in rather an under tone, as if not meant for the captain's ear. The captain, however, immediately ordered the plaintiff to go aside, saying, "I'll speak to you by and by." After the flogging of the three men, the captain ordered him to come forward, saying to the officers assembled, "You heard, gentlemen, what this man said: I shall now punish him as a mutineer." The boatswain was then ordered to flog him, and he was accordingly tied up in the usual manner, and received four dozen lashes with the cat-o'-nine-tails. From the severity of them his

back was dreadfully lacerated, and continued so for some time. He was then, by the captain's orders, put into irons, and placed in the poop, where he remained exposed the whole of one night and the following day. He was afterwards taken below into the steerage, and from thence removed into a small narrow dark passage near the quarter-gallery. He remained in solitary confinement nine or ten days in the whole, during which time he was kept in irons, and no surgeon was allowed to attend him; and during five days of his imprisonment he was kept upon bread and water. It was proved, that the plaintiff was in general a quiet inoffensive man, and always attentive to his duty; but it came out in cross-examination, that he had once been flogged on board a man-of-war for inebriety.

One of the witnesses, in cross-examination, stated, that before the flogging took place, there had been a good deal of talking below about the severity used in the ship; and that the plaintiff had said to the crew, they could talk below, but were afraid to do so when they came upon deck. It was also proved, that while the flogging was going on, or immediately after, the plaintiff, addressing the crew, said, "There's not a man amongst you;" and "if every man was of my mind, there should be no punishment on board." Only one witness, however, swore to the latter expression; and Castles (the man whom the captain struck with his sword) stated, that he had told the defendant's attorney that such an expression had been used, but that his statement was untrue. It was stated, however, that, after the flogging, the plaintiff told the captain, he might flog him again if he

liked, as it was not the first flogging he had had.

Lord Tenterden recapitulated the principal facts to the jury. It was, undoubtedly, the duty of a commander of a ship, whenever he saw the least tendency to mutiny, instantly to take means to repress it; for that purpose he was justified in inflicting whatever punishment might be necessary upon the individual whose conduct was likely to create danger; and, unless he inflicted wanton and unnecessary punishment upon any of them, he was not amenable to the law. The plaintiff had certainly used most improper language, and such as was highly calculated to inflame the minds of the crew while they were assembled on the quarter-deck; and if the jury were of opinion that the captain had reasonable cause to suppose that his object was to prevent the punishment of the three men from being carried into effect, and to excite the rest of the crew to mutiny and disobedience of the captain's orders, they ought to find for the defendant: but if, on the contrary, they thought that the plaintiff had not so misconducted himself as to justify the punishment inflicted upon him, then they would find a verdict for him, with such damages as they thought him entitled to.

The Jury, found a verdict for the plaintiff—Damages 50*l*.

3. POACHERS.—OXFORD LENT ASSIZES.—*Reading*.—George Baker, Henry Burnet, Samuel Cope, George Edmeads, Thomas Field, Thomas Hunt, William Walters, and Samuel White, were indicted for having, on the night of the 6th of January last, maliciously shot at and wounded James Mansel, with intent to do him some griev-

ous bodily harm. There were other indictments, charging them also with feloniously taking from Robert Glasspool a pair of boots and one shawl handkerchief, and also with being found armed in the pursuit of game.

James Mansel, deposed as follows:—I am in the employ of Mr. Crutchley, and was called up on the night of the 6th of January, on an alarm of poachers being in the grounds. I went to meet Godfrey, Glasspool, Clark, Stevens, Taylor, and William Chandler. We met about half a mile from the spot, where I was subsequently shot. We had none of us any guns. We heard four guns fired near the pond-head, and went towards the spot. Taylor, Glasspool, and I were first. Our party in all consisted of seven. When we got to the pond-head, we saw two men. Our party spoke first. The answer we got was, "stand back, if you know when you are well off." The two we spoke to came out of the fence which encloses the wood, near the pond-head. Six or seven men came out afterwards, crying out, "Shoot the b—s." Chandler said, "Come on, Smith and Mansel," meaning two of the king's gamekeepers. They were not with us, but he meant to frighten them, by making pretence that they were. The other party called out, "Let them come on, we will give them a d—d good beating." They then formed in a row on the pond-head. On Taylor going up to the poachers, one of them came up and knocked him backwards. Taylor had not struck them. They called out, "Shoot him." As he fell, I heard a gun snick, and saw a flash in the pan. One of the poachers had a gun to his shoulder. I went to help

Taylor, and as I turned, some one struck me on the head, and I reeled as if I was going to fall into the pond. As I was reeling, I was shot in the thick part of my thigh. I staggered about twenty yards, and then lay down till some one came to my assistance. I was confined to my bed six days in consequence of the wound, and suffered much by it.

John Taylor, a constable of Winkfield, corroborated the testimony of the last witness, as to their being called up on the night of the 6th of January, their being armed only with walking sticks, and their first meeting with the poachers. He heard them say, "Ya hip, my lads, here they are; come forward." They then said, "Stand back, or b—r your eyes we will shoot you." This was said by more than one. I knew Samuel White to be one of them in the first line; his gun was pointed at Mansel, Glasspool, and me. I said, "You will shoot, will you?" I went up to them to look in their faces, and one of them struck me on the side of the neck with the but-end of a gun. The gun stock broke with the blow, and the barrel falling out rung on the stones. That was the first blow that was struck. As I fell back, they said, "Shoot the b—r, shoot the b—r." I saw the flash, and heard the report, and heard Mansel say, "Oh Lord, I am shot." I picked up my hat and stick, and they followed me up, with their guns at their shoulder, five or six of them calling out, "Shoot the b—." They snickered their guns, but I saw no flash. One of them said, "D—n your eyes, why don't you shoot;" and another said, "If you shoot, shoot low enough." Glasspool's head was cut in three

places, and the blood running in a stream from him: he had no boots on then, though he had when he went up to the poachers.

William Chandler confirmed the evidence of the foregoing witnesses, and identified Field as one of the party. In pointing him out to the court, the witness having put his hand near the prisoner Field, he tried to bite it, snapping at him like a dog.

Robt. Glasspool, Mr. Crutchley's bailiff, stated, he was with the witnesses on the night in question, and heard the poachers desire them to stand back; he recognized Burnet with a gun to his shoulder; he then received a blow on his temple, which knocked him down, and he tried to get into the wood. After he got into the wood, he saw a man following him; he turned round and struck him, when the man hollowed out, "He is marning me." The rest of the poachers then came to his assistance, and witness ran away into a turnip-field; he then saw two men following Chandler; when they saw witness, they left Chandler to pursue him; and when they came up, knocked him down and beat him; he heard them say, "Let us have his boots;" they then said, "D—n the b—, let us have his handkerchief, and his money, and his watch." They felt for them, but he had neither money nor watch; some of them said, "Don't beat him any more, he has had enough;" he was covered with blood.

Henry Turner, the accomplice, who had turned King's evidence, stated:—I live at Shrub's-hill, in the parish of Egham. I know all the prisoners; we agreed to go a poaching on the night of the 6th of January, in Mr. Crutchley's

park; the whole party met opposite my house about ten at night. Fitzwalter is not here; he was one of the party; we were twelve in all. I went to the Lion public-house to get twelve pints of beer before we started. The rest were to wait for me at a turf-house on the road. After the beer was disposed of, I took back the can to my house, and fetched my gun. Edmeads pulled off his smock frock, and tying up the end made a bag of it. We had ten guns amongst us; we carried them in our pockets, and under our coats. Hunt and Edmeads had no guns: we killed eighteen or nineteen pheasants, and were in the park twenty or thirty minutes before we were interrupted. I was on the pond head when I first saw the keepers; five or six of my party were there also; Edmeads was one of them. I don't know the rest, as I was behind. I believe Baker was one of the party. Some one cried out, "Come up." I kept behind, that the keepers should not know me. Our party said, "Stand off, or we will shoot you." When the keepers came up, my party began to strike, but I did not know which of them. I was five or six yards behind. I don't know who fell first, nor who fired the gun. I did not see that a man was wounded by the gun. The scuffle lasted only a short time. I saw one keeper get into the wood, but I did not know at the time it was Glasspool. I saw some of our party follow him, and saw Fitzwalter, whom we call *Pluck*, come out. He gave me a stick. Hunt and Edmeads also came out of the wood. Edmeads had a pair of boots under his arm, and Hunt had a handkerchief. He said, "This is the handkerchief I took from one of the men." He said

that while we divided the game in Forbes's plantation. Some of our party got one bird, some two birds: there had been nineteen killed. Edmeads had one hen bird and the boots for his share: we agreed to that.

Several other witnesses were called to prove that Walters and others were seen on the night of the 6th of January, with a dog and guns, on a road leading to Mr. Crutchley's park, and a stick and broken gunstock were produced, which had been found where Turner directed a search to be made for them.

The jury, having rejected the evidence of the accomplice, with the approbation of Mr. Baron Vaughan, returned a verdict of guilty, against only Burnet, Field, and White, on whom sentence of death was immediately passed. The gang to which they belonged had long been formidable in the vicinity of Windsor.

4. HASTINGS.—On Wednesday morning, about three o'clock a portion of the cliff fell, just beyond the East well, about a quarter of a mile to the eastward of the town, and consisting of many thousand tons of earth. The shock was distinctly felt in several parts of the town; on the houses situated on the declivity of the hill, it had the effect of an earthquake, for every thing in them was set in motion. Many people, as the succeeding shocks (there were five of them) were felt, believed it to be an earthquake, but the noise of the fall was unheard from their distance. No property was destroyed except a small truck, containing some tools used for cutting stone.—*Brighton Gazette*.

4. PRIVILEGES OF BAPTIZED JEWS.—The Court of Aldermen

came to a final decision upon a subject which had been long considered a most important one to the citizens of London—viz., whether baptized Jews were entitled to the privilege of purchasing their freedom. A petition, sent into the court by Messrs. Saul, praying to be allowed to carry on business in the city, had been long pending. Those gentlemen, though born of Jewish parents, had been brought up from their infancy in the protestant faith; but, in conformity with the prejudices of their mother, the ceremony of circumcision was performed upon them in their infancy. In the year 1785, the court of Aldermen had made a standing order, that baptized Jews should not be admitted to the freedom of the city; and upon the strength of this resolution, all succeeding courts had rejected the application of individuals who had renounced the forms, customs, and opinions of the Jews, and of those who were at all events as rigidly Christians as themselves, from the moment they understood the meaning of the word Christianity. The petitioners determined to persevere against the apparently unalterable intention of the court, and they were encouraged by the advice of Aldermen Wood, Waithman, and Sir Peter Laurie.

Mr. Law, who appeared for the petitioners, argued, that there was nothing either in the spirit or letter of the standing order, which could affect the petitioners, for they never were Jews. They were not baptized Jews, unless the court would pervert the meaning of language. They were baptized, it was true, in the year 1803, but they never were Jews; he would defy the court to prove

that they were Jews before that period. It might as well be said, that a man was of a certain trade or profession, because his father had happened to belong to it, as to say, that religious opinions must be an inevitable inheritance. He then called upon the court to consider the circumstances under which the obnoxious standing order was made. In the journals of 1783, the following note appeared: "At a court of Aldermen, held the 22nd of July, Mr. Chamberlain laid before the court a case respecting the admission of persons who had renounced Judaism, and been baptized, and also Mr. Recorder's and Mr. Common Sergeant's opinions as follow:—You are desired to give your opinion upon this matter, agreeable to the order of the court of Aldermen, made for that purpose respecting the admission of persons into the freedom of the city who have renounced Judaism, and have been baptized.

"I am of opinion that Jews, so circumstanced as described in the order of the court of Aldermen, and taking the customary oath, are entitled to their freedom.—J. Adair.

"Question 1.—Whether Jews being baptized only, and offering to take the oaths upon the New Testament, is a complete and sufficient renunciation of Judaism?

"I am of opinion that it is.—J. Adair.

"I do not find a good authority to prove that any other requisites are necessary.—Thomas Nugent.

"Question 2.—Whether it will be politic or advisable in the corporation to admit such baptized Jews into the freedom of the city.

"I think the admission of such persons politic and advisable; but

as this is a matter of discretion, not of law, I submit it wholly to the opinion of the court of Aldermen.—J. Adair.

“ The determination of this question resting entirely with the court of Aldermen, and as from the state of this case it appears other Jews intend to follow the example of Galindo (the person applying), there may be so many applications of this kind, even from the lowest sort of that people, as may be attended with great inconvenience to the public: therefore the court will well consider the propriety of the measure, before he is admitted to his freedom.—Thomas Nugent.”

Mr. Law urged that the authority of the Recorder of that day ought to carry weight with it; that of the Common Sergeant, which was more congenial to the views of the court, could be easily accounted for, as he had to look to a higher situation than he possessed; whereas the Recorder could not obtain a higher, and was probably more sincere, because more independent.

After, a discussion took place amongst the Aldermen, the order was rescinded, and it was directed that the petitioners should be sworn in.

5. **STOLEN NOTES.**—KING’S BENCH, GUILDHALL—*De la Chaumette v. the Bank of England.*—This was an action of trover to recover the value of a 500*l.* Bank of England note, dated the 16th of February, 1826, No. 4,356.

Sir James Scarlett stated that the plaintiff, M. De la Chaumette, was a merchant of great respectability and affluence, residing in the city of London; who was in the habit of having commercial dealings to a great extent

with persons in Paris, and received remittances by bills and notes to a large amount. In Paris there were a number of persons who carried on the business of money-changers. They collected Bank of England notes and other negotiable securities, and sold them for the purpose of transmitting them to England by merchants and others who had correspondents there. The plaintiff was connected with a respectable house in Paris, Messrs. Odier and Co., who were in the habit of making him very large remittances. The plaintiff had received from them Bank of England notes of the value of 100*l.*, 500*l.*, and 1000*l.* In May 1826, a considerable balance being due from Messrs. Odier to the plaintiff, the former made a remittance to the plaintiff of 1,300*l.* in part discharge of that balance. The 500*l.* Bank note in question formed a part of that remittance. Upon receipt of it, the plaintiff sent it with several other notes to his bankers, Messrs. Jones, Lloyd, and Co., who shortly after sent it into the Bank of England. The Bank, however, objected to give credit for it, on the ground that information had been previously received that it was a stolen note, which they had been directed to retain until the right owner could be discovered. Now the law had been long settled, that a party, who had given valuable consideration for a note, or other negotiable security, was entitled to recover its value, notwithstanding it might have been stolen, or otherwise improperly obtained before it came into his possession. Messrs. Jones and Co., upon finding that the Bank would not give credit for the note, requested to have it returned to them, but this was refused.

Some admissions were put in and read. On the part of the defendants it was admitted, that the note had been presented and stopped at the Bank, on the ground of its having been stolen some time before from a person of the name of John Hasleden. Here the plaintiff's case was closed, no evidence being given to explain the transactions between him and Messrs. Odier, or the manner in which the note had come into the possession of the latter.

Mr. Sergeant Bosanquet, for the defendants said, that, as no evidence had been given of any thing but the mere presentment of the note, it would be his duty to detail the circumstances under which the action was defended. This note had been stolen from Mr. Hasleden, a broker. One evening in the latter end of February, 1826, Mr. Hasleden was returning home, when he was accosted by a woman of the town, and was induced to accompany her to her lodgings; and, while in her company, she stole from his pockets the note in question, together with another, a 500*l.* note, and a 50*l.* note. He gave information of the robbery the next day, at the Hatton-garden Police-office, and stopped payment of the note at the Bank; and it was under these circumstances that the defendants retained it, and declined paying its value to the plaintiff. Now if a person lost a note or any other negotiable security by felony, fraud, or accident, no property in it passed to the thief, or finder, or to any other person having a knowledge of the circumstances, or who did not give a valuable consideration for it, and receive it in the ordinary course of business. The question in this case, therefore, was, whether the

note had come into the plaintiff's possession fairly, and for such a full and valuable consideration as would entitle him to recover. The defendants, of course, had no means of showing what was the nature of the transactions between the plaintiff and Messrs. Odier, and there was also some difficulty in the way of showing how Messrs. Odier had become possessed of the note. He should, however, lay before the jury the plaintiff's own account of the manner in which the note was obtained by Messrs. Odier, and it would then be for them to determine whether Messrs. Odier had received it under such circumstances as would entitle the plaintiff to recover in this action. The plaintiff had represented the transaction to Mr. Hasleden in an extract of a letter from Messrs. Odier, in which it was stated that their endeavours to trace the note had been unsuccessful, and they offered their services to Mr. Hasleden to take any steps that he might think desirable, on his paying their expenses. They stated also, that the person, of whom they bought the note, was a Mr. Emery, a bullion-dealer, who endorsed it with his own name, and whose seller was a Mr. Duval, also a bullion-dealer, who stated that he bought the note of an English gentleman, whose name and address he did not know; and the letter adds, that being acquainted with Bank-notes, he merely ascertained the genuineness of the note in question, the addresses given upon these occasions being generally false. Now it clearly appeared from this letter, that the note was not received in the ordinary course of business as a payment for valuable consideration—it had been sold, and the

question was, whether an adequate value had been given for it. Now it seemed clear from the statement of Messrs. Odier, as set forth in their letter, that Duval had received the note under such circumstances as would preclude him from recovering its value, and therefore he (Mr. Sergeant Bosanquet) should contend that the subsequent holders of the note would not be in a better situation than Duval, unless they could show that they had received the note for a valuable consideration, and without knowing or having any reason to suspect that it had been unlawfully put into circulation. It had been said that the note passed from Emery to Odier in the ordinary course of circulation, but the jury should remember, that a 500*l.* English note was on the footing of an inland bill of exchange, and was not a part of the circulating medium of a foreign country. It was an article of commerce, and was bought and sold like other goods, and like all other goods must be taken by the buyer with all the imperfections of its title upon it. It was incumbent on the plaintiff to show, that, as this was what was called a sale note, the full value was given for it according to the rate of exchange in France, and that it was not bought subject to the title of the last holder.

Admissions by the plaintiff were then put in and read. The note was admitted to have been stolen on the night of the 28th of February, 1826. A copy of the examination of Mr. John Hasleden, taken before the magistrate, at the police-office, Hatton-garden, was also put in. It stated the circumstances under which the note had been stolen, and the means used to recover it.

Mr. W. Croulin, a clerk of the plaintiff, stated, that by the plaintiff's directions, he furnished Mr. Hasleden with an extract of a letter from Messrs. Odier to the plaintiff, dated the 1st of July, 1827.

The extract was then put in and read. It was in substance as follows:—

*“ Paris, 1st June, 1827.*

*“ We should have liked to have traced the sales of the stolen 500*l.* Bank-note to their source, but our endeavours have not been very successful, and we doubt whether Mr. Hasleden will be able to discover the thief. We offer him our best services, and will, if he chooses to pay the expenses, take any steps that may appear desirable to him. Our seller is a Mr. Emery, a bullion dealer, who signed his name on the back of the note. His seller is M. Duval, another bullion dealer, who says he bought the note of an English gentleman, whose name and address he does not know.”*

Mr. Croulin was then cross-examined by Sir James Scarlett. —The plaintiff was in the habit of corresponding with Messrs. Odier, and receiving from them remittances to a large amount. Bank notes frequently formed part of those remittances. The plaintiff corresponds also with other merchants, from whom he has been in the habit of receiving a great many remittances of Bank notes. Bank notes are remitted by agents in Paris to their correspondents in London in the same way as bills of exchange are remitted. The 500*l.* note in question came from Messrs. Odier, and formed part of a remittance of 1,300*l.* to the plaintiff, to whom at that time there was a balance of about



1,700*l.* due from Messrs. Odier. The plaintiff was in the habit of answering the draughts of Odier and Co., and the plaintiff in his turn remitted bills of exchange to them for acceptance. In the course of two or three days after the 500*l.* Bank-note came, the plaintiff received a remittance from Odier and Co. of 50*l.*, and afterwards another of 10,000 francs. That was on the 1st of June. At the time the note was stopped at the Bank, the balance due from Odier and Co. to the plaintiff was 400*l.* The plaintiff has been long established as a merchant. He does business to the amount of many thousand pounds a year. His transactions with Odier and Co. alone amount to at least 40,000*l.* a year.

Re-examined.—The plaintiff is not the agent of Messrs. Odier. He has a joint account with them. The plaintiff and Messrs. Odier take advantage of the exchanges between the two countries. They remit backwards and forwards, and divide the profits. They are partners in these transactions—that is, in the profits. The account between them has been opened about two years. The note in question was remitted on account of the transactions in which they shared the profits. The plaintiff has frequently received a Bank note from Messrs. Odier as large as 500*l.* Sometimes he has received one as large as 1,000*l.*

A person from the Stamp office produced *The Times* and another newspaper of the 3d of April, 1826, in which the stolen note was advertised.

A French exchange-agent of Paris stated, that it was the custom at Paris to buy and sell Bank-

notes. 500*l.* Bank-notes are very common at Paris. They are generally exchanged by the bankers upon their having an indemnity.

Cross-examined. Bankers or money-changers, usually require a guarantee when they take bills or Bank-notes. The guarantee is not merely an endorsement of the bill or notes, but an undertaking that the amount shall be paid. English Bank-notes are sold by the money-changers the same as goods. It is a common thing in Paris to purchase Bank-notes in order to transmit them to England. They bear the same value as money. They are bought according to the rate of exchange. The money-changer takes a per centage as commission. The bankers at Paris do the same.

Lord Tenterden summed up. His Lordship was of opinion that the plaintiff must be considered as standing precisely in the same situation as Messrs. Odier; and the question therefore was, whether, if Messrs. Odier were plaintiffs in the cause, they would be entitled to recover. That question depended upon the fact, whether they had come by the note honestly and fairly. The question whether a person, who bought such an instrument as an English Bank-note in a foreign country, acquired an absolute interest in it, was one of law with which the jury had nothing to do. The only question for them to determine in this case was, whether the note had been obtained according to the ordinary mode of dealing in the place where it was purchased. If they were of opinion that it had been so obtained, they would find their verdict for the plaintiff; but if they were of a contrary opinion, the defendants would be entitled to their verdict.

The jury immediately found a verdict for the plaintiff.—Damages 500*l*.

6. **LOVERS' QUARRELS.**—*Winchester Assizes.*—George Harris, was indicted for having wilfully and maliciously, with a knife, cut John Gilbert and John Philpott, with intent to kill and murder them, or do them some grievous bodily harm. It appeared by the evidence for the prosecution, that the prisoner, a person named Taylor, and his sister Ann Taylor, with other persons, had dined together on the day in question, which was a Sunday, and had drunk freely. Some dispute having arisen between the parties, the prisoner drew a knife, and attacked furiously the young woman Taylor, to whom he had been for some time paying his addresses. Having pursued her out of the house, he was followed by Gilbert, with a view to protect the young woman from his fury. Gilbert having seized the prisoner, the latter stabbed and cut him on the head in the manner complained of in the indictment.

Ann Taylor, who had been called for the prosecution, but not examined, was, at the prisoner's request, examined by the judge for the defence. She contradicted entirely all that had been stated by the other witnesses, amongst whom was her own brother, as to the circumstances of the transaction. She stated that the prisoner, who was her lover, had not done or threatened to do her the slightest violence, while in the house, but that he had expressed a determination to cut his own throat; to prevent which she had called the other witnesses to her assistance. It appeared from other parts of her testimony, that some little attention which she had shown during the repast to another

man who was present, had excited the prisoner's jealousy. She added, that he had received a wound in the head at some former period, which so affected his health, that, when he was under the influence of even a slight degree of intoxication, he was entirely unable to control his own conduct. The learned judge left it to the jury to say, which of the accounts they would give credit to. It was impossible that both could be true. On the one hand, the witnesses for the prosecution might have been intoxicated at the time of the occurrence, as they had been drinking for several hours before. On the other hand, they would consider how far the young woman, who had been called for the defence, might have been influenced in giving her testimony by the affection which she entertained for the prisoner.

The jury, after some hesitation, found the prisoner *not guilty*.

Another indictment was preferred against the prisoner for an attempt to cut the throat of another man. In this case, as in the former, the young woman who was attached to the prisoner contradicted, point blank, all the evidence for the prosecution. Her story appeared to be at least as credible as that of the witnesses whom she contradicted, and the Jury, after some time, *acquitted* the prisoner.

7. **MURDER.**—*Winchester Assizes.*—Moses Sheppard, aged twenty three, was indicted for the murder of William Harmsworth. Henry Tatford, a labourer, deposed, that when going along the road from Fareham towards Titchfield, at eleven o'clock at night, on Saturday, 22nd December, he found a dead man lying in the ditch, with one leg upon the road. He called

his father and Robert Aldridge to come to the place where the body lay. There was a knife lying near the body, the head was nearly off. The neckcloth of the deceased was cut in pieces, and there was a very large wound in the right cheek. Not above three minutes had elapsed between the time of his departure from the body and the time of his father's coming back with him and Aldridge to where it lay. There was blood at the place where the body lay when he first saw it.

The surgeon who examined the body, found a wound in the neck, which completely severed the windpipe, and cut the principal blood vessels. There was another wound upon the right cheek, which penetrated to the lower jaw, and a wound on the back of the head. There was a bit of the right ear cut off. The wounds were such as must have caused instant death, and could not have been inflicted by the deceased himself.

Henry Tatford.—I live with my father, at Blackbrook. At half past nine o'clock, on the 22nd of December, I heard my father's dog bark; I went to the door, and heard three blows struck very sharp (quickly) after each other. I heard at the same time a great rustling in the hedge; I thought it was some one chopping Christmas boughs. The noise proceeded from the place where the body was afterwards found.

Ann Burges.—I live with my uncle, at Brockhurst. The deceased, Harmsworth, lodged at my uncle's house. I recollect the night of the murder, it was on a Saturday. On the Thursday previous, the prisoner, who also lives at Brockhurst, came to our house, and saw the deceased. The prisoner asked Harmsworth to come with him

down the road. Harmsworth refused, saying he did not wish to be in his company. On the day of the murder the prisoner came to our house, and, on his leaving, he was accompanied by Harmsworth, who took with him a rush basket, with his tools in it. The deceased was a bricklayer. He used to work at Fareham all the week, and go home on Saturday night to his friends at Blackbrook. On Sunday, I met Sheppard and told him that Harmsworth had been murdered, and asked him if he had not been to Fareham with the deceased; he said no: and on my saying that I had heard from Harris that he (Sheppard) had been to Fareham, he again denied it.

Henry Thompson said—I was, on the 22nd of December, coming from Portsmouth to Fareham, about six o'clock, in the evening. I went into the Sun at Brockhurst; while there the prisoner came in with Harmsworth. I heard the prisoner say he was going to Fareham, and Harmsworth say that he would go and fetch his things and accompany Sheppard. Harmsworth then went away, and Sheppard and I left the house together. After going about one hundred and fifty yards Sheppard knocked at the door of a house from which Harmsworth came out, and we three walked on towards Fareham together. It began to rain heavily. The other two sometimes were up with me, but for the most part were behind me together. I left them at the Bugle, at the corner of Key-lane.

Other witnesses deposed to having met the prisoner and the deceased, at different points of the road between Fareham and the place where the body was found, up to a quarter past nine.

It was also proved that the prisoner was proceeding alone, three miles further on the road, between a quarter and half an hour past ten.

A constable produced a shirt and neckcloth on which there were some slight marks of blood. The stains upon the shirt were at the part, which, when on the body, would have covered the back of the left thigh. This witness deposed further, that, when the prisoner was in custody, at the house where the inquest was holden, he sent for the witness, and when the witness arrived, the prisoner requested that the two men who had him in custody might be removed, and that the window might be closed. These requests having been complied with, the prisoner reclined upon his elbow on the bed, and seemed to suffer great mental agony. He trembled, and his face was of a yellow paleness, and covered with a clammy sweat. After some time, when witness pressed him to make any communication which he might wish to have forwarded to the magistrates or coroner, the prisoner at last declined to say any thing, after which the witness left him.

A great coat was found in the prisoner's house, which, the prisoner admitted to the officer who found it, had been worn by him on that night. The sleeves were wet; they seemed to have been washed and wrung out, and there were marks on the inside of the sleeves as of ironmoulds, or blood washed out.

Other witnesses were adduced for the purpose of proving facts leading to an inference that some malice had been lately excited in the prisoner's mind against the deceased. It was proved that the

prisoner had been in the habit of visiting the wife of a man named Richard Gethin, and that the visits were made under such circumstances as left little doubt of the nature of the acquaintance between the prisoner and Mrs. Gethin. A witness proved that the deceased having been once or twice at Mrs. Gethin's, had excited the jealousy of the prisoner, and Mr. Gethin himself was produced for the very delicate purpose of proving, which he did very clearly, that his own wife was the cause of the jealousy, and that, having received some satisfactory proofs of her infidelity, he had himself turned her out of doors. The prisoner was the person who acquainted Mr. Gethin with the evil practices of his wife, but stated her paramour to have been the deceased William Harmsworth.

The father of the prisoner and another witness swore that the spots of blood on the front of the prisoner's coat had been produced by his handling the head of an ox, which he was employed in dressing for his family.

The jury, after having retired for about a quarter of an hour, returned a verdict of *guilty*; and sentence of death was pronounced. He was executed on the following Monday. After his conviction, he confessed the murder, and stated that jealousy was the only motive which actuated him, and that he had meditated the crime a very short time before he perpetrated it. On the evening of the murder he accompanied Harmsworth from Brockhurst, having a case-knife in his pocket. The evidence of the witnesses tracing him within a short distance of the fatal spot was true. He first knocked down his victim with a large stick, and instantly accomplished his purpose

with the knife he had previously prepared. After the murder he proceeded to his sister's, whom he did not see, and left the yarn in the shed, as stated on the trial. He next went to the public house at Elson, and then returned to his father's house: and whilst his father was gone to Gosport, on Sunday morning, he washed and wrung out the sleeves of his coat and shirt, both of which were stained with blood. He expressed the greatest contrition for his crime, and was frequently overwhelmed with agony.

9. BANK ROBBERY.—On the morning of Sunday the 9th, the office of the Greenock bank (Scotland) was entered by means of false keys, and money carried off to the amount of £40,000, in notes and specie. The bank occupies the ground-floor in one of the wings of the Exchange-buildings, which are situated in nearly the most central part of the town: the coffee-room occupies the other wing, and the Tontine Hotel is immediately opposite: yet the robbery was committed between the hours of eight and nine in the morning! The porter of the bank, who slept in it, rose on Sunday morning about seven o'clock, and was not there again till his usual time of going to rest at night; but, although the robbery had been committed previous to that time, it was not discovered till Monday morning, about nine o'clock, the thieves having left every thing in such a state, that, till the different places where the property had been deposited, were examined, no suspicion was excited that the bank had been plundered. The skeleton key, with which the money-chest had been opened, was in-

deed left in it; but to protract disclosure, the safe-door was locked, and a ring forced into the key-hole, so that even when resorted to on Monday forenoon, it could not be opened, and time was inevitably lost before an entrance could be effected by any means, and the mischief ascertained. The doors of the bank apartments had been all carefully re-locked. From the period that elapsed between the robbery and the discovery, and from want of instant exertion on the discovery being made, the intelligence reached Edinburgh only on Tuesday; while the thieves, or an associate, had exchanged £5000 worth of the notes in Edinburgh, and left it for the South, in the course of Monday. They were traced into Lancashire, on the road to London; but about Preston they were lost. The bank subsequently recovered upwards of £20,000 of the money by a negotiation carried on in London.

10. MARRIAGE OF MINORS.—ROLLS COURT.—*The Attorney General v. Mulley*.—This was an information filed by the Attorney-general at the relation of the parent of a minor, under the provisions of the marriage-act, 4 Geo. IV., c. 76. By this act it was provided, that, if any valid marriage by bans, should be procured by a party to that marriage, to be solemnized between persons, one or both of whom should be under the age of twenty-one years, such party knowing that such persons under the age of twenty-one years had a parent or guardian then living, and that such marriage was had without the consent of such parent or guardian, and knowing that bans had not been duly published according to the provisions of the act,

and having knowingly caused the undue publication of the bans, then it should be lawful for His Majesty's Attorney-general, by information in the nature of an English bill, in the Court of Chancery, at the relation of a parent or guardian of the minor whose consent to such marriage had not been given, to sue for a forfeiture of all estate, right, title, and interest, in any property which had accrued or should accrue to the party so offending by force of such marriage; and such Court should have power to declare such forfeiture, and thereupon to order and direct that all such estate, right, title, and interest, should be secured under the direction of the Court for the benefit of the innocent party, or the issue of the marriage. The act proceeded further to direct, that, if both the parties so contracting marriage should be guilty of such offence, it should be lawful for the Court to settle such property for the benefit of the issue of the marriage. The counsel for the plaintiff, stated, that it was desirable to avoid any detail of the facts of the case, and that it was unnecessary to disclose them, as they would be admitted. Two young men had married two girls, the one sixteen, and the other about seventeen, and had thought proper to swear that they were of age. The girls had been carried up to town, and married without the consent of the parents, and the consequence must be a forfeiture, as directed by the act. The Master of the Rolls said, he did not think that the wife had been in any way guilty, and she therefore was not brought within the provisions of the act. He must declare, in the language of the

act, "that the husband has incurred a forfeiture of all the estate, right, title, and interest in the property which hath accrued, or which shall accrue, to him, by force of such marriage;" and refer it to the Master to inquire what property had accrued to the husband, and to make a proper settlement with respect to all such estate, right, title, and interest which had accrued, or should at any time accrue, to him during coverture.

14. JERSEY FISHERIES.—The following conflict has just taken place, between the English vessels employed in the Oyster fishery, between Jersey and Granville, and a French government-cutter called the *Goeland*. On the 13th the English fishing smack, the *Favourite*, had come to anchor outside the mast rock, which lies nearly on the line of demarcation marked out by the British and French Governments to limit the British fishery. Next morning, just as the *Favourite* had got under weigh, the crew observing a boat from the French cutter making towards them, hauled up the tack of their mainsail, and steered towards her. On the boat coming alongside, the *Favourite* was boarded by the mate of the French cutter, and five or six seamen, who immediately took possession, and removed the master and part of the crew on board the French cruiser, leaving three French sailors to work the captured vessel to Granville. This circumstance being observed by the British dredgers, they determined to rescue the captured vessel; and a sufficient number of men having been collected on board several boats, they proceeded to board the *Favourite*, which had been taken in tow by the *Goeland*. They were imme-

diately fired upon by the latter vessel, and a sailor of the name of Smith was mortally wounded. The continued fire of musketry and grape from swivels did not deter the oystermen from their purpose: they succeeded in boarding the *Favourite*, let go the tow-rope, and brought the vessel back to Gorey with the three Frenchmen prisoners. The French vessel did not attempt to pursue them, but made the best of her way to Granville. Several of the persons connected with the fishing boats were examined, who proved the facts above stated. They saw the Frenchmen getting the boarding-pikes, matches, &c., in order, apparently making ready for action. When the boats proceeded towards the *Goeland* and the prize, the French vessel fired two guns. The French captain called out, that, if they did not alter their course, he would blow their brains out: he had scarcely said this, when he levelled his musket and fired a shot at the master of one of the smacks, before he could have time to alter his course. The boats then went off from the oyster vessels, when the French on board the *Goeland* began a brisk fire of grape-shot and musketry at the boats; they did not stop to reload their muskets, but took up others which had been loaded beforehand. Some grape-shot was fired at one of the boats, which struck the water near it like a handful of gravel. An individual with a cocked hat, who was considered to be the captain, was observed to take a deliberate aim at the deceased, who fell to the bottom of the boat immediately after the shot was fired. The witnesses said, that, if they had been inside of the French limits,

they would not have attempted to rescue her. The three Frenchmen were examined. Their evidence tended to prove that they saw the cutter *Favourite*, about four or five miles from the French shore, when they gave chase, got on board, and took possession of her. They stated that they were so much frightened when they saw the English boats bearing down upon them, that they knew not what they were about, but went to hide themselves in the hold; and that they were afterwards taken on board an English smack, where they were well treated, and brought to Jersey.

The Jury, after a short consultation, returned the following verdict: — "The deceased, John Smith, was killed in consequence of a shot fired at him, intentionally, by M. Louvel, commander of the *Goeland*, while the said Smith was in the act of getting on board the *Favourite*, which he considered had been unlawfully seized."

18. LOSS OF A STEAM BOAT.—The "*Venus*" steam packet sailed from Waterford for Dublin, on Tuesday the 18th, with a cargo, and seven passengers. It blew hard, with a heavy sea; but she made her course well; and, as the weather was very thick with heavy rain, she was keeping about six miles off the land, outside of the banks which reach most of the way from Wexford to Wicklow.

About five o'clock in the evening, a part of the engine broke, and pierced a hole through the bottom of the vessel, through which the water rushed in most frightfully. All hands went to work, pumping and baling out with buckets; a hole was cut through the deck for an additional

bucket to work, and the pump being well manned by both passengers and crew, the leak was prevented from gaining, there being then about four feet water in the hold. The steam-engine being disabled, and the wind blowing right off the land, the sails were close hauled, so as to close in with the shore by degrees.

"Up to seven o'clock, every thing was done to run the vessel on shore as quickly as the wind would permit, and she had got within less than one mile of it, in five and a half fathom water, when it was found, that the captain, mate, male and female stewards, cabin boy, and four sailors, in all nine persons, had slipped into the boat and cut it away without the knowledge of the passengers, whom they hailed on going off, and said they were going for help from on shore. The departure in this way of seven of the best men had such an effect on the few remaining sailors, that they could hardly be kept to work at pumping: thus the leak gained considerably, and, the helm being neglected, the vessel ran up in the wind, and the sheets of both foresail and mainsail were blown away. She then drifted off the land very fast; the anchor was let go, and brought her up about two English miles from the shore, in six fathom water. The pumping being unavoidably neglected while attending to the anchor, the ship filled, and, about half-past eight o'clock, went down, with four of the seven passengers, and two of the crew. About six o'clock in the morning, those who were left alive, floating on spars from the wreck, were relieved by the water guards.

It was the decided opinion of

every person who was saved, that, if the captain, and those who went with him, had staid in the vessel, she could have been kept afloat long enough to run her on shore.

20. IRISH ABDUCTION.—*Waterford Assizes*.—Derlan Baron was indicted for forcibly carrying away, in last August, Mary Hogan, with intent to marry her; again, with intent to violate her; and again, with a burglarious intent.

Mary Hogan, a young country-looking girl, about seventeen, sworn and examined by Mr. Driscoll.—Last August, the prisoner came at night, and took her away. [For a long time witness could not identify the prisoner, but at last said, "Oh, now I see him." The prisoner and she smiled, and the court joined.] She was not alarmed on the night she was taken away. There was no door where she was, and the prisoner got in easily; there were five or six entered, the prisoner was not with them, does not know which of them took her, saw prisoner afterwards a good distance from the house: she was carried off six miles to one Foley's, did not go willingly, the prisoner said he intended to marry her; thinks there was no harm in his saying that; she had no objection to marry, if her father liked; she had no objection (smiling) to prisoner, if her father liked.

Mr. Driscoll.—I confess, my lord, our case looks drooping.

Counsellor Hassard.—My lord, it is a regular courtship.

Judge.—She is actually courting him this moment. (Roars of laughter.)

Mr. Hassard cross-examined witness.—Prisoner was three or four months in her father's house, and was a well-conducted young man.



Judge.—The law will not allow the violation of the privacy of a family with impunity, therefore they should proceed strictly: at the same time, if the witness would compromise her security to show her affections, that course remained for her.

Mr. Hassard.—Would you like to marry him still

Witness.—Smiled.

Mr. Hassard.—She would, my lord, upon the prisoner being acquitted.

His lordship addressed him, and hoped that as he saw the kind conduct of his prosecutor, that he would behave honourably to her.

The prisoner said he would, and was discharged.

DECCAN PRIZE MONEY.—The following, according to the scale announced in the Gazette, is the proportion in which this long-pending booty is to be divided among the forces concerned in the Indian Campaigns of 1817 and 1818.

#### SCALE OF DISTRIBUTION.

	Amount of the Share of each Rank.					
	Bombay Rupees.			Proceeds in Sterling Money.		
	R.	A.	P.	£.	s.	d.
<b>EUROPEANS.</b>						
Commander-in-Chief.....	517,475	7	9	44,201	0	7
Lieutenant-Generals.....	23,234	13	11	1,984	12	10½
Major and Brigadier-Generals	17,426	2	5	1,488	9	8
Colonels.....	6,970	7	4	595	7	10½
Lieutenant-Colonel .....	4,182	4	5	357	4	8½
Major, &c.....	2,788	2	11	238	3	1½
Captain, &c. ....	1,394	1	5	119	1	6½
Subaltern, &c. ....	697	0	8	59	10	9½
Troop-Quartermaster, &c....	174	4	2	14	17	8½
Staff-Sergeant, &c. ....	34	13	7	2	19	6½
Sergeant .....	23	3	9	1	19	8½
Rank and file.....	11	9	10	0	19	10
<b>NATIVES.</b>						
Subadar .....	60	11	3	5	19	0½
Jemadar.....	23	3	9	1	19	8½
Havildar .....	11	9	10	0	19	10
Naique, Drummer, &c.....	7	11	11	0	13	2½

ERUPTION OF VESUVIUS.—On the 14th March, a new orifice, about fifteen feet in circumference, was opened in the crater of Mount Vesuvius, on the eastern side, from which issued an immense quantity of smoke, in the form of a globe; this burst with a loud explosion,

and scattered around a quantity of boiling liquid. After some days these explosions ceased, but the new aperture continued to discharge a great deal of smoke, and occasionally some flames. On the 17th and 18th, these phenomena were renewed with increased force,

the detonations became more frequent, and a slight flow of lava was perceptible. By the 20th, the new opening was increased to sixty feet; the matter ejected was piled round it in a pyramidal form to the height of fifty feet; stones were occasionally thrown up into the air, and the explosions were continued at intervals of ten minutes. By the 22nd, two other openings had been made in the crater, of larger dimensions than the first, which sent forth quantities of smoke and flame. After a variety of explosions, a tremendous shock forced the three apertures into one, and a column of smoke and ashes rose from it, presenting to the city of Naples the appearance of a pine-tree of gigantic size. Stones were thrown up in great numbers, and one among the rest, of immense dimensions, was thrown over the side of the crater, and rolled down the mountain. The violence of the eruption began to diminish at three o'clock, on the 22nd, and, the wind having changed, caused the volcanic column to incline towards Ottajano, when it began gradually to diminish in size. At five o'clock the summit of Vesuvius displayed only a small cloud of smoke. As the column of smoke diminished, the noises and explosions in the interior of the mountain increased, accompanied by symptoms of earthquake. Shocks were felt in Calabria, and in the districts of Reggio and Palmi. No damage of importance was done.

20. POISONING.—LANCASTER ASSIZES.—Jane Scott was tried for the murder of her mother by administering arsenic. She had been tried at the preceding Summer Assizes for murdering her father in the same way, and had been acquitted; the death of a witness,

Hannah Craggs having been proved, her deposition was read to the following effect. "I was intimate with the deceased. They lived at Preston, and Jane Scott, their daughter, lived with them. On Sunday, the 13th of May, I took tea with them. Jane was there, and appeared to be friendly with them. On Monday, the 14th, Jane Scott came to my house. She said, 'Oh, Mrs. Craggs, my mother is dead.' I said, 'she is none dead.' Jane said, 'Yes, she is, and my father is holding her up.' She then went away. I followed her. I found Mrs. Scott in the kitchen very ill. I then went to look for John Scott, and I found him in the yard vomiting. I got him into the house. Mrs. Scott said, 'We have been poisoned, we took some porridge, and were ill directly after.' Jane was in the house at the time, and heard her mother complain. Jane said she would be quit of the porridge, and she went into the pantry and came out with a basin of porridge in her hand. Mr. Scott said, 'Hold, Jane, don't throw them out.' Jane went out with the basin in her hand, and soon after returned with the basin empty. He told her to fetch Dr. Brown. Dr. Brown came and brought a stomach-pump, which he used. Jane at that time went backwards and forwards, and willingly assisted in getting what was wanted. Dr. Brown asked her to show him the pan in which the porridge had been made, and she brought him a porridge-pan. He told her to take care of it, and let it bide just as it was. She took it into the pantry. Soon after Dr. Brown came, the prisoner went and fetched David Graham."

David Graham examined.—I

am the son of the late Mrs. Scott. I was at their house on Saturday the 12th of May, they were then in good health. Jane came to my house on Monday the 14th of May, between eight and nine in the evening, with a woman of the name of Bilborough. She said, "Oh, David! my father and mother are dying." I ran to their house as fast as I could. Mr. Brown, the surgeon, was there applying the stomach-pump. I said to the prisoner, "Oh, Jane! how can you for shame come into the room where they are?" She flew at me, and swore at me, and I put her out of the room. Prisoner then said that she would poison my wife. My mother died at ten minutes before three o'clock the next morning.

Thomas Emmett.—I am a druggist at Preston. About two months before the death of the deceased, the prisoner came to my shop, and asked for a quarter of a pound of arsenic. She said she wanted it to poison some rats. I hesitated at first, till she told me she lived at a shop in Bridge-street. I think she said her name was Jane Scott. I gave her the arsenic. She came again in about a fortnight, and asked for three-pennyworth more, as she had not had quite enough before. Three or four days previously to her apprehension, she bought an ounce and a half more. She said that she wanted it to mix with some whitewash, to kill bugs. I informed her that it was a deadly poison, cautioned her about it. And told her, that the best way of giving arsenic to the rats was to mix it with meal and sugar.

A constable proved that he had examined the house on the 14th of May, that he found no arsenic in it, and it did not appear to have been whitewashed.

George Richardson.—I am acquainted with the prisoner, Jane Scott. I saw her on the Thursday night before the death of her mother. She beckoned me into her father's house. There was another girl there. She said that her mother was gone out, and I must keep her company. She wished the other girl to go, as she had something to say to me. I told the girl she need not go, as we had nothing particular to talk about. The girl went away in a short time. The prisoner then said to me, "Now, George, when must we be married?" I said, I was not going to marry, for I had nothing, and she had nothing. She said, that all the furniture in that house and the other house was hers any day that she had a mind. She said, that her father had signed every thing over to her; she could have it any time. I said, that was nothing to me. She said that she would fetch the paper and show me. She went into the shop and fetched a paper. I read about a line of it, but could not understand it. She then took it back. Her name was at the top of it. I can read but not write.

James Shorrocks.—I have known the prisoner for four or five years. I saw her on the Sunday before her mother's death at the Three Tars public-house in Preston. She told me that her father and mother were very badly. On the Monday evening, about eight o'clock, I saw her again. I was standing looking at a fight, when she called me out of the crowd. She said, "I have just been watching George going to the dandy-shop to Betty Watson: George thinks to make a fool of me, but I'll make a bigger fool of him." She then said, she must go to her supper, and told me to

stop until she came back. I waited about twenty minutes, and then she came again. She said, "Oh, Jem, my father and mother are sure to die." I said, "We are all sure to die." She said, "Yes, but not so soon as them." She then said, "I am going to Manchester next week, and when I come back I shall be wed." She said, "My father and mother have three houses, and they have signed all over to me; and when I come back, we'll sell one of them and the shop and go to Liverpool, and set up some business." She said that nobody should be at the wedding but me, because I was such a nice lad.

The medical men who had analyzed the contents of the stomach, proved that arsenic had been the cause of death.

The jury found the prisoner guilty, and she was sentenced to be executed. She had been apparently cool during the trial; but, on hearing the verdict, she burst into tears, beseeching the court to transport her, and spare her life. Before her execution, she confessed the murder, as well as that of her father, and of two illegitimate children, one of them her own, the other her sister's. She was only twenty-one years old.

30. EARTHQUAKE AT LIMA.—On Sunday, 30th March, at half-past seven o'clock in the morning, Lima was visited with a very destructive shock of an earthquake. Its direction was from east to west; and, although it did not last above forty seconds, it left scarcely a building in the city uninjured. The massy walls of the churches were torn from top to bottom; the steeples, and particularly the cupolas, were rent; the ornaments of brick and plaster thrown down. In private buildings the destruc-

tion was almost universal. Besides those which fell at the moment, several fell afterwards in consequence of the injuries they had sustained, and a still greater number were so damaged, that they were ordered to be taken down by public authority. Between thirty and forty lives were lost: the loss of property was estimated at 6,000,000 of dollars.—At Callao, the shock was felt after the dust was seen to rise from Lima, so that it had proceeded from the mountains towards the sea. The sensation of it on ship-board was the same as when a ship thumps violently on the bottom. The sea, which before was calm, suddenly bubbled and boiled all round, became turbid with mud and sand, even in twenty-five fathoms water, and continued to send up large air-bells for a considerable time afterwards. Several villages along the coast northward were destroyed: at Arien it was not felt.

31. MURDER.—*York Assizes*.—William Dyon, aged 45, and his son John Dyon, aged 23, were indicted for the murder of John Dyon, on the 16th February. The deceased, who was the brother of the elder prisoner, and uncle of the younger, had been at Doncaster market on Saturday, the 10th February; his family waited for him till two o'clock next morning, when the servant was sent out to seek for him. At the distance of a field from the house, his horse was found standing by a gate which closed the entrance to the field; and beside him lay his master, shot through the heart. He had been dead for some hours. His watch was in his fob, and a large sum of money in his pocket. No fire arms were found near him. The evidence to

connect the prisoners with the crime was the following:—

The residence of the prisoners was on the east side of the Trent; the residence of the deceased was on the west, or Yorkshire side, at some distance from the river, and it was on that side that the murder had been committed. A number of witnesses proved, that, in the course of the Saturday on which Mr. Dyon was shot, the elder prisoner, with another man, were seen at different points of the road between their own residence, and the ferry across the Trent; that they had crossed at the ferry in the afternoon, and were met on the road on the west side leading to the house of the deceased. They were found at the west ferry again at 11 o'clock at night, as if returning; and the ferryman deposed, that on that night he had left his boat on the west side, but that he found it, on Sunday morning, on the east side.

Wm. Wagstaff, farmer.—I saw the deceased at Doncaster market on Saturday, the 16th February. We returned home together. I left the deceased at the spot where Austerfield-lane joins the Bawtry and Thorne road. He took the left-hand road that led to his house at Bancroft. I took the right-hand road. I went quickly, and got home about half-past nine o'clock. It was between half-past eight and nine when I parted with the deceased.

William Loveday, when returning that night from Doncaster, heard the report of two guns at a place called Low Deepes. A little before hearing the report he had met Mr. Wagstaff.

John Wilson, farmer.—At Lincoln fair, in April last, I met William Dyon; we rode together to Gainsborough. He told me that

he was the brother of John Dyon, of Austerfield; that his brother was a d—d rogue, and had robbed him of a great deal, but that he would be as good as his brother some day.

Samuel Kelsey.—I met John Dyon at the Nag's Head public house, Gainsborough, a fortnight or three weeks before the murder. He told me that his grandfather had left his uncle nearly 30,000*l.*, and his father very little, but he would see one day how it should be done.

John White examined.—I was in the service of the prisoner William Dyon from a little after Christmas until May-day in last year. The prisoner then lived at Morton Carr. In September last, I went into the service of the deceased, John Dyon, and remained there until the time of his death. I was recommended by the prisoner, William Dyon. I lived at a house at Partridge-hill, near Austerfield-lane. A man, called William Stacey, and his wife, lived in the same house with me. I never saw the prisoner, William Dyon, after I left his service, until the week before the murder. I saw him on Friday week before the murder. I don't know the day of the month, nor what time of night it was. I was in bed, and had been asleep. I heard a noise at the kitchen door. I got up and went to the door, and said, "Hollo." The prisoner, Wm. Dyon, said, "Hollo, John." I knew him by his voice. I opened the door, and saw the prisoners, Wm. and John Dyon. They had each a gun—one was a long and the other was a common-sized gun. They came into the house. I asked them what they were doing there. They said they had come a wild-fowl shooting. I made answer, that there were no wild-

fowls thereabouts. Wm. Dyon then said, that they had not come with that intent. I asked what they had come for. He inquired, if my master, the deceased, would be at Doncaster-market the next day. I said no, he would not. He then asked me if my master would go the Saturday after next. I said he would, because he never missed two Saturdays together. William Dyon then asked, if they might leave their guns until they called again. I said they might. They then told me to take care and keep the guns out of sight. I promised I would. I then asked what was the reason for it. They said they had come with intent to make away with my master. I asked why, and they said because he had gotten his own property and theirs too, and they would bear it no longer. It was William Dyon that said that. They said they would give me a 10*l.* note if I would not tell. They said, that, after my master's death, Bancroft-farm would fall to them, and they would take Partridge-hill farm, and I should live there as long as I lived. They told me, if I said any thing, they would make away with me. I promised I would not tell. After that, I went to bed, leaving them in the kitchen. I got up at five the next morning. The prisoners were then gone: the guns were in a corner of the kitchen. I took them into the granary, and hid them under some straw and oats. I next saw the prisoners on the Saturday night on which the murder took place. I think it was about seven o'clock when they came. They asked me for the guns, and I fetched them. They asked me, if my master was at Doncaster, and I said he was. They said they were going to make

away with him. William Dyon said, "We are going to shoot your master to-night; and if you tell, I'll shoot you too." I told them I would not tell. They then went away. After that I went to supper their horses, and, whilst doing that, I heard somebody ride past. I thought it was my master, but was not quite sure. The prisoners wore smockfrocks on that night. They wore smockfrocks on the Friday week before.

Cross-examined.—I had never seen the prisoners from the time I left William Dyon's service until Friday, the 8th of February. The coroner's inquest was held twice; it was held at Bawtry, about three miles from the place where I live. I was not there either time. I know Mr. Denison, the justice, and saw him on the Monday after the murder. I knew that he was a justice, and was making search after the murderers. I did not mention to him a word of what I have told to-day. I laid a suspicion against two young men of the name of Tomlinson, who were living just against my master's ground. I heard of a reward of 100 guineas being offered about a week after the murder. I never mentioned what I have told to-day to a single person, until after the reward had been offered.

Re-examined.—When I laid suspicion against the Tomlinsons, I durst not give the account that I have given to-day. It was three weeks to-day, since I first told what I knew. The reward had been offered above a week before. When I did tell, I did not go to Mr. Denison, he came to me.

By the Judge.—I knew one of the guns. It was a duck gun. I had seen it at William Dyon's.

Robert Turner sworn.—I live

at Pelham Carr, half a mile from Morton Carr, and am married to Sarah Dyon, the daughter of the elder prisoner. The prisoner John Dyon married my sister. My wife continued to live at William Dyon's, where I used to go to sleep, and my sister remained at my father's house, and the prisoner, John Dyon, used to go to sleep with her there. On Friday, the 8th of February, I saw the prisoner John Dyon that evening, between eight and nine, at the house of his father, William Dyon. I also saw William Dyon. I did not see John Dyon any more that night. William went into the fold, and I went to bed. I got up at six o'clock the next morning. I saw nothing either of William or John Dyon. John's wife dined at my father's the next day. John was not there. I did not see him again until Monday morning. On Saturday, the 16th of February, I had been to Gainsborough. I got back about two o'clock in the afternoon. I went to my father's. I did not get to William Dyon's until about seven o'clock in the evening. From two until seven I was at my father's, at Pelham Carr. I saw neither of the prisoners there, nor did I find either of them at Morton Carr. I stayed at Morton Carr until between eight and nine o'clock, when I went to bed. During that time I saw nothing of the prisoners. In the nighttime I heard somebody cough, and I supposed it was William Dyon. I can't tell what time it was. William Dyon had a gun. It was a long one.

A gun was here produced by a constable of the name of Etches, and the witness declared that it was William Dyon's gun. The gun had been found at Mr. Dyon's.

Cross-examined. — I did not sleep in the same room as John Dyon.

John Dixon examined.—I am a servant to Mr. Turner, of Pelham Carr. On the Friday week before the murder, the prisoner, John Dyon, was at our house about half-past eight in the evening. The next time I saw him was on the night of Saturday, the following day. On Saturday, the 16th of February, I saw John Dyon about two o'clock. He was at our house. I saw nothing of either William or John again that evening. I went to bed that night about nine o'clock. When I was in bed, I heard John Dyon come in. I can't tell how long I had then been in bed. I heard him speaking to his wife. I remember going to the coroner's inquest at Bawtry. I went in company with the prisoners and the last witness. Nothing particular passed on the road. On Sunday, the day before, I was talking to John Dyon's wife in his presence. She asked me to go to Bawtry, to the inquest, and say that John was at home at nine o'clock on the night of the murder.

Cross-examined.—John Dyon and I did not sleep in the same room. It often happened that I went to bed first. I was often half a day without seeing John. Sometimes I did not see William Dyon for a fortnight or a month together. I heard of the murder on the Monday after it happened. The prisoners went about their business as usual after that. They did not conceal themselves at all. Any body might have taken them.

John Turner examined.—I live at Pelham Carr. The prisoner, John Dyon, married my daughter. He used to sleep at my house. I remember the 16th of February, I

went to bed that night about ten minutes before nine. John Dyon was not then at home. I had not seen him at home all that evening. I did not see him until dinner-time next day.

Cross-examined.—I slept in a different room from John. Sometimes he went to his father's, and I did not see him for a whole day or more.

Sarah Ormsby examined. — I was staying at William Dyon's in February last. On Friday, the 8th. I saw the prisoners at supper at nine or half-past nine in the evening. The next time I saw them was at tea, about half-past four. William Dyon appeared to be very much fatigued. On the 16th of February, about eleven or twelve, John Dyon asked what time the dinner would be ready. He said he should want it sooner, as he was going out in the afternoon. Dinner was got ready at one o'clock, the usual time. I saw the prisoners go out between one and two that afternoon. William Dyon had on his working clothes. In the morning he wore long boots. When they went out they had no smockfrocks on.

Rev. John Rudd.—I am one of the magistrates who committed the prisoners. I attended the coroner's inquest. The prisoners were separately asked where they had been on Saturday, the 16th of February. William Dyon said, that he and his son had been thrashing until one o'clock, that they had been warping until four, and that he had returned home at five in the evening. The prisoner, John, was then examined, and he said he had not been warping on the Saturday afternoon; that he had been at his father's house till between eight and nine, and gone to bed at nine.

For the prisoners, William Stacey, Anne Stacey, and Hannah White were called. They stated that they had slept every night during the last month, in the same house as the witness John White, and that they had never heard any knocking or other noise at the door, or seen any gun either in the house or the stable.

The jury found the prisoners *Guilty*. They were sentenced to be hanged, and were accordingly executed on the following Wednesday. The Father remained obstinate and hardened to the last; but the son, just before the drop fell, acknowledged the guilt of both.

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#### APRIL.

4. HOME CIRCUIT.—*Kingston*.—Thomas Irons was indicted for having wilfully murdered Susan Froggatt on the 29th of February.

Harriot Fisk, cook in the family in which the prisoner and the deceased were fellow servants, deposed, that, on the morning of the 29th of February, the prisoner, who had gone out in the morning, returned about five o'clock in the afternoon. He left home about half-past ten or eleven in the forenoon, and was let in by Susan Froggatt. The prisoner and deceased went into the kitchen; the former appeared to have been drinking a little. They were conversing together rather angrily. The deceased said he should not make such a noise about the house, —that he ought to know better: To which he replied, "I shall not mind what you say, for you shall not be mistress over me." He added, that all she wanted was to get him out of his place; and if she wanted that, he should take her



up to her master when he came home. The deceased said, he might do that if he pleased, for she was ready to go. The prisoner said, if she got him out of his place, he would blow her brains out, to which the deceased made no reply. The prisoner then left the kitchen, saying, before he went out, if she had any thing to say, to speak then. The deceased replied, "I have nothing else to say." The prisoner then said, "Good bye," and left the kitchen. He returned in a few minutes, said nothing, washed his hands, and went into the pantry. In a few minutes after, he returned a second time, and, without speaking, walked across the kitchen, and sat down in a chair. He sat there a quarter of an hour, and during that time did not speak. The gardener having called the witness into the dairy, in about two minutes after she had left the kitchen, she heard the report of fire-arms, and on looking through a window into the kitchen, saw the deceased lying on the floor. She asked the prisoner how he came to do such a thing, and he made no answer. Previous to this day, the deceased and prisoner had lived on such terms as servants usually do,

The distance between the kitchen and pantry was very short, and she saw nothing in his hand.

Nathaniel Jones, the gardener, was taking some milk into the dairy, near six o'clock, and called the cook to assist him: she came, and, in about two minutes, he heard the report of fire-arms. He immediately went into the kitchen, where he found the prisoner and the deceased; she was lying on the floor, and the blood was running down the side of her head; she was alive, but could not speak.

On the right side of her neck there was a deep wound, from which the blood was flowing: and the bone of her right cheek was shattered to pieces. There were marks in the wall made by shot, about two feet from where she was lying. The prisoner said, "Put the fire out," and witness then perceived that the deceased's gown and collar were burning. She gave three or four heavy sighs, and expired. The prisoner said that he had done the deed, adding, "and I am your prisoner;" he added, that he had put two charges of shot in the pistol and one charge of powder; and pointing out the pistol on the dresser, and showing his hand, said, "And this is the hand that has done the deed." His fore-finger was bleeding at the time. The lock of the pistol was warm, and seemed as if it had been recently discharged. The prisoner said, "I have been waiting full a quarter of an hour for an opportunity to shoot her." He appeared to have had something to drink, but not a great deal.

Claridge, a constable, who came to apprehend him, said, that, as soon as he entered the kitchen the prisoner held out his hand, and said, "Claridge, come and take me, for I have murdered that poor young woman, and I won't make any resistance, for here's the hand that fired the pistol off;" and, exhibiting his finger, said, "and here's where it knocked the skin off and cut me."

Mr. Langton, the prisoner's master, identified the pistol as being his. He kept it in his sleeping-room, generally unloaded. He had powder and shot in the house, but always kept it under lock and key, but he found a shot-belt and powder-flask the following morning in

the footman's pantry which were not his property.

Frederick Barker saw the prisoner a quarter before four, coming from London. He held up a kind of strap in his right hand: it seemed to be a shot-belt. The surgeon, who examined the body, found two wounds, one on the left angle of the jaw, and the other on the left cheek, immediately under the eye. They were evidently inflicted by fire-arms.

The Judge summed up the evidence; observing, that there was nothing to prove that the prisoner was insane at the time of the commission of the offence.

The Jury found him *Guilty*, and he was sentenced to be hanged on Monday. Before his execution, he imputed the act solely to intoxication.

8. CURIOUS CASE OF THEFT.—*Gloucester Assizes*.—Ann Hamerton was indicted for stealing a 10*l.* Bank of England note, and divers articles of wearing apparel, the property of Mary Davis. The prisoner, a genteel-looking, well-dressed, young woman, of engaging appearance, had surrendered to take her trial, apparently conscious of her innocence. The case, as it appeared in evidence, was this. The prisoner was a milliner, in Cheltenham, and the prosecutrix was an old maiden lady, of small income, who had gone to reside with her as the means of procuring payment of some money which the prisoner owed her. They slept in the same room, and ate at the same table, and were on such terms of intimacy, that it was impossible for the prisoner to be ignorant of the state of Miss Davis's affairs. Part of Miss Davis's property consisted of an annuity of 20*l.* per annum, allowed her

by a nephew. On the 15th of October last, she received a letter containing a 10*l.* note, in payment of the half year's annuity. In the evening of the next day, the 16th of October, an alarm was given that the house had been robbed, and, on examination, a pillow was found in the garden, as if it had been thrown out of the window; another was found suspended from the window; and the trunk of the prosecutrix, containing her 10*l.* note, and the various articles of clothing described in the indictment, was no longer in the room in which they slept. Some property belonging to the prisoner was also missing. On examining the garden through which it was pretended the stolen property had been conveyed, no foot-marks could be found, and some scarlet beans that covered the wall, over which the thieves (if any) must have gone, were found undisturbed. So little did Miss Davis suspect the prisoner, that, at her instigation, she was very near searching several other houses for the property she had lost; but by chance she discovered a petticoat of hers, which had been in the trunk she had lost, concealed between the bed and bed-sacking of a bed in the prisoner's house. She also found, on looking into the prisoner's reticule, a steel purse which she knew to be her's, and which had been in the lost trunk. In consequence of this discovery, she left the prisoner's house, and shortly after procured a search-warrant, when several more small articles were discovered. The prisoner was taken before the magistrates, and after some examination discharged. Some time after this, Miss Davis received two notes, written in a disguised hand-writing, advising her to search certain

places for her property : the notes were accompanied by some trifling articles which she had lost. Soon after Miss Davis herself was taken up, at the instance of the prisoner, and charged with the robbery, and the evidence in support of that charge was a letter addressed to Miss Davis, which the prisoner had opened, and thus, as she alleged, arrived at a clue to the real offender, On that charge Miss Davis was committed to prison ; and was liberated only after being detained for three weeks. At the time of the robbery Miss Davis wrote to her nephew for the number of the note, in order that it might be stopped. On receiving his answer, she mentioned the number to the prisoner, who then went out, saying she would take the letter to the banks, and stop the note. On her return, she said that she had seen Mr. Pitt, the banker, and he had promised to write to Bristol and Worcester. Mr. Pitt proved that he had never seen her. It was proved that she had written to the prosecutrix's nephew, trying to persuade him that his aunt was not in her right mind ; and that the seal upon that letter was the impression of a very uncommon seal, missing from the prosecutrix's trunk, representing the devil shaving a hog. The Jury found the prisoner *Guilty*, and she was sentenced to transportation for seven years. Next morning, however, she was found dead in her cell, suspended by a handkerchief from the bars of the window.

8. MURDER.—*Taunton Assizes*.—Richard Gillam was indicted for the wilful murder of Maria Bagnell, on the 26th January, at Bath. The prisoner had been butler, and the deceased lady's-maid in the same service. The

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case was remarkable for the boldness of the attempt, which the prisoner made, at the moment of perpetrating the crime, to make it appear to be the work of a band of burglars. The evidence was the following :

Charles Billington, watchman. On the 26th of January, at half-past two in the morning I heard the report of fire-arms, and after this a cry of "Watch" and "Murder." I immediately went to No. 16, Marlborough-buildings, and tried the street-door, but could not get in. I hallooed up to where I heard the noise, and a man's voice replied, "Go round to No. 15 or 16." The voice came from the top of No. 16. The other watchmen, who had assembled, and I went down a field towards a well at the back of the houses, where we saw a garden door open. We saw nobody on the way. We went into the garden, where I picked up a white cloth about the size of a pocket-handkerchief. At the back of the house there was a door open which led into a cellar ; on the left side of the cellar was a basket with bread and meat in it. I saw a light through a passage, but not the candle from which it came. I went up the stairs whence I saw the light proceed, and found on the stairs a candlestick, with a candle in it, and a pair of snuffers ; this was on the left side of the staircase. On the right side were a large bundle and a case. I hallooed out several times to where I had heard the voice. "Where are you ?" No one answered until I came to the attic stairs, when a man's voice answered, "We are fastened in." I then went up to the landing under the garrets, and there was the prisoner at the

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bottom of the garret stairs. He turned round towards a closet, the door of which was open. I saw in it a large chest. I asked him what the large chest was—he said it was the plate-chest. The prisoner at this time wore a white night-cap, a round brown fustian jacket, and small clothes nearly the same as the jacket. His stockings were of a light colour. A gimblet was picked off the floor by one of the watchmen, and the prisoner said, he supposed the gimblet was what they had been fastened in with: there was also a white-handled case-knife. I held up my light to the mark of the gimblet-hole, which was over the latch of the door, and said to the prisoner “This hole does not appear to have been made very far in.” We then came down into the drawing-room; there we saw bottles on a table. The prisoner was with us. We went through the folding doors into another room, where we saw a great number of matters in disorder. The cloth which we had found in the garden, and on which we could not see any mark, we gave to the prisoner. We then went down to the parlour: on the way down we cried “Mind below.” A man’s voice answered—“Have you seen the murder?” I said I had not, and did not know of any murder in the house. We then went immediately down to the kitchen. There I saw a woman lying in a gore of blood, with her face towards the kitchen fire-place. On her left-hand side I saw a large stick. In front of her head nearer the fire-place there was a woman’s cap. I stayed not a minute in the kitchen. I turned about, and in going out of the kitchen saw the prisoner outside the door. I pointed to the bundle which I had seen

at this place on entering the house. I asked him if he knew the handkerchief in which the bundle was tied up. He said either that it was his handkerchief or his wife’s. He opened it, and took out a pelisse, which he said was his wife’s. He then took out a coat, which he said was his. I then pointed to the case. He said it was a tea-urn. He said the place of that was upon the plate-chest. I said, “Come along with me, and I’ll show you something else.” We went down another flight of stairs to the cellars, and I showed him the basket, which had the meat and bread in it. He said that was theirs. I then went with him into the garden. On returning from the garden, I went up stairs, and did not again go into the kitchen.

Three other watchmen spoke to the same circumstances.

Thomas Hill, was in the fields behind Marlborough Buildings, about a quarter before five in the afternoon, on the 26th January. He saw the prisoner come out of No. 16, with a spade with which he cut the wall. After he had been some time cutting the wall, he jumped into the garden over the wall.

George Vincent, mayor’s officer of Bath. On the 27th of January last I searched No. 16, Marlborough-buildings: in the front garret was a pair of small-clothes on a table at the foot of the bed. I showed them to the prisoner, who said they were his, and had been worn by him over night. Before I showed them to him, I observed some marks of blood at the side of the left knee, and some spots up along the thighs. On the same day I examined the butler’s pantry, and found there a striped

yellow waistcoat with sleeves. There were some marks of blood upon the left sleeve, but, a few days after, I saw some marks of blood in the right-hand pocket. The prisoner had had the waistcoat home before I observed the stains of blood in the pocket.

On his cross-examination, this witness stated, that the clothes were produced before the magistrate at the first examination, when the appearance of the blood was accounted for by Colonel Warne, who deposed that the prisoner had, a few days before, brought him some game, among which was a hare which was a little bloody at the mouth. The magistrates were satisfied with the account which had been given of the bloody stains, and returned the clothes and knives to the prisoner. Before I got the clothes back again, the prisoner had them long enough to have washed out the blood a hundred times. He did not hesitate to acknowledge that the clothes were his, nor make any difficulty in letting me have them. They were lying open to any person who might have come in where they were. Colonel Warne deposed to the fact of the prisoner having brought him a present of game from Mrs. Cox, a few days before, among which was a hare, bloody at the mouth. He held the hare by the hind legs, and the head hung down by his knee.

George Champion Wilcox.—On the day following the murder, I examined, in company with the prisoner, the door leading from the garden into the house. On the outside of the door were marks, as if a bar had been used to break it open, but it was not done as if by a proficient hand, by a regular housebreaker. I exa-

mined the bed-room of the prisoner, and found a pair of stockings on the top of the things in his box. There were some spots of blood on them, but so slight that I did not think it necessary to keep them, so that I gave them to him again. He said they were his, and that he had worn them on the night of the murder. There was no charge against him at that time.

The surgeons, who examined the body, stated, that the gullet, wind-pipe, carotid artery, and all the integuments into the vertebrae of the neck, were divided. There were seven wounds in the head. The bones of the right fore-arm were broken, and the thumb and fore finger of one hand cut through. The wound in the throat had been inflicted by a sharp instrument, and was the cause of death.

John Bourne.—I have been five years gaoler of Bath. The prisoner was first brought there on the 30th of January in the evening. I saw him next morning in a room in the gaol. He had a Bible before him. It was open at the "20th chapter of Exodus." I had some conversation with him between that time and the time when he went before the mayor in the evening. No inducement had been held out to him to confess. I asked him if he had any property of any kind in Bath, except at his mistress's. He said he had not. After this, he was taken to the Town-hall, where were some packages which had been brought from the house of a man named Roberts. The packages were there when the prisoner came in, and in such a situation that he must have seen them. He seemed, on entering, to be agitated. After two of the packages had been opened, he became faint, and would have drop-

ped, if I had not caught him in my arms, and put him on a chair. He remained about an hour, and during this time the packages were all opened. After this, he went into the beadle's room, where I saw him. He said, "Well, they'll hang me for this, I know; but, thank God, I am innocent of the murder." I said, "Hush, don't add lies to crime." He said, "We have been like bees, this summer, gathering our honey; and now, like bees, our hives will be destroyed, and our honey taken from us." He said no more whilst in that room. He was soon after taken to gaol. I saw him next morning between nine and ten. He was very much distressed. He paced about the room. I then said, "I am sorry to see you so, Gillam; but I should not do my duty, if I did not tell you my firm opinion that you are the man that did the deed." He then clasped his hands together; on which I proceeded to say, "It is done now, and cannot be helped." He said, "No; it cannot." I said, if he wished a spiritual adviser, I would get him one. He said he wished it above all things. I asked if he wished any particular person. He said not; that any one who was of the Church of England would do. I then said, that we had a chaplain, who, I had no doubt, would come and see him. He said he should be very glad of it; on which I went for Mr. Marshall, the chaplain, who came about 12 o'clock. He came twice that day. After the second visit of Mr. Marshall, I saw the prisoner again.

The Rev. Wm. Marshall, chaplain of the Bath gaol.—On the 1st of February, I visited the prisoner at the request of the gaoler. I

was left alone with him, by his own desire. He said he wished me to read and to pray with him, as he could not do it himself, or make use of the books which were lying before him. They were the Bible, the Prayer-book, and Whole Duty of Man. He said he knew he was a sinner, and should soon die. I asked him how he knew this. He said he had been told so at the hall. He then sat down and began telling me, that he and his wife were about to settle; that they had been purchasing many articles, but had purloined a few things from his mistress. I told him that was a very heinous offence, and justly incurred the severe animadversion of the law. I saw he was in a very perturbed state of mind, and asked him, if there were not something still more heavy on his conscience than what he had alluded to; he said he was a sinner, as other men, and that he had been suspected of the unhappy murder. I told him, if he was innocent, to maintain his innocence; but if not (and his own heart would tell him), I, as a minister of the Lord, felt it my duty to warn him not to add sin to sin by attempting to dissemble with God. He still said, he was only a sinner like other men. I then felt it my duty to ask him, as he confessed himself a sinner, and doubtless as he thought he should soon die, whether he would not wish to repent of his sins. He said yes. I then said to him, that I would, as God's minister, state, what I considered the nature of true genuine repentance, and I did so. I read to him likewise the commination service, commenting on it as I went along. I thought that he was on the point of making some disclosure, and asked, if he

wished to send for the gaoler. His agitation was so great, that I said I thought he must have something weighty, most heavily pressing upon his mind ;—that, whilst that was the case I must tell him, that no services of mine would afford him real comfort. He at one time said he wished he had not sent for me ; and at last, that what he had confessed was less than the dreadful deed which he had concealed. At a second interview, I resumed my arguments upon repentance in all its branches, and again concluded by recommending to the prisoner, if he knew himself guilty of the murder, to avail himself of genuine repentance, and through faith in Christ to make his peace with God.

Bourne, the gaoler, was now recalled, and said : I visited the prisoner after the second interview of Mr. Marshall, and found him very much dejected ; I said to him, “ I am perfectly convinced now that my suspicions this morning were correct ; for I find by your wife that you did go down stairs after meeting Bagnell ; that you remained down stairs a considerable while ; that when you returned you were very cold, and very much agitated ; and that, when you got into bed, you told your wife to lie farther from you, as you were not very well, and that this was the first time since your marriage that you had omitted kissing her immediately on getting into bed. That you likewise told her not to say any thing to Nanny, or to any body else, that you had gone down stairs a second time.” The prisoner on this clapped his hands and sat down, saying, “ Well, now I shall tell you all about it.” I said, “ Don’t tell me any thing, unless it be what you would wish

the mayor and the magistrates to know : for whatever you tell me, I must tell them.” He then said, “ that it was true, that he had gone down stairs again, and that he found Bagnell in his pantry ; that then he took up a stick (she having begun to quarrel with him), and struck her on the head ; that he repeated the blows till she fell ; that she kept screaming, saying that she would have him hanged. That in the scramble he found himself down upon her, on which he knelt upon her, took his knife from his waistcoat-pocket and cut her throat ; that he then took from her pocket a purse which contained halfpence ; that he put the halfpence in his waistcoat-pocket, and placed the purse in the place where it was found on the following morning close by the deceased ; that the stick with which he had done the deed was not the one which had been found near the body, but had been by him cut up and used for lighting the fire on the following morning, and that he had put, in place of the stick which he had burned, that which had been found ; that he then washed his hands and the knife, and, going up stairs, took some bottles of wine and spirits from the cellaret ; that, he drank part of the contents and threw the rest away, and left the bottles as they had been found ; and that the packing of the bread and meat, and the placing of the silver teacup, with all the other appearances, which were presented on entering the house, had been his work ; that, having done all this, he had gone to bed. He then said, that he was endeavouring on Monday to make up his mind to make a confession, and that he should wish that the mayor would

come down to the gaol to hear what he had to say, as he did not wish to be taken through the town; and that he particularly wished to see the clergyman, I saw him next day in the same room: he begged me to read to him. I read two prayers from the *Whole Duty of Man*, and the 51st Psalm. I then left him, and the mayor and town clerk came down about ten o'clock. Before he went into the room to the mayor, he called me to come out, saying he wished to see me, as all that he had told me the previous night was not correct. That it was not true that he had had a quarrel with Bagnell, but that he met her at the kitchen door with a bucket in one hand and a candle in the other, and that he struck her without speaking to her."

The mayor and town clerk proved the prisoner's written confession, to the same effect. The prisoner before emitting it, had been warned by the mayor, to say nothing which would implicate himself, as it would be used against him at his trial.

George Vincent, a constable, deposed to another confession of guilt made by the prisoner at a subsequent time. The prisoner alleged as an excuse that he had been obliged to hear the deceased run out against himself and wife without complaining of it, or he should lose his place. That this conduct of Bagnell had made his blood boil, and that, if he had not murdered her at that time, he should at some other.

Wilcox, the constable who took the prisoner to gaol, deposed to a confession in almost the very words. He told the present witness that he had no difficulty in committing the murder, and that

it was all over in three minutes. He had further stated, that, after he had satisfied his passion by the commission of the murder, his mind became quite easy!

The prisoner, when called on for his defence, declared that he was innocent, but adduced no witnesses. The Jury found him guilty, and sentence of death was passed; but a respite was immediately granted, Mr. Justice Little-dale having reserved the point, whether the confession made to the gaoler was admissible, considering the nature of the clerical exhortations, by which it had been elicited. The twelve judges, before whom the point was argued, held, that the confession was well received as evidence: and Gillam was executed on the 4th of June.

9. *STEALING FROM TOMB STONES. — Gloucester Assizes.* — John Jones and Daniel Jones, were indicted for receiving certain brass plates, which had been attached to a tomb-stone, knowing them to have been stolen.

It was proved that depredations of this description had been carried to a great extent in the neighbourhood of Minchinhampton, whence the prosecution came. One of the prisoners, a watchmaker by trade, had been discovered melting down at untimely hours fragments of brass, apparently parts of plates bearing inscriptions. These were produced, and two of the pieces were identified by Drew, a glazier, over the tomb stone of whose children the plates had been placed. He spoke in particular to part of the inscription, in verse, which was still visible. An engraver, also, who had been the apprentice to the engraver (since dead) who had engraved the plates, proved the engraving to be part of his



master's workmanship. The examinations of the prisoners were then given in, in which Daniel Jones stated he had received the brass from his brother, and his brother said he had found it in a cleft in a rock.

The Jury found the prisoners *Guilty*, and they were sentenced to be imprisoned in the Penitentiary for three months, and kept to hard labour.

14. SHOWER OF HERRINGS.—As Major Forbes Mackenzie, of Fodderty, in Strathpeffer, (Ross-shire, Scotland) was traversing a field on his farm, he found a considerable portion of the ground covered with herring fry, of from three to four inches each in length. The fish were fresh and entire, and had no appearance of being dropped by birds. The only rational conjecture that could be formed was, that the fish were transported thither in a waterspout—a phenomenon that had before occurred in this country. The Frith of Dingwall lies at a distance of three miles from the place in question; but no obstruction occurs between the field and the sea; the whole is a level strath or plain, and waterspouts have been known to carry even farther than this. A small quantity of the fish were sent to the secretary of the Northern Institution.

17. READING AND WRITING BY THE BLIND.—A committee of the Professors of the University of Edinburgh, along with its very rev. principal, and assisted by Sir Henry Jardine, and Robert Johnstone, Esq., Secretary to the Blind Asylum there, lately examined Mr. Gall's books for the blind, and his apparatus for writing letters, &c., which blind persons are capable of reading after they have written

them, and made the following report:—"We, having been specially appointed by and along with the very Rev. Dr. Baird, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, have examined the books printed by Mr. Gall, for the use of the blind, and have ascertained, by experiment, that they are capable of being easily read by them. The boys whom we examined were able, with only a few weeks' practice, and no regular teaching, to read with their fingers as quickly, or nearly so, as we could suppose boys to do with their sight in similar circumstances; although this ratio evidently cannot be expected to continue throughout the more advanced stages of their reading. Mr. Gall has also demonstrated to our satisfaction, that, when once reading has become familiar to the blind, these books may be reduced to at least one-third of the present size. The method of writing, or communicating with the blind upon paper, we have also found, by experiment, to be easy and effective; and are of opinion, that, on account of its great simplicity, and the universality of its application, either to letter-writing to composition, or to the inserting of memoranda in books, for private use or amusement, it promises, when reading by the blind shall become familiar, to be an art of considerable practical utility. As Mr. Gall, in forming his establishment for printing for the blind, declines any pecuniary assistance, farther than what may arise from the sale of the Gospel by St. John, which he proposes to print in relief by subscription, we consider it highly desirable, that, seeing the practicability of this art is placed beyond a doubt, a fair trial should also, by this means, be made of its utility.

Whether this laudable attempt to alleviate the privations, and increase the enjoyments of the blind, will lead to results of practical utility, can only be decided by experiment; and since Mr. Gall is willing to try it, we think him worthy of encouragement and support. We should therefore have pleasure in seeing the proposed edition of St. John's Gospel extensively circulated, both as a literary curiosity, and for gratuitous distribution among the blind; and we do therefore, on the above grounds, warmly recommend Mr. Gall's Prospectus of that work to the attention and patronage of the public."—*Edinburgh paper.*

18. **BOLD IMPOSTURE.**—A farmer, from the eastern part of the county of Essex, who was attending Romford market, met with a person who claimed his acquaintance, and mentioned circumstances that convinced the farmer they must have often met before. The farmer sold his beasts, retired with his old acquaintance to a public-house, where they drank freely, and they both proceeded on horseback towards Chelmsford. On the road, however, they stopped to bait their horses, and had more liquor, until the farmer was too much inebriated to proceed farther that night. They slept in a double-bedded room, and, early in the morning, the farmer being still asleep, his friend dressed himself in his clothes, in the pockets of which his money was deposited, paid the expenses of the night, proceeded to the stable, and was ready to mount the farmer's horse, leaving his own old horse and clothes with the farmer in lieu. Just as he was leaving the house, the farmer awoke, and finding his friend, clothes, and money, gone,

he got hastily up, put on the clothes left for him, and came down stairs in time to prevent, as he thought, the escape of his old acquaintance. The knave faced him boldly before the landlord and servants, dressed and mounted as we have described, and succeeded in convincing them that the farmer was an impostor; this was the more easily done, as the parties were strangers in the house. The villain even proposed that they should ride together to Chelmsford, when his identity could be proved by many respectable persons. As matters stood, the farmer agreed to this arrangement, and mounted the rogue's old horse. They had not proceeded far when the farmer's palfrey became so lame, that he could scarcely walk, the thief having, while in the stable, driven a nail in the animal's foot. It was then that the cheat applied the spur to the horse he rode, and soon left the farmer despoiled of his clothes, his horse, and about 140*l.*, in cash.

23. **MAIL ACCIDENT.**—On Wednesday, the 23rd, the mail from Dublin arrived in Limerick without the driver; and the guard, who got on with him at Monrath, was as ignorant as those in Limerick of what had become of him. The guard first missed him at the hill of Castletown, where the vacillation of the coach, from its rapid movement, attracted his attention, and to his astonishment, he perceived there was no one driving. What had become of the driver, he could not divine—and to get the reins into his hand he found equally impossible. He seated himself on the foot-board of the box-seat, and occasionally patted the wheelers. After a brisk trot of six miles, the horses brought the mail into Bor-

ris, where they drew up as usual. No other explanation could be given, till the driver himself arrived, safe in body and limb, by the afternoon caravan. Beyond Castletown the reins had broken; and the driver, in endeavouring to recover them, over-balanced himself, and fell between the wheelers, with his head on the pole, and thence on the road, the coach passing over him, without his sustaining the slightest injury. Though he called and ran after the coach, he was unnoticed by the guard, who was the only person outside.

24. EXTRAORDINARY SUICIDE.—An inquisition was taken at the Angel Inn, Broad street, Bloomsbury, before Thomas Stirling, Esq. the Coroner, on view of the body of Jane Hall, a little girl, aged eleven years.

Mrs. Jane Norton deposed, that she and her husband had adopted the deceased, since the death of her father, which took place about a twelvemonth back. The mother, who was in very indigent circumstances, occasionally saw her. She was a child of a good and lively disposition, and did what little work was required of her with cheerfulness. On Tuesday night last, about eight o'clock, the deceased went up stairs to the room she slept in, as the witness supposed at the time, for the purpose of making her bed. Two hours and upwards having elapsed and she not coming down, witness went up to her room, imagining she was in bed. On entering, she observed the unfortunate child suspended to a hook in the side of the wainscoting by her pocket-handkerchief. She immediately gave the alarm, and her nephew went up stairs and extricated the deceased from the situation she

was in. She was quite dead, and cold.

The Jury returned a verdict, "that the deceased hung herself in a state of temporary derangement."

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.—*Woodward v. Dowsing*.—This was an action for a libel tried at the last Suffolk assizes, in which a verdict was found for the plaintiff. The libel was in the shape of an advertisement, published in one of the county papers, stating, "that in consequence of the illiberal practice carried on in the parish of Wickham-Market, of forcing paupers to receive orders in lieu of money, which obliged them to get flour in a particular shop, to the loss of the persons receiving it, if in despite of the act of Parliament, and of the notice given on this subject, the practice should be persisted in, the defendant would take steps on the subject." The plaintiff was the overseer of the parish alluded to. The Solicitor-General, now moved to set aside the verdict, on the ground, that the advertisement complained of was not a libel, as it did not attribute any thing illegal to the plaintiff. But the court was of opinion, that to charge a public-officer like an overseer with acting oppressively, was to bring him into contempt with his neighbours, and was therefore a libel.—Rule refused.

DEFAMATION.—*Horsington v. Beaumont and Wife*.—This was an action against Colonel and Mrs. Beaumont for defamatory words spoken by the latter, reflecting on the character of the plaintiff, who had been the steward and land-agent of the defendants. The cause was tried at the last York assizes before Mr. Justice Bay-

ley and a special jury, when the plaintiff recovered a verdict, with 1,700*l.* damages. The words complained of were used by Mrs. Beaumont in a conversation between her and lord Howden, and charged the plaintiff with fraud and peculation in the discharge of his duty as the defendant's agent. The plaintiff assigned for special damage, that, in consequence of this slander he had been dismissed from the service of Lord Howden, by whom he was then employed as land-agent.

Mr. J. Williams now moved for a new trial, on the ground that the damages were excessive, there being no proof that special damage had been sustained.

Lord Tenterden, after a short conference with the other Judges, said, the question of damages being one entirely for the consideration of the jury, it must be a very strong case indeed, that would induce them to disturb a verdict on account of the amount of damages. The sum here was certainly large, but his lordship was not prepared to say that it was too large; for the case was one of considerable aggravation.—Rule refused.

**NARROW ESCAPE.**—As three ladies were taking an airing on the Marine Parade, in a fly, the driver drove the animal's breast against the rail, which being exceedingly rotten, broke asunder. This frightened the horse, and the driver striking him at the same time, he plunged forward over the cliff, dragging the fly down the precipice. The driver was thrown over the horse from his seat, and fell on his head; the fly rolled over and over, till it fell on the beach below. Two of the ladies were not seriously injured, but the third was much bruised in the

head, and had one arm broken near the wrist. The driver had his spine and head severely injured, but he likewise recovered.

## MAY.

### 6. LAW OF EVIDENCE.—KING'S BENCH.—*Matthews v. Galindo.*—

In this case, the question for the decision of the court was, whether the testimony of a female cohabiting with a man and assuming his name, could be received in evidence for him; or whether it should not be rejected upon the same principle of law as that which excludes the testimony of a man's wife. The action was upon a bill of exchange, and had been tried before the Lord Chief Justice at Guildhall, when a defence, on the ground of usury, was attempted to be set up. To prove this, a woman was placed in the box, who in cross-examination, admitted, that she had for some years lived constantly with the defendant,—had gone by his name,—had had several children by him,—and that, in fact, she had by some been mistaken for his wife. When this had been elicited, it was objected by the plaintiff's counsel, that she was not competent to give evidence for the defendant, inasmuch as it appeared she had the same interest in his welfare that a wife would have. In support of his objection, a case was cited, in which a woman was called as a witness on the part of a criminal, whom that criminal, while in court, termed his wife and though it appeared, that she had never been married to him, Lord Kenyon upon the principle that she was as much interested in his affairs as a wife would be, rejected her evidence; and the pri-

soner, being unable to establish a defence without her testimony, was found guilty, and subsequently executed. The Lord Chief Justice, upon the authority of this case, would not receive the evidence of the defendant's mistress, and a verdict was consequently found for the plaintiff.

In the course of last term a rule *Nisi* was obtained, calling on the plaintiff to show cause why a new trial should not be granted, upon the ground that the testimony of the woman had been improperly rejected.

The case came on this morning, when counsel appeared and showed cause against the rule.

The court, however, were of opinion that the case, in which lord Kenyon had rejected the testimony of a witness, did not apply to the present, for in that case the prisoner had himself termed the witness his wife. In the present case they thought the fact of the woman's having lived with the defendant went only to her credibility as a witness, and was not a sufficient ground for the rejection of her testimony. They were therefore of opinion, that the rule for a new trial should be made absolute.

The Lord Chief Justice concurred in this opinion.

**SUDDEN INSANITY.**—A woman named Sarah Mitchell, the wife of a labouring man in Frome, was committed to the Bridewell of Shipton Mallet, charged with having stolen a quantity of silver plate from a gentleman's house in that town. Through the humanity of the committing magistrate, her child, about seven months old, was allowed to be taken with her; but no sooner was the woman confined in a cell of the Bridewell,

than in a fit of insanity (to which, from habitual drinking, she had been for many years subject,) she seized her infant by its legs, and dashed its brains out against the bedstead! She acknowledged afterwards, that she had once before destroyed another child in the same way. A coroner's inquest was held on the body of the infant, when a verdict was returned of "Wilful murder" against the mother.—*Cheltenham Chronicle*.

**10. ACCIDENT.**—On the night of Saturday, four men of the village of Riccul in Yorkshire, resolved to plunder the nests in the rookery which surrounded Riccul Hall, near Selby. One of them, having reached the summit of a tree, lost his hold, fell to the ground, and died almost immediately. His companions went off: but one of them soon afterwards returned, and ascending another tree by the side of the dead man, secured some more of the rooks, and walked off with them, leaving the body of his comrade to be found when daylight should come. The father of the deceased had lost his life some years before, in the same way, when in the act of stealing rooks.

**10. ARCHES COURT.**—*Judgment in the Portsmouth cause.*—

This was a suit instituted to annul the marriage between the earl of Portsmouth and Mary Ann Hanson, by reason of the earl having been of unsound mind at the time when it was contracted, judgment was now given to the following effect. Under a commission *de lunatico inquirendo*, the Earl had been found not to be of sound mind; but this, the learned judge observed, was not sufficient of itself to invalidate a marriage *de facto*. This court must be satisfied by evidence

of its own, that there were grounds of nullity at the time of the marriage. The libel, and the allegation in reply thereto, consisted together of eighty articles; and the number of witnesses examined on both sides amounted to no less than one hundred and twenty-four: the mass of evidence was of greater bulk than in any case which had come before the Court within the memory of the oldest practitioner. Respecting the law in this case, there was no controversy; neither was there any in regard to the fact of marriage, which had been regularly solemnized according to the legal forms. The question arose as to the competency of Lord Portsmouth and his capacity to contract that important engagement; the essential ingredient in which was the consent of the party, which could not be legal without soundness of mind. In respect to lord Portsmouth, the unsoundness of mind set up was of a mixed kind; it was not absolute idiotcy, but mental weakness; and not constant insanity, but a delusion showing itself in particular acts. Absolute idiotcy and continued insanity carried with them their own security and protection; for, in either case, the forms of a fraudulent marriage could not be gone through without the risk of detection. But here a mixed case was set up—a case by no means uncommon. To the most important facts in the libel,—namely, the state and conduct of the noble lord, both before and after the death of the first lady Portsmouth,—above thirty witnesses had deposed; so that the most material facts could not be doubted, though there might be trifling shades of difference. Even the evidence as to the condition of

lord Portsmouth at the period of the inquiry, and the finding of the jury, were not without their weight, though nine years after the marriage in question. It was scarcely denied that the earl was of unsound mind in 1823; though there was an attempt to ascribe this unsoundness to excitation, in consequence of his conveyance from Scotland (though it took place six months previous), and of the existing inquiry. But the facts, which the medical gentlemen, examined on that inquiry, deposed to, connected themselves with facts prior to the marriage. These facts, to which the medical witnesses referred, and on which they grounded their opinion, they stated they had read in the affidavits submitted to the Lord Chancellor, or heard deposed to in the course of the inquiry. Upon these facts, as well as upon their own observation, they carried back their opinion to an earlier period. Of the facts bespeaking unsoundness of mind, those witnesses were almost wholly ignorant who spoke to the soundness of the earl; though nearly all of them described him a weak man. At school, lord Portsmouth was deficient; he was not like other boys; he then discovered that character of mind which accompanied him through life,—namely, timidity: he was easily intimidated, or, as one of the witnesses said, “cowed.” Yet he was not altogether incapable of instruction and improvement; but this was a quality possessed by a child at a very early age,—nay, even brutes could be taught by habit and practice. Lord Portsmouth had a good memory; this was a fact proved, and this accounted in some degree for his capacity to receive instruction and improvement,

as well as for the wrong opinions formed of him by some of the witnesses. He could learn arithmetic and languages; but children often possessed an aptitude for acquiring arithmetic and languages. This was merely the effect of a good memory. Lord Portsmouth was thus capable of improvement, and no doubt all possible pains were taken to enable him to fill with propriety the high station, to which he was born. He was sent abroad, and travelled for some time in foreign countries. He was evidently not considered by his father and his family as an idiot incapable of any instruction. The recovery of the estates which he suffered in conjunction with his father, in 1790, was a proof that he was not considered an idiot, though it was no great proof that he did not labour under considerable weakness of mind. After the death of his father, in 1797, the earl remained under the care of his mother, a very clever woman, though he was then thirty years of age. In 1799 he married the honourable Miss Norton. Looking at all the circumstances of that marriage,—the earl thirty-two years of age, Miss Norton forty-seven;—looking at the settlement then made, which placed the earl's property in the hands of trustees, and deprived him of any control,—it was hardly possible not to consider this as a family arrangement, in order to protect the earl, and prevent his forming any improper connexion. The Court was not called upon to express any opinion regarding that marriage. The alleged unsoundness of mind might not have grown up at that time so far as to render that marriage invalid. Under the maternal care of a wife, nearly fifty years of

age,—a kind, discreet, and prudent lady—lord Portsmouth acquired the habit of conducting himself in society in the manner spoken to by some of the witnesses. His property was in the hands of trustees; they might be considered as the committee of his estate. His domestic concerns were under the management of his wife; she might be regarded as the committee of his person. In 1802 the earl received a letter of a most infamous kind, and it was judged necessary to prosecute the writer. But the evidence of the earl before a court of justice, in this matter, was no proof of any extraordinary capacity even at that early period. The facts were simple, requiring little more than a mere exertion of the memory to detail. But, even on this occasion, in 1802, it excited a degree of surprise, and became a topic of conversation, that the earl got through it so well; so that a suspicion of the mental capacity of the noble lord was then matter of public notoriety. Yet this was, perhaps, the strongest fact in the case in support of the earl's capacity; for, as to his behaviour at parties, his observations on the weather, on horses, and on farming,—his attending public meetings and county balls,—all this was not inconsistent with great imbecility of mind. Still less would it negative mental delusion, and irregular fancies and practices, when the earl was freed from observation and constraint, just as the behaviour of a child in the presence of company was different from his conduct when unrestricted and amongst his play-fellows, more especially when a superintendent was present to manage him, and keep him within bounds by a nod or a look. Under

these considerations, the great mass of evidence relating to the conduct of lord Portsmouth in ordinary society was entitled to little weight ; it rather seemed to prove an insane character, the more perfectly he conducted himself in public compared with his eccentricities in private ; for if his conduct in company was so regulated, and he broke out when left to himself, the inference was, that his strange fancies were owing to derangement rather than weakness of mind. Lord Portsmouth knew he was a peer, and knew the rights and duties which belonged to that high station ; yet he was either so deranged in mind, or so wholly ignorant of what was due to his rank, as to pursue the most degrading employments and amusements. The learned Judge here shortly adverted to various circumstances in the earl's conduct, shewing that he laboured under mental delusion. In 1808, whether lord Portsmouth, from giving a loose to his strange fancies, became less manageable, or whether lady Portsmouth, from her advanced age, became unequal to the task, Mr. Coombe was called in, and he gained an ascendancy over the earl by quarrelling with him and threatening to demand satisfaction as a gentleman. This timidity, as before observed, was a feature in the earl's character, and it usually marked or accompanied unsoundness of mind, whether weakness, or insanity, or both. Thus, a threat to tell Mr. Hanson influenced the earl ; which showed that his ascendancy over lord Portsmouth was pretty fully established. After the death of lady Portsmouth, the trustees thought it prudent to send the earl to Hurstbourne under the care of Mr.

Coombe. There marriage became one of the subjects on which his disorder showed itself ; though he did not mention the name of Miss Hanson as the person he wished to marry. On the 28th of February, 1814, Mr. Coombe brought him to town, and delivered him into the hands of his trustees, of whom Mr. Hanson was one ; and, on that day week, he was married to Miss Hanson. Mr. Hanson, as the confidential solicitor of the family, and as one of the trustees, had great ascendancy over lord Portsmouth, and owed him every possible degree of protection. It was unnecessary to state the construction of law in a transaction between parties so related, or to enter into the details of the marriage ; it was capable of only one construction. Every part of it was the act of Hanson ; lord Portsmouth was a mere instrument in his hands. The settlement was begun to be drawn up forty-eight hours after lord Portsmouth's arrival ; the contents of the deed, and the mode of preparing it, were not without their effect, any more than the concealment of it from the earl's friends, and Mr. Hanson's co-trustees. The necessary forms of marriage were gone through, but not a single witness had been produced to show that lord Portsmouth understood what he was doing, or that his assent was free and unbiassed, or that he discovered no symptom inconsistent with soundness of mind. Every circumstance showed, that he was a mere puppet in the hands of the Hanson family, and that the marriage was brought about by a conspiracy (for there was hardly any other name to give it) amongst that family to circumvent lord Portsmouth, over whom



they had a complete control, so as to destroy his free agency. A marriage so solemnized, wanted the essential ingredient to render the contract valid. There was no circumstance to show sanity of mind: the whole manifested folly. Mr. Hanson showed in all his conduct that he and his family considered lord Portsmouth of unsound mind; and lord Portsmouth, in his submission and non-resistance, confirmed his own incompetency. Even if no actual unsoundness of mind or insane derangement existed, but only great weakness,—and all the witnesses admitted that there was a great weakness of mind in lord Portsmouth,—yet, considering the placidness and timidity of the earl on the one hand, and the influence of Mr. Hanson on the other, as well as the clandestine nature of the proceeding, and other marks of fraud, the Court was by no means prepared to hold that such a marriage would be valid. But, in the opinion of the learned Judge, the earl's mind was unsound, and he had been circumvented by fraud. As this was the great point which the Court had to determine, it was not necessary to pursue the history of lord Portsmouth farther; and the Court was glad to be relieved from the obligation of going into the disgusting details of the treatment of this unfortunate nobleman,—a forbearance not a little advantageous to the other party. Yet the subsequent treatment tended to confirm the statement of the prior condition of the earl's mind. No change was suggested; it was no temporary malady; he was the same man after as before the marriage. On the whole, the Court pronounced the marriage between Lord Portsmouth and Mary Ann

Hanson to be null and void, he not being of sufficiently sound mind to enter into such a contract, which had been brought about by fraud and circumvention; and pronouncing the latter opinion as part of the sentence, the Court was bound in duty not to shrink from condemning Mary Ann Hanson in the costs of the suit.

13. EXECUTION.—This morning the sentence of the law was carried into execution, opposite the debtor's door, Newgate, on John Baker, aged 48; Hambury Price, aged 28; John Brown, aged 35; John Roberts, aged 22, and Russel Brown, aged 18.

The conduct of the lad Russel Brown was very penitent: he was overwhelmed with grief, and frequently cried out, "Oh, my poor father and mother, your hearts will be broken!" Baker, on entering, exclaimed aloud, looking wildly round him, "I am a murdered man, I am brought down to the halter like a bullock, and tied down in this dreadful slaughter-house." Both the rev. gentlemen present having implored him to be composed, the wretched man was, in some degree soothed, and shook hands with Mr. Wontner, and said, "Oh! Mr. Wontner, I thought you would have prevented me from coming to this. Oh, my wife and children!" Both Roberts, and John Brown, during the time they were being pinioned, frequently exclaimed, "I am a murdered man, I am a victim." Price was the last brought in; he looked wildly around him, and cried out, "Oh God! this is too bad to be sacrificed in this manner, but vengeance will come upon the heads of my murderers!"

Every preparation being completed, the first four were led to

the foot of the gallows; during which time Price, whose crime was high treason (coining), was placed on a hurdle, and drawn to the spot where his companions were.

Russel Brown first ascended the platform, and was placed under the fatal beam; Roberts followed, and called out to the immense mob beneath, "My master lives in Woburn-place, Russell-square; I am a murdered man; I did not commit the robbery." John Brown next ascended, in doing which, he holloed out as loud as he could to the mob—"Here, my lads, here's another murdered man for you!" Baker next went up the ladder, and on reaching the platform, also cried out—"Murder, murder!" Price was the last—he suffered the executioner to place the rope round his neck, but made some objection to the cap being drawn close over his face, which, however, was done, and the drop fell.

14. JOINT STOCK COMPANIES.—VICE-CHANCELLOR'S COURT.—*The British Mining Company, v. Sir Felix Agar and others.*—The plaintiffs, who were shareholders in the Royal Stannary and British Mining Company, filed a bill against the directors, to compel a restitution of the money advanced by the plaintiffs on the shares. The ground on which the bill proceeded was, that the formation of the company, and its management as to the shareholders, had been from the beginning to the end, fraudulent. It was set forth in the prospectus, that there were 10,000 shares, when, in fact, there were little more than 6,000 subscribed for; and that the defendants, instead of applying even this limited capital to the purpose for which it was subscribed, or working mines, expended a large portion

of it in buying up shares in the market for the purpose of keeping up their price. To this bill, the defendants put in a demurrer, on the ground of want of parties, the plaintiffs not having all the shareholders brought before the court. The defendants argued that this was a partnership. Being a partnership, all the other partners ought to be parties to the suit. The plaintiffs said, they did not know them. But why did they not file a bill of discovery? Six or seven individuals out of a thousand could not be permitted to come and take measures in the absence of the others, which measures might destroy the partnership, and materially injure the interests of those others. It was the great principle of a court of equity to have before it all the parties to a measure, and at once and for ever to settle all their rights, so as to put a stop to future litigation. In this instance, if the one thousand other shareholders were brought before the Court, the necessity of perhaps a thousand suits at law would be saved to them and the directors, by their rights being settled at once.

The Vice Chancellor gave judgment against the demurrer. To compel the plaintiffs to bring forward all the parties, would amount to a denial of justice.

ACCIDENT.—Early in the morning a woman, who carried something beneath a cloak, requested a coachman, in the neighbourhood of Salt Hill, to take her to town. As she was mounting, the cloak accidentally fell aside, and the coachman discovered that what was under it was the mangled corpse of a child. The woman was immediately given in charge to the servants at the Castle Inn; and the facts being communicated at Bow-street,

a Bow-street officer was sent down, who arrived whilst the coroner was inquiring into the circumstance. After nearly five hours' investigation of all the facts before the coroner, it was satisfactorily proved before him, that the woman was on her way to Newbury to see her mother there, and was seated in front of a common road-waggon, where she was much confined for room; and, whilst the child was sucking, it fell from the mother's arms between the thriller horse and the waggon. The circumstance of the mother not informing the coachman that the dead child was under the cloak was explained by her having solicited two other coachmen to take her back to London, to whom she explained her distressed state; and as they had refused, she was fearful that the third coachman would do the same, if he had been made acquainted with the circumstance. At the place where the accident was said to have occurred, a respectable person saw the woman in great distress; and her statement being almost wholly corroborated by witnesses, the jury returned a verdict of "Accidental death," with a deodand of 40s. on the horses. The child was in a very mutilated state, arising from the tread of the horses, which had fractured and separated its skull. The father appeared after the verdict was delivered, and made a statement confirmatory of the former evidence.—*Bucks Chronicle*.

15. FIRE IN A STEAM PACKET.—Between eleven and twelve o'clock at night the Clydesdale steam-packet took fire, while crossing the channel from Glasgow for Belfast, about an hour and a half's sailing from Corssewal Point. The master immediately

ran the vessel for the Light-house, where they providentially arrived between one and two o'clock in the morning, and succeeded in landing the whole of the passengers on the rocks in safety, to the number of between sixty and seventy. The first occasion of alarm was from a peculiar smell circulating through the vessel, on examining into which the fire was immediately discovered aft the funnel. Notwithstanding every exertion both by the crew and passengers, with the fire-pipe and boat's buckets, the fire made rapid progress towards the stern of the vessel, which rendered the steersman's situation very precarious; he, however, remained at the wheel, notwithstanding his danger. A considerable time before the packet reached the shore, the engineer and firemen were driven from the engine-house, by the violence of the fire; the engine was left by them playing, and most providentially it continued to play till the vessel reached the shore.

FIRE.—On the night of the 15th, a destructive fire broke out in Manchester, in the premises of Messrs. Peel, Williams, and Peel, the Soho Foundry, in Pollard-street, Ancoats. By the time the fire-engines arrived,—three quarters of an hour after the alarm,—the flames had spread to so great an extent, that no effort could stop their progress in the main building. The building, which was three stories high and twelve yards wide, formed nearly a square, and, the room, in which the fire was first observed, being situated near one corner, the fire extended on two sides at the same time, and before half-past eleven, the two sides, which met at that corner, were in a blaze. By half-past twelve,

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the roof, the building, and the floors had all fallen in, and the remnants blazed in one indiscriminate mass. The total amount of the damage was estimated at 20,000*l*.

#### 17. DISCOVERY OF MURDER.—

On the 4th August, 1823, Martin Cracklin, 70 years old, was at the Bell Inn, Haverhill, Suffolk, where a benefit club was held, the members of which collected 2*s*. 6*d*. and gave to M. Cracklin, who was waiting in the taproom for that purpose, about seven o'clock in the evening. He then went home, when a quarrel began between him, his wife, daughter, and one of his sons, who beat him, and cut his face by throwing a basin at him. He left his house about nine o'clock in the evening, and was seen going in the direction to one of the fields where he used to keep cows. His body was found next day in the mud, at the mouth of a pond in the field, with the face downward. A coroner's inquest was held on the body, but no evidence was produced to prove how he came by his death, there not being any water at the place where the body was found. A verdict of found drowned was recorded, but hastened, as it was supposed, by the ill conduct of the wife and daughter of the deceased, who were very severely admonished by the coroner. So the matter rested till 1828; when a soldier of the Royal African corps, named John Walpole, was sent home in confinement from Sierra Leone, having there acknowledged himself the murderer of Cracklin. He had seen Cracklin get the money at the Inn; watched him; saw him go into the fields; followed him, and gave him a blow on the head with a large stick, which knocked him down; and, as he did not get

up again, Walpole put the body in the mud, where it was found next day. Walpole then left Haverhill, and enlisted into the 16th Regiment of Foot. He afterwards volunteered into the Royal African Corps, and was sent to Sierra Leone; where, urged merely by remorse, he made this confession, and was sent home by the authorities of that colony.

#### 20. EXPLOSION OF FIRE-DAMP.

—On the afternoon of the 20th, an explosion of fire-damp took place in the Flint colliery, near the town of Flint, by which nine persons were killed on the spot, and eleven others injured more or less severely. The explosion took place during the dinner hour of the workmen, between twelve and one o'clock. There was no direct evidence of the cause of it, and the jury found a verdict accordingly; but it was conjectured that it originated from the incautious use of naked lights by some of the persons who brought the men their dinner. The eleven men who escaped with life, composed part of a group of thirteen who had finished dinner, and come out of the mine to the bottom of the shaft to drink water. Two boys, who stood in the midst, escaped unhurt. The explosion commenced at the extreme end of the mine, instantaneously destroying those who remained there, and proceeded up the shaft, scorching and dashing about the men who stood at the bottom, and carrying away the machinery erected at the mouth of the shaft.

#### 23. SINGULAR RECONCILIATION.

—A curious scene was exhibited at Union Hall police office by a reconciliation between a female named Hamilton and her husband, who accused her of having "cri-

minal conversation" with a man named Jenkins, who also attended with the parties at the office for the purpose of making a public declaration of his innocence of the alleged accusation. Hamilton and his wife were a young couple; Jenkins was quite bald, and old enough to be the grandfather of the female. The husband, who had grief and woe depicted in his countenance, addressing the magistrate (M. Swabey, Esq.) said "Your Worship, I have every reason to believe this man (pointing to Jenkins) has been on the most intimate terms with my wife: indeed, a report of that nature has been spread all over the neighbourhood, and I am at present inclined to credit it. The man, however, declares that he is not guilty, and, as a proof of his innocence, has voluntarily come forward to make a solemn declaration to that effect: and I shall be satisfied, and my mind made easy, that my apprehensions are groundless, if Jenkins makes affidavit that he is innocent of seducing the "affections of my wife." He was followed by Jenkins, who said he was prepared to give every satisfaction to the husband of the woman whom he was unjustly accused of having seduced. The oath was then administered to him, he emphatically exclaiming, on kissing the book, "So help me God, I have sworn the truth!" Hamilton, on hearing the solemn declaration of his wife's innocence, eagerly caught her in his arms and, embracing her, exclaimed, "I am now a happy man."

27. KEEPING FEROCIOUS DOGS. —*Middlesex Sessions.* — Henry Warner was indicted for keeping two bull dogs in his possession, knowing them to be dangerous and ferocious animals. The case proved

was this:—Some months before the occurrence which gave birth to the prosecution the defendant took lodgings at the house of Mr. Peel, the prosecutor, whose wife kept a school for children. When bargaining about the lodgings, the defendant asked Mr. Peel, if he would have any objection to his keeping a bull bitch, which was with young, on the premises. Mr. Peel replied, that he certainly had a most decided objection, as he had two small children of his own, and his wife kept a school. The defendant then said that he would keep the bitch elsewhere, but he hoped Mr. Peel would not object to his keeping two puppies in the yard, as they were quite harmless, and he would keep them in a kennel. The prosecutor said if they were so young as they were described, they might be kept chained in a kennel in a shed which stood in the yard, provided the door was kept locked. Upon these conditions the defendant came to the lodgings, brought the puppies, but neglected to lock them up, as he had promised to do. One day, when the dogs were about seven or eight months old, Mrs. Peel was alarmed by the screams of her little boy, who was about four years of age, and, upon running to see what was the matter, she found both dogs furiously worrying the unfortunate child upon the stairs. They were lacerating it about the head and throat in a dreadful manner. Upon Mrs. Peel, who had her other child, only six months old, in her arms, running to the little sufferer's assistance, one of the dogs attacked her and knocked the baby out of her arms upon the floor. The dog smelled the baby all over, and turned it over with its nose upon

its face, but did not bite it. It then returned, and resumed its attack upon the other child, and the mother being unable to rescue it from the fangs of the ferocious animals, snatched up the baby, and ran for additional succour. At this moment a man named White, who was passing along the street, rushed in to save the child, and by pressing on the back of the dog which had hold of him, he succeeded in rescuing the child, upon which the dog seized him by the thigh, and bit him severely. He drew the dog out, however, into the street, where it was killed. The poor child was all over blood, and on examination was found to have received one and twenty wounds in the face, head, throat, &c. Mrs. Peel immediately insisted on having the other dog killed also: but the defendant, exclaiming, "O, my poor dog," snatched it up in his arms, and attempted to walk off with it. Mrs. Peel, however, seized him, and demanded that the dog should be destroyed. The defendant told her he would give her a guinea and pay all expenses, if she would not require the dog to be killed; and, upon her declining the offer, he disengaged himself from her hold, and ran away with the dog, but was pursued by a constable, and taken in the house of a friend. He had admitted to the prosecutor, that he kept these dogs for fighting. The jury found the defendant *Guilty*; and he was sentenced to pay a fine of £35.

28. **ANTIQUITIES.**—As some workmen were employed in making an excavation to enlarge the vaults of a wine-merchant, in Gloucester, they discovered, about seven feet below the surface of the earth, a curious Roman tessellated pave-

ment, in a perfect state of preservation, running in a direction from north to south. The colours were white and bluish grey: the tesserae were about one inch in length, and three quarters of an inch in breadth. The cement on which the pavement was laid, was several inches in thickness, and appeared to be composed of sand, pounded brick, and lime, forming together a very hard substance. The white tesserae were of a hard calcareous stone, and bore a good polish; the gray were of a hard argillaceous kind of stone, found in many parts of Gloucestershire, and called blue lyas. Tessellated pavements have at different times been discovered in four quarters of this city, indicating the site of the ancient *Glevum*.—*Gloucester Journal*.

**QUACKS.**—An inquest was held on the body of Richard Bridgman, an infant aged three-months, whose death was occasioned by the parents administering to it a certain medicine called *diacordium*, furnished by a man named Nicholson, who is in the habit of selling it to individuals for complaints of the bowels.

James Bridgman, the father, stated, that, on Saturday and Sunday last, the babe being unwell in the bowels, he was recommended to go to a man named Nicholson, and to purchase of him some medicine for the child; he went there accordingly, and bought two-penny-worth of the stuff, which was given him by Nicholson. The quantity filled a small phial, and witness asked him, what was a sufficient quantity for a child three months old; Nicholson replied, three tea-spoonfuls, which was the fourth part of the contents of the phial: on Sunday night, between eight and nine o'clock, his wife

gave the deceased three tea-spoonfuls of the medicine, and then put it to bed; about three o'clock in the morning, however, the child was taken with convulsions; and, notwithstanding medical attendance, he expired a few hours afterwards.

Thomas Nicholson stated, that he was a green-grocer. Mr. Bridgman called on him on Sunday last, and requested to be supplied with two-pence worth of the stuff which he was in the habit of selling to persons as a medicine. Witness furnished him with a small phial full, and received two-pence in payment. He had been in the habit of selling the medicine for complaints of the bowels, for the last five years; on witness taking the house he at present occupies, he found a quantity of bottles in the shop window, which contained the medicine, and was informed that every person who had resided there for the last twenty years, had retailed it to the public. He had no receipt for the medicine, as he bought it ready prepared. He was not aware that it was a strong poison, and highly injurious to the human frame. He had frequently sold 4*d.* worth of it to adults, without any bad effects resulting. He sold it in a small measure, and generally recommended two or three tea-spoonfuls to a child of three or four months old. Different medical men, among whom were those from whom he purchased the medicine, deposed, that the quantity, which he had administered, was ten times too much for such a child, and quite sufficient to cause death.

The following verdict was then returned.—“That the deceased child died in consequence of having had administered to it incautiously

an over-dose of medicine, called diacordium, sold as a substitute for Godfrey's Cordial, by a man named Nicholson, he being ignorant of its properties.”

29. LIBEL.—COMMON PLEAS.—

*Archbishop of Tuam v. Robeson, and another.*—The defendants were the printer and publisher of the Morning Herald newspaper. The libel was contained in a paragraph, which said of the Archbishop of Tuam, that he had offered a Catholic priest 1000*l.* in cash, and a living of 800*l.* a year to become a Protestant. The defence was in a singular strain. Serjeant Taddy argued it was no libel, because the Archbishop was not only warranted in making such offers, but it was, in fact, a part of his duty to do so. It was enacted by the 8th of Anne, that any Irish Catholic priest who should become a convert to the Protestant faith, should receive a pension of 20*l.* a year until a benefice could be procured for him. By a statute of Geo. II. that stipend was increased to 30*l.* a year; and again, by a statute of Geo. III. it was increased to 40*l.* a year. (To an inquiry from the Lord Chief Justice, the learned serjeant admitted that these were all Irish statutes.) The publication, so far from imputing improper or corrupt motives to the noble plaintiff, attributed to him nothing more than an over anxious or indiscreet zeal in the great work of Protestant reformation,—a work in which he, from his high and distinguished situation, as second prelate in the western isle, must naturally feel a deep interest.

The Lord Chief Justice, in summing up, said that the statutes alluded to by his learned brother would be of no advantage in this cause, for by them the Irish legis-

lature had only granted a provision to those, who, from an honest conviction of the errors of the Romish church, had voluntarily embraced the purer doctrines of the Protestant faith.

The jury returned a verdict for the plaintiff.—Damages 50*l*.

**THEATRICAL MUSIC.**—*Nathan v. Price.*—The plaintiff in this case was a celebrated musical composer, and the object of the action was to recover a compensation from the defendant, the patentee of Drury-lane Theatre, for certain musical compositions which the plaintiff had furnished in the opera of "*The Illustrious Stranger.*" It was proved that instructions had been given by the defendant to the plaintiff, to compose the music, that he had accordingly done so, and that it had been performed with great success for many nights.

Messrs. Bishop and Smith, composers of music, said, that a fair remuneration to the plaintiff for such music, would not be less than from 200*l*. to 300*l*., exclusive of the sale of the copyright.

For the defendant, it was contended, that it was not usual for the patentees of the large theatres to pay any thing to composers for the music furnished by them, when they reserved to themselves the sale of the copyright. The performance of their music at the theatres was of infinite advantage to them, inasmuch as that it gave a popularity to their pieces, which could not otherwise be obtained.

In support of this case, Mr. Kenny, the author of *Paul Pry*, *The Illustrious Stranger*, and several other dramatic works, was called, and his evidence, with that of Mr. T. P. Cooke, fully bore out the statement, that no com-

pensation was made by the proprietors of the larger theatres, where the sale of the copyright was reserved to the composer.

Upon the strength of this evidence, the jury, after some hesitation, found for the defendant.

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## JUNE.

**MUTINY AND MURDER.**—The *Thetis*, a brig of 250 tons, Captain John Bailie, left the harbour of Bristol for Sierra Leone, on the 7th of February last, and arrived there on the 8th of April. In consequence of sickness, eight of the crew (which consisted of twelve hands), were left in Africa, and four Portuguese were taken on board. On the 2nd of June, the *Thetis* sailed thence for Cork. On the night of the 31st of July, the vessel being then in 34. 20. north lat., 40. 11. west long., the captain retired to bed at ten o'clock, which was his usual custom. At half-past ten he was awoken by three loud knocks on the deck, and, having jumped out of bed, was proceeding to go above, when, at the cabin door, he found one of the Portuguese, named Francis Domingo, with an axe and a knife in his hands. Captain Bailie approaching him, he aimed a blow at his head with the axe, which the captain avoided, whereupon the fellow plunged the knife into captain Bailie's arm. The captain, however, wrested the axe from him, and he retreated quickly. At this moment one of the English sailors, named Francis Smith, came running down, with his throat frightfully lacerated, and his right shoulder cut by a knife. Three of the English portion of the crew were now below, the fourth, named



Matthews, not having come to the cabin. The mutineers in a moment fastened the companion down, and thereby prevented those in the cabin from getting on deck, and they were kept in this state until day-break. In the mean time captain Bailie wrote a letter which he sealed up in a bottle, and threw it overboard, through the cabin window. At three in the morning a light was struck on deck by the mutineers, the boats were lowered from the vessel, and every portable article, which she contained, was placed in them. They then set fire to the vessel, and continued by her until three o'clock in the afternoon, when captain Bailie observed them to go astern. He and his two comrades then succeeded in releasing themselves from their perilous state, and having got on deck, they found the ship in flames from the fore part to the mainmast, and saw a large quantity of blood, which they concluded was that of Matthews. After a fruitless effort to extinguish the fire, they constructed a small raft, and committed themselves to Providence. The sea was almost unruffled by a breeze, and, the fire having extended to every part of the vessel, she soon went down. Captain Bailie then contrived to steer his little raft northwards for three days and nights, and, on the fourth day, he and his companions—having subsisted upon five pound of bread,—they had no fresh water,—were picked up by a vessel bound for Liverpool, in lat. 35. 35. N. long. 41. W.

4. OLD BAILEY SESSIONS.—At the close of these Sessions, sentence of death was pronounced on two prisoners for forcibly entering the dwelling house; one for running uncustomed goods; two for stealing in the dwelling house;

five for robbery; one for theft; one for horse-stealing; one for uttering forged notes; and two for other felonies:—in all fifteen. Five were sentenced to transportation for life; twenty-three for fourteen years; seventy-eight for seven years; two prisoners were ordered to be imprisoned for two years; seven for one year, three of whom were to be whipped in gaol; sixteen were sentenced to be kept at hard labour in the House of Correction for six months.

SHIPWRECK.—The *Active*, a whaler belonging to Peterhead, got, on the 15th of May, the only fish which was killed at Greenland; and after persevering till the 25th of that month, without a prospect of improvement, she bore away for Davis's Straits, taking her passage on the east side of Iceland. The weather was easy until the 4th of June, when (the North Cape then bearing N. by W. distant four miles), it came to blow a heavy gale from E. N. E., at which time the vessel was brought up with both anchors, which she dragged, so that the crew left her for their preservation. Next day, the weather having moderated, they returned: but soon after they had gone on board, the gale came on again, increasing and continuing with redoubled violence. No hope of safety now remained to the crew but that of gaining the shore; but in leaving the ship one of the boats was swamped by a heavy sea, when eight seamen were drowned. The ship in the mean time drove ashore, and soon became a complete wreck. The remaining part of the crew reached the land; and after travelling a considerable distance, found a Danish vessel, which, for the sum of 100*l.* sterling, landed them

on Shetland, whence they were brought to Fraserburgh in one of his majesty's cutters.

5. CRUELTY TO PARENTS.—**GUILDHALL**—A mild and delicate-looking young female, not quite eighteen years of age, named *Jane Taylor*, was brought to the office under a warrant, charged with a series of assaults, of a very violent nature, chiefly on her own mother, Mrs. Taylor, who is a respectable widow, keeping a shop in Oxford Street.

The young lady had been tenderly brought up, and had, at a considerable expense, received her education at one of the most respectable boarding schools in the neighbourhood of the metropolis; but, notwithstanding all this care, it appeared, that, on the slightest remonstrance or opposition to her will, she thumped and knocked her venerable parent about the house, utterly regardless as to what instrument, whether fist or poker, she used; sometimes leaving the unhappy lady black and blue from her violence. She occasionally chose to lock her mother not only out of her bed-room, but sometimes out of the house altogether, to get a bed where she could.

A Mr. Jones and his wife, lodgers in the house, stated that it made their hearts bleed to witness the sufferings of Mrs. Taylor, from the desperate beatings of her daughter; and it was as much as their own lives were worth to interfere for her protection. It was only the day before that they did venture to interfere, and the consequence was, that Mrs. Jones was beaten until she was all the colours of the rainbow; and Mr. Jones escaped having his head smashed with the poker, by locking himself in a room, where Miss Jane stood

sentinel over him for two hours, daring him to come out and have his skull fractured. During the whole of the proceeding before the magistrate the young vixen, although witnessing the agonized state of her mother's feelings, listened to the detail of her exploits with the most unmoved indifference and taciturnity. The magistrate repeatedly asked her, if she had no sense of shame or sorrow belonging to her, or no regret to express for the past, or promise to give for the future: but nothing could extract a syllable from her, and, from the beginning to the end, she stood as mute as she was mischievous.

The magistrate, Mr. Conant, finding it vain to think of correcting her by fair means, committed her to prison for want of bail; and directions were given that she should be kept in a solitary cell, and suffered to have no communication with any other prisoner, and that she should have plenty of bread and water, while she remained there. The magistrate, seeing that she appeared to have a very great attachment to a beautifully-curled head of hair, the arrangement of which seemed to occupy all her thoughts, told her, that most probably the prison regulations would require the disincumbering her head, by shearing off all her hair, and clapping on in its stead an ornament, called a prison cap: on this communication alone it was, that she evinced the slightest emotion.

5. EFFECTS OF LIGHTNING.—About one o'clock in the forenoon, a heavy thunder storm broke over Broadstairs. The cottage of Braeside, belonging to a Mr. Smart, a little to the north of the town, was struck by the lightning. Passing down one of the chimnies,

it first burst into an upper bedroom, split the timbers of a partition into splinters, forcing the boarding inside and out in all directions. A servant's trunk, hat-boxes, tables, dressing-glass and the window-glass, were blown to pieces. In Mrs. Smart's bedroom, the chimney-piece and dressing-glass, with some China ornaments and glass, were scattered about the room; several squares of glass in the sashes were blown out in the drawing-room below. Mrs. Smart was sitting at work near the fireplace without fire: she went to shut the window, as the hail-stones were driving in, and was struck blind and senseless, and all but suffocated, by a thick sulphurous smoke. She screamed, but the servant in the kitchen had likewise been knocked down, and some minutes elapsed before she could get up to assist Mrs. Smart. She found her mistress with her hands lifted up, her mouth wide open, her eyes much swelled, and unable to move or speak. She was so far recovered the next day as to be able to write. At first she remembered nothing, and apprehensions were entertained that derangement had taken place. The rooms from the top to the bottom, on the south side of the house, were filled with a strong sulphurous smell. Some of the windows in every room, where the lightning entered, were broken, and the glass forced inward; as if the electric fluid had formed a vacuum inside, and the pressure of the atmospheric air had burst in the glass. The effects of the lightning on the glass and picture-frames, were singular. All the picture and glass frames, that were struck, were more or less bronzed; two of them were beautifully mixed.

The sulphur from the electric fluid, incorporated with the gilding, exhibited a specimen of bronzing that would baffle artists to imitate; and the mirror in front of the chimney-piece, where the lightning burst into the drawing-room behind it, was not injured in the glass, although coated with tin foil, and the gilding in front was completely incorporated with sulphur. A rigged model of a sixty-gun ship, had the quarter-deck blown up, and the paper scorched with a deep carmine red, beautifully expanded, like rays of the sun.

6. SUICIDE.—An inquisition was held on the body of Jane Evans, aged 35, who poisoned herself, it was supposed, from jealousy.

Henry Rose, waiter at the Jews' Harp Tavern, stated, that on Tuesday night last a concert and ball were held at the house of his master, and, at about 11 o'clock, the deceased called there in a state of great agitation, and insisted on being admitted into the ball-room, saying that she saw her husband sitting near the window with a female. She was admitted, but her husband was not there, and she quitted the place to look after him. The husband had not been in the ball-room in the course of the evening with any female. He had brought in a lady, and treated her to a glass of rum and shrub; they drank at the bar; it was then eleven o'clock. At twelve o'clock he returned again with the same female, and they had another glass of rum and shrub. When they were leaving the house, they were met by the deceased, who became violent. She afterwards went home with her husband, and the female, who had been in company with the husband, ran away:

William Evans, the deceased's son, fourteen years of age, stated, that his father remained from home during the whole of Tuesday evening. On Thursday week his mother sent him to purchase an ounce of stuff to clean boot-tops with: he purchased it at Mr. Penlington's, and gave 6*d.* for it. The words "Deadly poison" were written upon the paper. On Wednesday morning his father informed him of his mother's death.

Benjamin Evans, the husband, stated, that, on Tuesday evening he was walking near the Jew's Harp Tavern, when he met a female walking in the same direction as himself, and entered into conversation with her, and eventually treated her at the above tavern. They were met by the deceased, whom he endeavoured to appease, and they afterwards proceeded home together: he went to bed, but she refused to do so, and remained up until about two o'clock, when he was awake from his sleep by the jingling of a spoon and glass, which proceeded from the deceased mixing something in a tumbler. He desired her to go to bed, and he fell asleep again, but was shortly afterwards awake by her struggling and vomiting on the bed. He rendered her every assistance, but she soon after expired.

A surgeon stated that oxalic acid had caused the deceased's death.

The Jury returned a verdict—"That the deceased committed the act herself, being at the time in a state of mental derangement."

**FRENCH LEGAL ETIQUETTE.**—At the assizes for the Lower Pyrenees, two persons were tried on a charge of murder. At the close of the first day's proceedings,

when the judges, bar, &c. quitted the court, an altercation arose between the huissiers (a kind of constables or door-keepers) and the gendarmes, as to which of them should manacle the prisoners, and conduct them back to prison. The gendarmes insisted that it was the duty of the huissiers, and, to prove their assertion, they marched away. The huissiers, equally positive of the contrary, followed their example, quitted the court, and left the prisoners alone and unguarded. The prisoners, though their lives were still in jeopardy, and the crowds in the streets (it being market-day) offered them every facility for escape, very calmly walked back to prison, and presented themselves to the gaoler. Here another difficulty arose; the gaoler refused to receive them without being legally authorized by a huissier, and for a considerable time these two men, under a charge affecting their lives, remained soliciting, as a favour, a re-admission to their dungeons. This circumstance was of good service to the prisoners; the evidence against them being slight, they were unanimously acquitted.

**14. FATAL FIRE.**—About one o'clock in the morning a fire broke out in a house in Red-Lion Street, Holborn, one part of which was occupied by a Mr. Harrison, a fringe-maker, and the other, as a shop, by a Mrs. Tingle, a milliner, who, with her husband and children, lived in the floor above. In a few minutes, the whole building was blazing. In a short time the adjoining house, belonging to Mr. Thurling, a butcher, took fire, and burned as violently as the house where the conflagration commenced. The house on the other side of Mr. Harrison's, inhabited by Mr.

Jerman, next fell a prey to the flames; and the three houses, which were of a very spacious description, were all on fire at one time. The firemen were obliged to play upon the houses on the opposite side of the street, in which several of the windows were already broken by the excessive heat. The fire, after having consumed the whole of the interior of Mr. Jerman's house, communicated to a fourth, but there its progress was arrested, after having consumed a portion of the back part of those premises. The back parts of the houses were so situated, that it was impossible for the engines to approach them so as to play with any effect. The whole of the interior of the houses of Mr. Harrison, Mr. Thurling, and Mr. Webb, were consumed. At first it was believed that all the inmates had escaped: and it was not till four and twenty hours after the fire had been gotten under, that doubts began to be entertained about the fate of Mrs. Tingle, her husband, and five children, who slept in the second floor of the house in which the fire had originated. During the fire, several persons had concurred in saying that this family had driven off in a hackney coach; and the firemen, receiving no intimation that any person was still in danger, directed all their efforts to extinguish the flames. But on Monday nothing being heard of them, and no person being found who had seen them after the alarm was given, the ruins were dug up, and the mutilated remains of all the seven, father, mother, and children, were found. They seemed to have been burned in their beds. Mrs. Harrison, who occupied the other part of the house, and whose lodgers

they were, when making her own escape, had heard a voice, which she mistook for Mr. Tingle's, call out, "come along;" and she had then assured every body that her lodgers were safe, and no effort was made to rescue them. The Coroner's Jury on the bodies found as follows:—"That the deceased persons met their deaths in consequence of a fire which commenced in Mr. Harrison's shop, but how that fire originated did not appear. The Jury cannot help expressing their deep regret at the conduct of Mrs. Harrison in not giving any intimation of the deceased persons being in the house when the fire commenced, as it clearly appeared in evidence that they might have been saved if such notice had been given."

**15. DEATHS BY LIGHTNING.**—About eleven o'clock in the forenoon of Sunday, (15) a number of persons of the labouring classes were assembled in the churchyard of Ongar, waiting the commencement of divine service. A thunder-storm was passing, and a flash of lightning struck among them, knocking down two young men. One of them was found to be instantly dead. The other was slightly convulsed: he moved his mouth and arms, but in a few seconds he also ceased to breathe.

**FALL OF A CHURCH.**—On Sunday the 15th the Rev. Edward Irving was to preach in the church of Kirkaldy, a small town on the coast of Fife, in Scotland. His celebrity attracted a crowd, which was the greater from its being the communion sabbath in the parish. Both the body of the church, and the galleries, were crowded to suffocation; when, a few minutes before the clergyman was to enter

the pulpit, the joists, which supported the flooring of the gallery on one side, gave way; and part of the gallery, and the persons in it, sunk down, with a terrific crash, on those beneath. Those persons who were in the gallery that fell, escaped generally with bruises and contusions, more or less severe. But as soon as the crush took place, the people in the other parts of the galleries, as well as those below, crowded in wild consternation to the door, and a scene almost of butchery took place in the staircases and vestibules, the weaker being trampled to death by the convulsive efforts of the stronger. Twenty-eight lives were lost altogether; three of them young daughters of one widowed mother, who never again raised her head, and within a few weeks was buried beside them. Only two individuals were killed by the actual fall of the gallery. The part of the congregation below saved themselves by sinking down in their pews, the sides of which protected them from the falling beams. Besides the killed, however, about 150 persons were injured more or less considerably. The galleries swept round the building nearly in the segment of a circle, and were supported in front by wooden pillars, more ornamental than trust worthy. Upon these rested a beam, thirteen inches by eleven, against or slightly inserted into the walls. The accident was occasioned by the beam yielding a little at a particular point near the centre of the western gallery, when the joists slipped off it, and consequently out of the sockets in the wall behind, whereupon the entire portion came down, with the exception of the beam, and the front work attached to it. The church was calculated

to contain about eighteen hundred, but on this occasion the crowd within it could not be less than two thousand.

18. WATERLOO REGATTA.—In commemoration of the battle of Waterloo his Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral gave a very splendid regatta, on the Thames. For this purpose the lord mayor granted the use of the city navigation barge. Four of the city barges were brought up the river and stationed in the following order:—The lord mayor's on the right of the stern of the navigation barge, the Merchant Tailors' on the left, the Vintners' on the right of the head, and the Drapers' on the left; the men belonging to the different barges appeared in their various uniforms; the barges displayed their full complement of standards, and were under the direction of the lord mayor and captain Woolmer. The arrangements were the same as those adopted on similar occasions at Venice. The Navigation barge was chosen for this occasion on account of its great size, being one hundred and forty-six feet long and nineteen feet wide on the deck, which was entirely covered with an awning: the royal standard was hoisted at the mast head, a union-jack at the bowsprit, and the City ensign at the stern; she was also completely dressed with her signal flags. At the stern of the vessel was a shallop from Woolwich, containing the Trinity band, and at the head was another boat, in which was the band of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards.

About half-past two o'clock the duke and duchess of Clarence, the duke of Sussex, the princess Augusta, the duchess of Gloucester, the princess Sophia Matilda, and

the duchess of Saxe Meiningen arrived, and were followed shortly after by prince Leopold.

The company continued arriving till about four o'clock, from Somerset-house stairs, where boats had been stationed for their conveyance, to the number of between four and five hundred, by command of his Royal Highness.

Soon after the duke arrived the regatta commenced. The candidates for the prizes started from Waterloo-bridge, rowed round a boat moored off the House of Commons, down the Middlesex shore, round a boat moored off Somerset-house, up through Waterloo-bridge, and again round the boat at the House of Commons; they then returned down the Middlesex shore round the boat off Somerset-house, and up through Waterloo-bridge, to a boat with a flag moored off Whitehall. The three first were scarlet, light blue, and pink. This heat ended at a quarter before four o'clock. The royal party then partook of a magnificent dejeuner in the state cabin, after which the second heat commenced.

**20. DESTRUCTIVE FIRE.**— Between three and four o'clock in the morning, a fire broke out in the house of Mr. Spurett, a baker in Battersea, which, before it could be got under, besides burning down the house in which it originated, had communicated to the adjacent houses on each side. Mr. Spurett, an old man, upwards of eighty years of age, and his daughter, a young woman of twenty-eight, perished. Their remains were dug out of the ruins in so mutilated a state, the arms, legs, and heads, being completely burned off, that they had to be carried to the work-house piecemeal in baskets.

### 23. ATTEMPT AT POISONING.—

An unknown woman, with an infant in her arms, asked a boy of the name of Thomson, whom she found playing in the street, to carry a cake for her to a Mr. Drummond's, who keeps a provision shop in the same neighbourhood. She gave him the cake, and a shilling for his trouble, and disappeared. Mrs. Drummond could not imagine whence the cake came; but she kept it, till the boy's mother, who thought it more likely that the cake had been given to her son for carrying the shilling, than the shilling for carrying the cake, brought and left the shilling, and got away the cake. On her way back to her house, she gave a small part of it to a little girl named Wellins, whom she met in the street; and on arriving at home, she divided the remainder amongst her own two children, and some other children living in the neighbourhood. Those to whom it was given also gave small portions to others; and nine persons in all partook of it. These persons shortly after eating the cake were all attacked by a burning sensation in the mouth and throat, which was very speedily followed by severe and continued vomiting. Owing to the great rapidity with which the symptoms developed themselves, several small portions of the cake remained uneaten, and were fortunately preserved. The mother immediately administered an emetic. Shortly afterwards two of the children were sent to the infirmary; and on the following morning another, and an old woman, who had likewise eaten of the cake, were also conveyed thither. Though the quantity eaten by each was very small, yet, as appeared on subsequent investigation, the quan-

tity of arsenic contained in each of those small portions was quite sufficient to produce death. The sufferers, however, all vomited so early and so copiously, that, with one exception, they got rid of the poisonous matter, and recovered. One little girl about four years of age, named Susannah Rigby, having eaten a larger quantity than the other children, grew gradually worse, and died about nine o'clock next morning. The contents of the child's stomach, as well as the portions of cake which had been preserved, were analyzed, and were found to contain a large quantity of arsenic. The blow was evidently aimed at Mr. Drummond, who had a family of five children; but he could point out no source of suspicion, and the woman who gave the cake could not be found.

25. SINGULAR MURDER.—A coroner's inquest was held at Cork on the bodies of six seamen, and a passenger, of the ship *Mary Russell*, who had all been murdered by her captain, Stewart. The witnesses gave the following account of this extraordinary case of murder and insanity.

Captain Cullender, the commander of the schooner *Mary Stubbs*, stated, that he fell in with the *Mary Russell* about three hundred miles off the coast of Ireland; she had a signal of distress flying; he hailed her, and for some time got no answer, but at last captain Stewart put his head out of the cabin window and desired the witness to come on board, as there was a mutiny on board, and he (captain Stewart) had killed seven of the men. On his going on board, Stewart led him into the cabin, where the witness saw the dead bodies of a passenger (captain Raynes) and six

seamen, which were in the same state then as when he found them. The witness asked, what was the cause of this, and Stewart said, that captain Raynes and one of the men had raised a mutiny, and had compelled him to break his instruments, and throw his charts overboard. He asked witness to take him home safe to his wife and family. He then asked the witness whether he was not a valiant little fellow to kill so many men. The witness put three of his own men on board the *Mary Russell* to take charge of her, and then returned to his own vessel, and kept company with the *Mary Russell* until his arrival in port. The mate of that ship, and a man named Howes, had been taken on board witness's ship wounded. Captain Stewart had jumped overboard twice before entering port. It was the opinion of this witness that captain Stewart was deranged.

William Smith, the mate, deposed, that he had been bound by the captain, and subsequently nearly killed; he succeeded, however, in making his escape. He stated many circumstances which left no doubt of the insanity of the captain. As he lay bound himself, he heard the groans and exclamations of the persons who were being murdered.

Daniel Scully, a boy of thirteen years of age, deposed that he belonged to the *Mary Russell*, this having been his first voyage in her to Barbadoes, where they arrived safe. About a week after leaving Barbadoes, captain Raynes, a passenger, went forward to the fore-castle and spoke Irish to Murley, who was his countryman, and did not understand English well. Captain Stewart told him not to go forward to speak Irish to the



people, or he would throw the charts and compasses overboard. The captain's countenance was changed from what it was when going out: he appeared thin and pale—the charts and log book and compasses were thrown overboard. All the people were on board and saw them, and they called out to know what was going on astern, and the captain made answer, "They are my charts, which I have thrown overboard." He got the harpoons, and the carpenter's and the cook's axes, all in the state room. On Thursday last, between eight and nine o'clock, they spoke an American vessel, and got some beef and pork, and compared reckonings; captain Stewart came on deck and asked for the mate Smith, who was down in the hold; the captain went there and called out "Are you there, Mr. Smith?" who answered, "Yes, sir." "'Tis well for you," said he, pointing the harpoon at him. He then went in his boat on board the other vessel, and got some beef and pork, after which he went into his cabin, and, after remaining there about an hour, came up with a pistol in his hand, and called out to the people to tie Smith. They refused to do so. The captain then called on captain Raynes to tie Smith in the name of George IV., but captain Raynes refused, on which Stewart said, "Very well, sir." Mr. Smith then made answer, "You need not ask a man to lash me, for a boy would do." Captain Stewart then called Swanson the second mate up, and he tied Smith, who made no resistance, and was led down to the cabin. Saw nothing whatever in the conduct of Smith that should induce the captain to tie him, as

he was always well conducted; saw Mr. Smith afterwards below, where he was tied hands and legs, and he asked witness for a drink of water, which he gave him without being hindered by the captain; there was an air-hole cut in the cabin by the carpenter, at the desire of the captain, to admit air to him. On Saturday last, about the middle of the day, the captain put his head up the companion, and desired Timothy Connell to come down, and called out to the people to haul up the fore-sail and stow it; Cramer the carpenter and Keating replied, they were not able to stow it themselves. He then asked captain Raynes to help them, who answered, "By all means," and went aloft, and assisted the men; after which captain Raynes walked the deck, and witness went down in the fore-castle to his dinner, where Howes and Murley were before him. When witness came up on deck, he saw Keating alongside of the companion, where he was tied to the staple, and the captain was on the cabin door watching him. The captain then called witness down into the cabin, and whispered him to watch whether Keating moved; and he then saw captain Raynes, Sullivan, Cramer, Swanson, and Connell on the ground, with their feet and hands lashed. Witness was very much surprised at seeing them tied, and the men did not appear out of humour; but Cramer said to Connell, "This is a hard case;" the latter did not reply, but shook his head. The captain then came up on deck, Howes followed him, and went aft, and in a short time returned. The captain asked him whether he would be tied or leave Murley to

tie him? Howes inquired what he had done to be tied? but witness did not hear the captain's answer. Murley was then ordered by the captain to tie Howes, and, when he came on deck, he tied Murley himself. Murley, Keating, and Howes were on deck, and the captain desired witness to watch, and not by any means to untie them. The captain then dragged Murley down to the cabin, and he did the same with Keating, who was crying; the captain had a case of pistols with him at the time. Witness was on the after-hatch, and a blanket round him, and the captain then called him down to the cabin, where he saw all the people tied one by one, on the flat of their backs: they appeared frightened; witness then remained about half an hour, during which time the captain was tying them more firmly than before, with the deep-sea lead line; they were complaining of being so tight, and all their hands were swelling out; the captain loosened them, for the blood was ready to burst through Connell's fingers; there were three rounds of cord about Murley's neck, and the froth was coming out of his mouth, on which the witness was about to put a handkerchief round his neck, but the captain would not let him. Connell begged to have his arms loosed, but the captain would not do so. Witness then slept with the other boy in the state room, and the captain watched, and, while the captain slept, they watched. All this time the ship was hove-to under reefed foresails, and the rudder down. About four o'clock on Sunday morning the boys were roused by the captain; the people were in the same state as

when he left them; they were all awake, lying down on their backs, and tied. The captain then overhauled them all, to see if they were tied; he then told them he would give them the long boat to go about their business, which they all agreed to but the mate, who was in the lazaretto, and said he would go home in the vessel. The captain said he would give them their allowance of meat, water, and a bag of bread and compass, and that he would loose one man only. The carpenter said that one man was not sufficient to get the long boat out, and the captain replied that he would trust no more than one man. The captain then came on deck with witness and Deaves, and the witness called out a sail! The captain asked where? witness replied, "On our lee quarter;" on which the captain replied, "'Twas Almighty God sent it to get rid of the people." While the ship was coming up, he went to Howes, whose arm was loosed, and he desired him to be tied, and to go under the after-hatch; but Howes refused, and said he would sooner lose his life than be tied in that way. He then sent the boys for harpoons, which they brought, and also the carpenter's axe and the cook's axe. He then primed his pistols and fired at Howes, who was only six feet from him. The ball grazed him; and he fired again, and the second ball hit Howes; on which the captain reloaded, and he made the boys go before, armed; witness had the grenes, and the other boys the harpoons; and the captain called out to go forward and fight, and, if they flinched, he would blow their brains out. This was on the half-

deck. Howes had a case before him, with which he protected himself, and the captain fired a third shot at him. The man snatched the harpoon or grenes from Deaves, and rushed on the captain, and pushed him down on a cask; a struggle ensuing, the captain lost one of his pistols in the hold, and he then seized Howes's finger with his mouth, and bit it; while the struggle was going on, Rickards ran up, got the cook's axe, and struck the man three blows with the sharp part of it on the head, which cut him; after which Howes made his escape into the hold, where he secreted himself. When Howes got away, the captain applauded Rickards for what he did, and said he would get one hundred guineas from Lloyd's, and that he (the captain) would get some thousands of pounds. What the boys did was from terror, as they were afraid of being murdered. Deaves began to cry, and begged of the captain not to kill the man, on which the captain scolded them, and said, why should they spare him—was he to be murdered? The ship, which was within half a mile of them, then sheered off, and the captain went into the cabin and called witness and Rickards, and said to the people, "The curse of God is on you all, there's the ship come to us twice;" and went away, and took up the crow-bar, which lay on the floor, and struck the second mate (Swanson) right on the point of the skull and knocked him senseless at once! They all cried out most piteously, "The Lord have mercy on our souls." He then killed Murley, Cramer, Sullivan, Keating, Connell, and captain Raynes, with the cook's axe. He went round them, and beat out

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their brains. While killing them, he only called out "You ruffians, you ruffians, you were going to take my life, but I'll take yours." He did not seem to be much in a passion, but the perspiration was falling off his face. He then took the crow-bar and a harpoon to the cabin door, and struck the mate repeatedly, after which he put his hand on his neck, and, finding it cold, he said that he was done. He then desired the witness to bring the beef to him, and having cut some slices off, he drank some grog, and smoked his pipe over the dead bodies. He then had Deaves called down, and he (the captain) raised his hand and said—"Look, boys, at my hand, how steady it is; I think no more of killing them, than if they were dead dogs." He then repeated that the boys would get one hundred golden guineas, and that he would get 7,000*l.* or 8,000*l.* for saving the ship, as she was the largest out of London. After this he went forward and lashed down the companion, for fear Howes would attack him, and he tied the speaking trumpet to it to know if any one would be there. He lashed the skylight afterwards. It being now about nine o'clock, he went to sleep in his clothes, and the boys kept watch for him—they were locked in the state cabin—the boys slept from nine to twelve, as they were tired. The next morning (Monday) about five o'clock the vessel was going steadily in a direct course for Cork, which the captain having ascertained, he said some person must have been at the wheel—and they thought it was Howes, on which the captain called out twice "John, one point to leeward more!" He then slept for upwards of an hour,

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and when he woke he said "the Almighty God told him something;" which was, to take the weapons from them (the boys). He then began to tie the boys, when "little Tommy Hammond" called out to the captain not to kill the boys, or he would die. The captain then knelt down, and gave the pistol and knife he had in his hands to Tommy Hammond" and he took the Bible and gave his oath that he would not kill the boys, and if he did any harm to them, that he (Hammond) might shoot him. He then tied Rickards and witness with their hands behind their back, and their feet, and at that moment there was a hail from the schooner, on which the captain went on deck. Hammond then went in, and unlashed them, and they were all taken on board. The captain seemed as collected as ever, and gave his directions about the ship as well as ever. There was no appearance of mutiny. At the time of the murder, they were about seventy miles from land.

John Howes, a seaman, after giving evidence as to various acts of insanity of the captain, said the captain came forward and asked him if he would allow himself to be tied—witness replied that he did not know of that—the captain then said he would only have to shoot him dead where he was. He again asked whether he intended to allow Murley to tie him; the other said, he did not know why he should be tied; the captain then gave many frivolous reasons, such as he had had no sleep for several nights, that he could not repose until he had all the crew secured, and that, after he got sleep, all might be well. The witness told him

he had nothing to fear; that no person could allege any thing against him, and he would allow Murley to tie his hands if he (the captain) would promise not to hurt him: he pledged his word he would not; accordingly he allowed Murley to tie them behind his back. He then informed the captain that he was tied, and he ordered him up, which the witness having complied with, the captain tied his feet and re-tied his hands; his motive in allowing him to do so was to satisfy the captain's mind, and hope that he might get sleep. Witness then accused him of the bad treatment he had received, and the captain said it was because three of the men had acknowledged piracy, and begged pardon. He asked him who they were, and the captain replied, "captain Raynes and Tim Connell." Witness replied, that if they had acknowledged piracy, he knew nothing of it, and, if he thought himself justifiable, he might shoot him dead at once, as he had him then in his power. He then said, he had no intention or inclination to do that, for he would rather carry him above all men to Cork. He then sat down on the deck, and afterwards called Murley up and secured him. The boys tied him first, the captain afterwards. After securing Murley, he took him aft, and set him down near the main-mast. He then left the deck and went down, after which he brought up Keating, who had been tied and was fainting, and he loosed his cords a little. The vessel shipped a sea, and witness hooked himself nearer to Murley, and Keating was about two lengths of himself from him. In about an hour witness began to feel pain,

and to reason on the unjustness of being tied, and he resolved on getting free and not allowing his hands again to be tied, let what would be the consequence: after a length of time he succeeded in loosing his left hand, but did not like to loose the other, in order, if the captain came to make it appear that he was still tied. About ten o'clock the next morning he came with the boys, and took off the hatch, saying, "Are you there, John?" Witness answered he was; and on looking at him (the witness) the captain saw he was untied, on which he desired him to come to be tied afresh. Witness refused, and said he suffered so much torture, that he would rather suffer death than allow himself to be tied again. The captain said he would have to shoot him on the spot, if he did not allow the boys to tie him. He then fired at him; the ball missed, and he directly fired another, which entered his hand, and another which grazed his side; witness then fell on his back, with his arms extended, and made it appear that he was struggling for life; he then fired another, but it did not hit him. Witness feeling that he was not mortally wounded, pretended to be still struggling; all this time the boys were with the captain, while armed, and appeared to be frightened. He then desired the boys to look down and see if witness was dead; one of them said, yes, and the captain began to walk the deck for two or three minutes, and he remained lying in that state; he (witness) then blooded the blanket that he had about him in order that if the captain saw it he might think he was dead, and desist from firing again; he then inquired, if the boy saw blood, and he answer-

ed, yes. "Well then," said he, "he is done for, and he shall be soon thrown overboard." He remained in that state, until he heard that a sloop hove in sight, and the captain having come to the hatchway, and seeing the witness's arm in a different position, he said, "This fellow is not dead," and fired a ball into his left thigh; witness immediately rose up and sat down, and said "captain Stewart, you have done it now." He replied that he had not, that his "voice was too good." Witness from that moment began to defend himself, and to unfasten the cord from his right arm and feet; he then took a small case of shells, two feet by eighteen inches, and put it before him to break the force of the shot; during this time the captain was collecting the boys with their weapons, and loading his pistols, and after some time he sent down the three boys—Deaves with a harpoon, Scully with the grenes, and Rickards with an axe. He pushed the three boys before him, as they did not seem inclined to go; he calling out, "Shove it into the rascal." He then fired again at witness, but missed, and the boys were still pressing on him, on which he bolted out and seized the captain, who fell on his right knee; while scuffling with him witness's finger got into his mouth, when he bit it and scratched his face. One of the pistols fell and the other was in his hand; when they were approaching, witness cautioned the boys not to assist captain Stewart in murdering him, and this observation appeared to make an impression on two of the boys, who seemed to keep back, but Rickards did not seem to be impressed with the same feel-

ing, for he struck him with the axe: when he got his finger out of the captain's mouth, he took the harpoon from Deaves. He then retreated forward, and got into a place of concealment in the forehold among casks, where he remained until Sunday evening, when he became thirsty, and went to look for water. Having got as far as the fore-castle, he found the carpenter's axe, which he took, and, seeing a dozen cocoa nuts, took them down to the fore-castle, and the bag in which his bed was, to protect him from the balls. He secured himself in the forepeak in such a way, that they could not get at him. He remained there all Sunday night, and without knowing what was passing in any other part of the ship, until Monday morning, when the schooner came up, and the mate (Smith) made his escape and spoke to him (witness) through the bulk head. He heard him coughing, and also striking a light. He told witness, that he had made his escape, that the captain had cut his ear off and knocked his eye out, and that he was half dead. Witness then inquired about the remainder of the crew, and Smith said the captain had murdered the whole of them, and thought that he (Smith) was dead too. Witness then said, if the captain intended to take away the long-boat and the boys, and to scuttle the ship, he would endeavour to cut away the jolly-boat, and they would escape; shortly after the schooner came up, and they were released.

Thomas Hammond, a boy only eleven years of age, was then examined, and when he had concluded his testimony, the jury retired for a few minutes, and returned with the following verdict:—

"That the several sailors and passengers were killed by the hands of captain Stewart, he being then, and for some days before, in a state of 'mental derangement.' Stewart was tried for the murder at the next assizes, but was found to be insane, and ordered into confinement.

**ENDURANCE OF HEAT.**—An experiment to ascertain the degree of heat, which it is possible for a man to bear, was made a few days ago at the New Tivoli, at Paris, in the presence of a company of about two hundred persons, amongst whom were many professors and physiologists, who had been especially invited to attend by Dr. Robertson, director of the establishment. The man, on whom this experiment was made, is a Spaniard of Andalusia, named Martenez, aged forty-three. A cylindrical oven, constructed in the shape of a dome, had been heated for four hours, by a very powerful fire. At ten minutes past eight, the Spaniard, having on large pantaloons of red flannel, a thick cloak also of flannel, and a large felt, after the fashion of straw hats, went into the oven, where he remained, seated on a foot-stool, during fourteen minutes, exposed to a heat of from forty-five to fifty degrees of a metallic thermometer, the gradation of which did not go higher than fifty. He sang a Spanish song, while a fowl was roasted by his side. At his coming out of the oven, the physicians found that his pulse beat one hundred and thirty pulsations a minute, though it was but seventy-two at his going in. The oven being heated anew for a second experiment, the Spaniard re-entered and seated himself in the same attitude, at three quarters

past eight, ate the fowl, and drank a bottle of wine to the health of the spectators. At coming out his pulse was one hundred and seventy-six, and the thermometer indicated a heat of one hundred and ten degrees of Reaumur. Finally, for the third and last experiment, which almost immediately followed the second, he was stretched on a plank, surrounded with lighted candles, and thus put into the oven, the mouth of which was closed this time. He was there nearly five minutes, when all the spectators cried out, "Enough, enough," and anxiously hastened to take him out. A noxious and suffocating vapour of tallow filled the inside of the oven, and all the candles were extinguished and melted. The Spaniard, whose pulse was two hundred at coming out of this gulf of heat, immediately threw himself into a cold bath, and in two or three minutes after was on his feet safe and sound.

27. GRIMALDI.—On Friday the 27th, this great favourite of the town, took his leave of the stage, in Drury-lane theatre. The entertainments included an extravaganza called *Harlequin Hoax*, in which Miss Kelly played *Columbine*, to Mr. Harley's *Harlequin*, and the whole concluded with a selection of popular scenes from the most approved comic pantomimes, in which the entire pantomimic strength of the metropolis assisted. At the close of the performances Grimaldi addressed the audience thus:—

"Ladies and Gentlemen.—I appear before you for the last time. I need not assure you of the sad regret with which I say it: but sickness and infirmity have come upon me, and I can no longer wear the 'motley.' Four years

ago, I jumped my last jump, filched my last custard, and ate my last sausage. I cannot describe the pleasure I felt on once more assuming my cap and bells to-night—that dress in which I have so often been made happy in your applause; and, as I stripped them off, I fancied that they seemed to cleave to me. I am not so rich a man as I was, when I was basking in your favour formerly, for then I had always a fowl in one pocket, and sauce for it in the other. I thank you for the benevolence which has brought you here to assist your old and faithful servant in his premature decline. Eight-and-forty years have not yet passed over my head, and I am sinking fast. I now stand worse on my legs, than I used to do on my head. But I suppose I am paying the penalty of the course I pursued all my life: my desire and anxiety to merit your favour has excited me to more exertion than my constitution would bear, and, like vaulting ambition, I have overleaped myself. Ladies and Gentlemen, I must hasten to bid you farewell: but the pain I feel in doing so is assuaged by seeing before me a disproof of the old adage, that favourites have no friends. Ladies and Gentlemen, may you and yours ever enjoy the blessings of health is the fervent prayer of Joseph Grimaldi: farewell—farewell." (Here the audience rose and cheered him loudly, with waving of hats, &c.) "Farewell," he continued, "God bless you!"

His son and Mr. Harley then advanced, and led him off the stage.

LOSS OF THE ENTERPRISE, WHALER.—After a short voyage of twenty-three days, the *Enterprise*, of Peterhead, Captain Hogg, reached the fishing ground at

Davis's Straits, in north lat. 59. 40., long. 59. 50. west; and continued in the prosecution of the early fishery till about the middle of June. At that time it was considered proper to endeavour to effect a passage to the fishing stations northward, and the *Enterprise* proceeded, along with about thirty other vessels, to that quarter. Early in the morning of the twentieth of June, the *Enterprise* was plying to the seaward, the land ice lying about a mile to leeward. She was then in lat. 71. 12., and was about twelve miles distant from the place called the Black-hook. The wind was blowing very hard from the W.N.W.; and captain Hogg, perceiving that the drift flaws were driving in the direction of his vessel, used every possible exertion to get her to the windward; but the drift ice closed in so quickly on all sides, that at seven a.m. she was completely hemmed in, and all that could be done was to fasten her to the ice. Three vessels belonging to Hull were closed in at the same time, and they were all within a cable's length of each other. The storm continued to increase; and the ice to windward pressed heavily on the *Enterprise*, but she did not appear to sustain any material injury, till about half-past eight o'clock, when a large iceberg was driven with great violence on the flaw at the vessel's larboard bow, and crushed her against the ice. From the loud crash that immediately succeeded, captain Hogg was apprehensive that she had been considerably damaged by the shock, and he instantly set the pumps a going, and found that she was making a great deal of water. From the violent pressure occasioned by the iceberg, it was observed, in a few minutes, that the sides of

the vessel were giving way, and the water was seen pouring in at various places. The crew immediately secured their clothes, and afterward stripped the ship of her rigging; every thing that could be removed was placed upon the ice, in order to lighten her as much as possible; but in a short time the water had risen some inches above the deck of the vessel, and tackles were placed from the mast heads to the ice on both sides, to prevent her from upsetting, until it should be ascertained whether or not it was possible to save her. Assistance was procured from the crews of the neighbouring vessels, and a vain attempt was made to cant the wreck upon the ice. Finding this impracticable, they endeavoured, by the pumps, and by pails and large tubs, to get the vessel drained of water: but although every exertion was used, and although they were able to discharge seven or eight tuns per minute, they could not take the water faster off than it flowed into the vessel. After remaining on the wreck for two days, the master and crew were reluctantly compelled to quit her; for all hopes of saving her were at an end, when the main-mast was observed to sink through her bottom. The greater part distributed themselves among the *Peterhead* ships that were near them at the time; but captain Hogg proceeded, with the mate, the surgeon, and three men, in an open boat, and, after pulling along the coast for about three hundred miles, reached the Danish settlement called *Eggedesmendoc*.

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#### JULY.

SUICIDE OF A CONVICT, IN NEWGATE.—William Montgomery



had been convicted of issuing forged notes, and great interest had been made to save his life, but in vain. He was ordered for execution on the 4th of July. When the turnkey locked him up the night before his execution, after he had taken leave of his relations, he was in good health, and seemed to be very composed. When the same keeper went to him about half-past six on the morning of the execution, he found him apparently in a sound sleep, but, on trying to rouse him, found him dead and cold. He had stripped himself, and was lying on his back, with his hands clasped, and his eyes and mouth open; and seemed to have been dead for about three hours. The prisoners in the adjacent cells had heard him give a deep groan between two and three o'clock, and immediately all was silent. There was no external mark to shew that he had laid violent hands upon himself. The stomach pump was applied, and the contents of the stomach analyzed, but no poison was detected. At last a very small phial was found lying near the body, containing a single drop of a liquid which turned out to be prussic acid. No discovery could be made as to how he had procured, or concealed it, for he had been frequently most closely searched. He had written a letter to the surgeon to the prison, bequeathing to that gentleman his body, for the use of the public, and expressing a hope that the profession would be benefited by the dissection. His object in thus giving his body to a surgeon was to give all the facilities in his power towards rendering some benefit to the community, as a retribution for the offences of which he had been guilty. He begged that the surgeon would have the goodness to

preserve his heart in spirits, and give it to a young female to whom he had been long attached. As for all the rest of his remains, he did not care what should be done with them; but he certainly wished that they should be anatomized, and he hoped that no obstacle would be thrown in the way of that good object. The verdict of the Coroner's jury was "that the deceased poisoned himself by taking prussic acid, when in a state of sanity," and he was ordered to be interred, without the burial service being read over him, between nine and twelve o'clock at night.

**DEATH FROM TERROR.**—During a thunder-storm on the night of the 3rd July, a widow lady, of the name of Saunders, residing at Uxbridge, became so alarmed, that she would not venture to bed. The woman, in whose house she lodged, sat up with her till between twelve and one, when, the storm having in some degree abated, she retired to her chamber. About three o'clock the landlady was awoken by the thunder, and, knowing the fear the old lady entertained, she rose and went to her chamber-door, and called without receiving an answer; and, on going to her bedside, found the poor creature labouring under a strong fit. A medical gentleman was sent for, but his exertions were unavailing, and she expired shortly after. The medical man said, she was always an ailing woman, and had for some time been in a very weak state of health; but it was his opinion that her death was accelerated by the fright she experienced from the violence of the thunder. The jury returned a verdict "that the death of the deceased was caused by terror and alarm caused by the thunder-storm on Friday, the 4th of July."

8. OLD BAILEY SESSIONS.—At the close of these sessions, three persons were sentenced to be hanged for robbery from the person; three for house-breaking; two for stealing in a dwelling house; one for cattle stealing; in all, nine. Sentence of transportation for life was pronounced on six convicts; for fourteen years, on fifteen; for seven years, on forty-six. Five were sent to the house of correction for a year, and twelve, for six months. The other prisoners were sentenced to different periods of imprisonment, varying from five months to seven days.

14. INUNDATIONS.—From the 10th to the 14th, so unusual a quantity of rain fell in different parts of the country, that great injury was occasioned by the overflowing of the rivers. In Yorkshire, along the courses of the Don, the Aire, the Calder, the Ouse, and the Trent, the low grounds were deeply flooded, the corn beaten down, or only the ears left above water, and the hay crops set afloat on the meadows, or carried off by the currents. In many places the farmers had great difficulty in saving their sheep. The roads were almost impassable to carriages, and utterly so to pedestrians, being covered with water three or four feet deep. At Hull, the streets in the lower part of the town were under water, and the shops and ground-floors of the houses filled. The same thing happened at Norwich; and over the whole county of Norfolk, but especially in the vicinity of the larger rivers, the meadows were completely covered. In Cheshire, the low lands on the banks of the Mersey were laid under water, and an immense quantity of hay, together with many fields of corn and potatoes, entirely

destroyed. On Tuesday the 15th, the horses of the Chester coach to Manchester, were up to their bellies for the distance of a mile on the turnpike road, in the neighbourhood of Chester. Lower down the river, towards Warrington, the country was entirely under water; and the damage to the crops was incalculable. On the turnpike road, at Cheadle-bridge, the water was five feet deep, and the Birmingham mail and the Eclipse coaches, on their way to Manchester, were obliged to go through Stockport. The neighbourhoods of Nantwich and Northwich also suffered greatly from the swelling of the river Weaver; in the latter town the river rose so high on Sunday, that it undermined and brought down the warehouse of a salt-merchant. On Tuesday morning, about nine o'clock, in consequence of the great swelling of the river, its banks were overflowed in various parts, the water pouring in torrents into the town, every street in the lower part being completely inundated. The lower stories of the houses were filled, and the stocks in the shop-cellars floating about. The water finally became so deep that boats were launched into the streets, and many of the inhabitants were rescued out of the second stories of their dwellings by means of ladders.

16. DEATH BY LIGHTNING.—An inquest was held at Stepney, on the body of William Dowell, late a pay-clerk in the service of the East India Company. It appeared, that, during the violent storm which visited the metropolis, on Tuesday 15th, the lightning entered the house of the deceased, in Alfred-street, as he was sitting at dinner with his wife and six children. It first penetrated through

the window, next shattered a partition, then destroyed the contents of a cupboard, and finally reached the deceased, who died immediately after the shock. On the body were several spots and streaks, which had been produced by the stroke. The house was also considerably injured. The verdict was—"That the deceased died from the effects of lightning."

**MURDER OF LORD MOUNT SANDFORD.**—*Abingdon Assizes.*—Samuel Brinklett was indicted for the murder of lord Mount Sandford, at Windsor, on the 5th June, and George and Thomas Hunt, for aiding and abetting. It appeared in evidence, that, on the day mentioned in the indictment, which was during the week of the Ascot races, when a certain degree of license prevails in Windsor, some fighting and disturbance had taken place between a party of gentlemen, and a mob collected near the hotel in which lord Mount Sandford was stopping. The prisoners were in the mob. His lordship was standing by looking on, when, in the tumult, he was brought to the ground. While he was on the ground, Brinklett, who had just been knocked down himself, rose, and seeing his lordship lying near him, stepped back a little and gave him a kick on the back of the head, which was heard to a considerable distance. Of this wound his lordship died on the 14th, extravasated blood being found on each lobe of the brain. The Hunts were active in the scuffle, but were not proved to have struck. Mr. Baron Vaughan told the jury, that the offence charged against Brinklett, although on the very verge of murder in the eye of the law, did not amount to more than manslaughter. A series of affrays had

taken place, it appeared, in which both parties had been to blame, and in some of which the gentlemen had been the assailants; but although it was not very clear who had given the first provocation, it was for the jury to decide, whether all or any of the prisoners had been guilty of manslaughter.—The jury returned a verdict of *guilty* of manslaughter against all the prisoners. Brinklett was sentenced to be transported for life, and the two Hunts to be imprisoned, and kept to hard labour, in the house of correction, for two years.

**PARISH WOODEN LEGS.**—*Mansion House.*—A pauper named Taylor, with a wooden leg, was brought up for behaving insolently to the overseers. With the aid of 2s. a week from the parish, he supported himself by selling pamphlets. Having fallen and broken his wooden leg, he applied to the parish for another, and was supplied with one. He, however, found fault with the new leg, and applied to the overseer, stating that it was not proportioned to his natural limb, and desiring to have one of more graceful proportions. The officer desired him to represent his case to the committee, who were to sit in a few days, and he accordingly came forward to state his grievance. The committee, after an investigation into the condition of the wooden leg which they had supplied, came to the determination to give him another, if he required an exchange; but said, that, as they could not afford to be always voting him wooden legs, he must submit to one condition, viz., that 1s. a week of his allowance should be stopped, until the price (12s.) of the new timber should be liquidated. To this proposition he loudly objected, accused the com-

mittee of injustice and partiality, and finally, unbinding the wooden leg, he flung it in amongst the members of the committee, telling them that they might wear it themselves, for he would never buckle it to his stump again. He became more vociferous and abusive the moment he had cast off this part of his obligation to the parish, and refused to make even a temporary use of it to bear him to the Mansion-house, for the purpose of being punished. The parish was therefore obliged to send him before the lord mayor in a coach.

The Lord Mayor (to defendant).—Why, how could you suppose that the way to obtain favours from the committee was by throwing wooden legs at them?

The Pauper.—My Lord, the leg they gave me was made for a man a foot and a half shorter than me, and I couldn't wear it, I went so up and down with it.

The officer declared, that the defendant had gone upon the leg for three weeks without complaining.

The Lord Mayor thought that the parish would do well to encourage the disposition to maintain themselves in the poor, who were so great an incumbrance. A new wooden leg might incite to greater industry.

The officer said, that the recommendation would be attended to.

17. AEROSTATION.—Mr. Green, the aéronaut, ascended in his balloon, from Manchester, accompanied by a Mr. Strapps of that town. After having been in the air about an hour and a quarter, Mr. Green, while throwing out the grapnel over the moors of Derby Ridge, was tossed out of the car, but still kept hold of its edge, and remained suspended by the arms for some time. While en-

deavouring to get again into the car, a sudden jerk, caused by the breaking of the grapnel iron from its hold, precipitated him to the ground with great force, and from a considerable height. The balloon, thus lightened, ascended with Mr. Strapps, who, however, succeeded in bringing it safely to the ground, about half a mile from the spot where Mr. Green had fallen. Mr. Green was not seriously injured.

#### 18. KILLING ON PROVOCATION.

—*Winchester Assizes.*—George White, aged 32, was indicted for the murder of Thomas M'Donald, by cutting and stabbing him with a sharp instrument. The deceased had been formerly in the employment of the prisoner, as a journeyman, and had been by him dismissed upon a suspicion of having an adulterous intimacy with his wife. White, suspecting that the criminal intercourse between his wife and the deceased still continued, concealed himself on the night in question in a place behind his back parlour, where he soon discovered his wife and the deceased in such a situation as left no doubt that his former suspicions were but too well founded. The prisoner then rushed into the room, and the transactions took place which are detailed in the order of their occurrence in the following evidence—

Charles Querk.—On the 17th of June last, I was near the prisoner's house in Southampton, about half-past ten o'clock at night. I heard a scuffle in White's house, I went closer and heard (apparently a man's voice) say very passionately, "This is what I have suspected for a long time." I heard the same voice say, "Now I have caught you in the fact, you rascal." I heard another voice, apparently

a man's reply, "It's a lie, it's a lie." I heard a woman's voice, say, "Tom, Tom, get out." A severe scuffle ensued in the house. The house door opened. A man came out. His dress was in a very disordered state. His coat and waistcoat were unbuttoned and flying. He ran as fast as he could down the street. As soon as he was about three doors from White's house, White came out and immediately turned out of my sight back into his own house; after which he again returned into the street, and immediately ran as fast as possible after the other man. When White came the second time into the street the man was about fifty yards before him. I soon lost sight of them both. In two or three seconds I saw some man holding White in his arms and heard White cry 'murder.' Some man released White from the man who was holding him. White then ran towards his own home. Before he returned, he addressed himself to the by-standers, saying, "Come along with me, come along with me, I have found that man with my wife." He seemed at this time quite lost and disordered. On his way home he was stopped by some one, and I then saw that he had some sharp instrument. I followed White through his own house into the back yard, and two or three doors further on I saw a man sitting and bleeding profusely. His small-clothes were open, and covered with blood. I afterwards went for a watchman, who took White into custody.

A surgeon proved that the death of the deceased had been the consequence of the wound inflicted on him by White.

The prisoner, on being called on for his defence, handed in a writ-

ten paper which was drawn up with much clearness and correctness of language. It merely recited those facts which preceded the occurrences deposed to by the witnesses, and the suspicion the prisoner had entertained of the conduct of his wife and the deceased. It stated, in addition, the extraordinary fact, that while he was "beholding with his own eyes" the act of criminal intercourse which was being committed by the deceased and the prisoner's wife, the infant child of the latter was lying in a cradle close to the spot where its mother and the deceased were committing the offence.

Mr. Justice PARK, in addressing the jury, said, that the case, which they had to consider, was not new to the law of England. In the reign of King Charles II. Sir Matthew Hale had laid it down, that, if a man found another in adulterous intercourse with his wife, and killed the adulterer in the first transport of his passion, such an act was only manslaughter, not murder.

The Jury immediately found the prisoner *Guilty*. After which, Mr. Justice Park sentenced him to pay a fine of a shilling to the King, and to be then discharged; and the announcement of so mild a sentence was received with a sudden and simultaneous burst of applause.

18. POISONOUS LOBSTERS.—A cargo of lobsters having arrived at Carlsham, seventy-four persons who had eaten of them, were seized with immediate sickness, exhibiting symptoms of mineral poison. The Russian Vice-Consul, and two other persons died. Search was made for the owner of the vessel who had brought them, but he had left the place, and was not known.

It is said by persons who have been brought up to the lobster-fishing, that, when lobsters are to be sent to a distant part, it is usual to par-boil them, and to strew each layer with salt and a little mercury to keep them fresh. The government ordered a strict investigation to be made, as several persons had been taken ill, and one died in a few hours, at Christianstadt, where the master of the vessel sold the first part of his cargo.

**WHIRLWIND.**—On Friday the 18th, in the neighbourhood of Boston, the day being sultry and oppressive, and the sky covered with thundry-looking clouds, a small cloud was seen suddenly to descend in the shape of a column, and as suddenly a similar one appeared to rise from the earth. The two joined, and formed a vast column, forty yards in breadth, reaching from the earth to the clouds. The form continued entirely perfect all the time it remained in sight; it was quite black, and at a distance resembled smoke. When the column was perfectly formed, it advanced rapidly towards the north-east, accompanied by a loud rushing sound, which, as it approached, resembled the discharge of artillery. It was seen thus advancing for several miles, until it reached Wyberton Fen, which is only a short distance from Boston; there its power and ravages were distinctly seen by several persons who were within a few yards of its track. Two labourers were employed in spreading manure upon a piece of land upon Mr. Clark's farm, at Wyberton. The manure, which they had been spreading in two lines, was taken up by the whirlwind, and some of it carried above one hundred yards. The mass then

crossed a wheat field, beating the corn close down to the earth; but as the young straw easily bent; no further damage was done to the corn. The breadth of the column was plainly discernible by its track through the wheat, and from measurement was found to exceed forty yards, the corn within that space being levelled as though some ponderous body had pressed it to the earth. A forty-foot drain then interposed; but the column speedily swept across, and, from the quantity of water it deposited immediately afterwards, seemed to have drawn up the entire body of water which spread across its track. On the north bank of the drain, and very near the spot where the whirlwind crossed it, were a farm-house and suitable buildings. The column drew into its vortex a very heavy cart, which it lifted with violence from the ground, and carried with amazing velocity the distance of forty-two yards, when it was dashed with great force to the earth, and alighted upon the shafts, which penetrated nearly four feet into the ground. The whirlwind also took up a heavy roller, which is used to level ploughed land, and which required four horses to draw it along the ground; this huge machine it raised from the earth, and carried forward a distance of twenty yards. The whirlwind next proceeded over another wheat-field, and passed to another farm, where it committed many devastations; a large apple-tree, standing in the orchard, was literally drawn up by the roots, and carried forward a considerable distance. Fifteen geese were also lifted up from the earth, to which they returned quite dead. A great quantity of pigeons were killed in a similar manner.—*Boston Gazette.*

## DISINTERMENT OF HAMPDEN.

—On the 21st of July, lord Nugent, Mr. Common Serjeant Denman, and several other gentlemen, with the parish clerk, and a body of twelve grave-diggers, instituted a search in Hampden Church, Bucks, for the remains of John Hampden, in order to ascertain, if possible, by what sort of wound he had been killed. The following account of the investigation was given to the public by one of the party. "After examining the initials and dates on several leaden coffins, we came to the one in question, the plate of which was so corroded, that it crumbled and broke into small pieces on touching it. It was therefore impossible to ascertain the name of the individual that it contained. The coffin had originally been enclosed in wood, covered with velvet, a small portion only of which was apparent, near the bottom at the left side, which was not the case with those of a later date, where the initials were very distinct, and the lead more perfect and fresher in appearance. The register stated, that Hampden was interred on the 25th day of June, 1643, and an old document, still in existence, gives a curious and full account of the grand procession on the occasion; we were, therefore, pretty confident that this must be the one in question, having carefully examined all the others in succession. It was lying under the western window, near the tablet erected by him, when living, to the memory of his beloved wife, whose virtues he extols in the most affectionate language. Without positive proof, it was reasonable to suppose that he would be interred near his adored partner, and this being found at her feet, it was unani-

mously agreed that the lid should be cut open to ascertain the fact, which proved afterwards that we were not mistaken. The parish plumber descended, and commenced cutting across the coffin, then longitudinally, until the whole was sufficiently loosened to roll back, in order to lift off the wooden lid beneath, which was found in such good preservation, that it came off nearly entire. Beneath this was another lid of the same material, which was raised without much giving way. The coffin had originally been filled up with saw-dust, which was found undisturbed, except the centre, where the abdomen had fallen in. The saw-dust was then removed, and the process of examination commenced. Silence reigned. Lord Nugent descended into the grave, and first removed the outer cloth, which was firmly wrapped around the body—then the second, and a third—such care having been extended to preserve the body from the worm of corruption. Here a very singular scene presented itself. No regular features were apparent, although the face retained a death-like whiteness, and showed the various windings of the blood vessels beneath the skin. The upper row of teeth were perfect, and those that remained in the under jaw, on being taken out and examined, were quite sound. A little beard remained on the lower part of the chin, and the whiskers were strong, and somewhat lighter than his hair, which was a full auburn brown; the upper part of the bridge of the nose still remained elevated; the remainder had given way to the pressure of the cloths, which had been firmly bound round the head. The eyes were but slightly sunk in, and

were covered with the same white film which characterised the general appearance of the face. As a difference of opinion existed concerning the indentation in the left shoulder, where it was supposed he had been wounded, it was unanimously agreed upon to raise up the coffin altogether, and place it in the centre of the church, where a more accurate examination might take place. The coffin was extremely heavy, but, by elevating one end with a crow-bar, two strong ropes were adjusted under either end, and thus drawn up by twelve men in the most careful manner possible. The first operation was, to examine the arms, which nearly retained their original size, and presented a very muscular appearance. On lifting up the right arm, we found that it was dispossessed of its hand. We might therefore naturally conjecture that it had been amputated, as the bone presented a perfectly flat appearance, as if sawn off by some sharp instrument. On searching under the cloths, to our no small astonishment, we found the hand, or rather a number of small bones, enclosed in a separate cloth. For about six inches up the arm the flesh had wasted away, being evidently smaller than the lower part of the left arm, to which the hand was very firmly united, and which presented no symptoms of decay further than the two bones of the fore finger loose. Even the nails remained entire, of which we saw no appearance in the cloth containing the remains of the right hand. In order to corroborate or disprove the different statements relative to his having been wounded in the shoulder, a close examination of each took place. The clavicle of the

right shoulder was firmly united to the scapula, nor did there appear any contusion or indentation that evinced symptoms of any wound ever having been inflicted. The left shoulder, on the contrary, was smaller and sunken in, as if the clavicle had been displaced. To remove all doubts, it was adjudged necessary to remove the arms, which were amputated with a pen-knife. The socket of the left arm was perfectly white and healthy, and the clavicle firmly united to the scapula, nor was there the least appearance of contusion or wound. The socket of the right shoulder, on the contrary, was of a brownish cast, and the clavicle being found quite loose and disunited from the scapula, proved that dislocation had taken place. The bones, however, were quite perfect. Such dislocation, therefore, must have arisen, either from the force of a ball, or from colonel Hampden having fallen from his horse, when he lost the power of holding the reins by reason of his hand having been so dreadfully shattered. The latter in all probability was the case, as it would be barely possible for a ball to pass through the shoulder without some fracture, either of the clavicle or scapula. In order to examine the head and hair, the body was raised up and supported with a shovel; on removing the cloths which adhered firmly to the back of the head, we found the hair in a complete state of preservation. It was a dark auburn colour, and according to the custom of the times was very long,—from five to six inches. It was drawn up and tied round at the top of the head with black thread or silk. The ends had the appearance of having been cut off. On taking



hold of the topknot, it soon gave way, and came off like a wig. Here a singular scene presented itself. The worm of corruption was busily employed, the skull in some places being perfectly bare, whilst in others the skin remained nearly entire, upon which we discovered a number of maggots and small red worms on the feed with great activity. This was the only spot where any symptoms of life was apparent, as if the brain contained a vital principle within it, which engendered its own destruction; otherwise, how can we account, after a lapse of near two centuries, in finding living creatures preying upon the seat of intellect, when they were nowhere else to be found, in no other part of the body. He was five feet nine inches in height, apparently of great muscular strength, of a vigorous and robust frame; forehead broad and high; the skull altogether well formed, such an one as the imagination would conceive capable of great exploits.\* Some doubt was afterwards entertained,

whether it was actually the body of Hampden which was thus disinterred.

22. SUICIDE.—A Mr. and Mrs. Aslin, of Whittlesea, were sitting down to breakfast, when a medical gentleman, who was attending Mrs. Aslin for a nervous complaint, called on her, and, observing that they were late at breakfast, Mrs. Aslin, who appeared in high spirits, accounted for it by saying they had been at a christening the night before, where they were very cheerful. She then went up stairs to fetch (she said) the key of the caddy. In a few moments a loud shriek was heard. Mr. Aslin and the doctor ran out of the room, and saw the servant girl lying senseless at the bottom of the stairs. Rightly judging that she was frightened, they hastened up stairs, where they found Mrs. Aslin lying on the floor weltering in her blood, with her throat cut from ear to ear. She had done the deed so effectually, that medical assistance was wholly useless.

#### 23. UP AND DOWN FIGHTING.

\* The manner in which Mr. Hampden met his death had long been a disputed point in history.

Lord Clarendon, Rushworth, Ludlow, Noble, and others, severally state that at the battle of Chalgrave-field he was mortally wounded in the shoulder by a musket-ball, that he lingered for several days, and expired in great agony.

Lord Clarendon says, that Hampden "being shot into the shoulder with a brace of bullets, which broke the bone, within three weeks after died with extraordinary pain, to as great a consternation of all that party as if their whole army had been defeated or cut off."

Sir Philip Warwick states that "Mr. Hampden received a hurt in his shoulder, whereof he died in three or four days after; for his blood in his temper was acrimonious, as the scurfe commonly on his face showed." In another place he observes, "One of the pri-

soners taken in the action said, that he was confident Mr. Hampden was hurt; for he saw him, contrary to his usual custom, ride off the field before the action was finished, his head hanging down and his hands leaning upon his horse's neck." But the following is a very different statement, though perhaps not the least worthy of credit, as it was related by Sir Robert Pye, who married Hampden's eldest daughter:—"Two of the Harleys, and one of the Foleys, being at supper with Sir Robert Pye, at Farrington-house, Berks, in their way to Herefordshire, Sir Robert Pye related the account of Hampden's death as follows;—That at the action of Chalgrave-field, his pistol burst, and shattered his hand in a terrible manner. He however rode off, and got to his quarters; but finding the wound mortal, he sent for Sir Robert Pye, then a colonel in the Parliament

—*York Assizes.*—Henry Walton was indicted on the coroner's inquest for killing and slaying James Turner. It appeared in evidence, that the prisoner was drinking in a public house when the deceased came in intoxicated, and declared that he did not care for any man in it. The prisoner said, "Do you not care for me?" on which the deceased challenged him to fight. The prisoner at first refused, but the deceased frequently repeated the challenge, until the prisoner consented to fight. A fight then took place, in the course of which the prisoner knocked the deceased down, and, whilst the latter was in that position, jumped upon him twice, and pushed his knees upon his breast. A surgeon was sent for, but, before he arrived, the deceased became insensible, and soon afterwards expired. The surgeon proved that the death had been occasioned by the violence used by the prisoner. The prisoner, when called upon for his defence, stated, that he had very unwillingly entered into the conflict with the deceased, who had repeatedly provoked him to fight. The jury having found him *Guilty*,

Mr. Baron Hullock animadverted severely upon the practice of what was called "up and down fight-

ing," adopted in this and a neighbouring county, and which allowed one combatant to kick another when down. The sentence of the court upon the prisoner was, that he should be confined in the Wakefield House of Correction for the space of eighteen calendar months, and be there kept to hard labour.

26. FIRE AT HEREFORD COLLEGE.—This morning, at two o'clock, an alarming fire broke out in the Hereford College, which entirely destroyed the whole south range of that fine old building. By the promptitude of the inhabitants, the damage sustained was confined to the south side only, although at one time fears were entertained that the whole square would have been reduced to a heap of ruins. Nearly all the public writings, the college charter, and the plate, were rescued from the flames. This was the fourth time, during the last five years, that the college had been on fire, but this was infinitely more destructive than the preceding ones.

KITE SAILING.—The following account was given to the public of experiments made to ascertain the practicability of Mr. Pocock's mode of moving boats by paper kites. They were made on the Mersey at Liverpool. "The wind was blowing from the south, and the tide coming in rapidly, when we, in company with Mr. Alfred Pocock and eight others, got on board the boat. Many persons cannot conceive how a kite can possibly draw a carriage or a boat in any but the direction of the wind; the experiment must have convinced them that a car or boat may be easily drawn by kites at right angles with the wind. On quitting the bath with the wind directly south, we made straight for the Cheshire shore, or

due west, and returned due east to the precise spot from which we set out, having been about twenty minutes in performing the trip. We then set out again due west; and after proceeding about half way to Cheshire, we returned; and before reaching the bath, we proceeded a few hundred yards beyond it to the south,—thus beating up to windward,—a manœuvre which several nautical men had pronounced to be utterly impossible by the agency of kites. The experiment has fully convinced us, that, with a strong wind blowing from the north or south, a boat furnished with one of the largest pair of the kites, could cross from Liverpool to Cheshire, and return, without making much lee way, whatever might be the state or strength of the tide. The boat, in which the experiment was made, was a heavy two-masted one,—not at all adapted to the purpose. Since the Regatta day we have been several times with Mr. Pocock, jun. on the river, witnessing his surprising and most interesting mode of manœuvring his kites. On one occasion, with the wind at N. W., we ran from the Floating Bath to the Rock Ferry; and the boatmen assured us, that our course during the trip was frequently less than five points from the wind. —*Liverpool Mercury.*

About the same time, the kites were tried, in Manchester, to draw carriages. In the carriage, were a gentleman, his wife, and a boy. It was a low pony phaeton, which the driver, by means of a pivot attached to the fore wheels, turned with apparent facility. It passed Blackfriars Bridge from Salford, and proceeded along Market Street and Piccadilly, beyond Ardwick. The kites, the strings of which the

driver held in his hands, were flying, the one above the other, with an interval of perhaps two hundred feet between the two. When the carriage was passing over the ascent of Market-street, it moved very slowly, probably not much more than two miles an hour, but on the smooth Macadamized road of Piccadilly, &c., its motion was considerably more rapid. It did not go before the wind, but was impelled apparently without difficulty, at an angle varying according to the direction of the streets.—*Manchester Guardian.*

28. STREET PREACHING.—*Queen Square Police Office.*—William Cotteril and Thomas Alder were brought before the sitting magistrate, charged with being found preaching in the open air. An officer stated, that, a little before eleven o'clock on Sunday morning last, he found a large mob assembled in New-street, Westminster, to whom the defendant Cotteril, mounted on a piece of rising ground, was preaching with great fervour and zeal. The other defendant (Alder), who appeared to officiate as clerk, was standing in front of him, and frequently ejaculated "Amen," accompanied at intervals with a heavy groan. The witness desired they would desist, as such conduct was contrary to law; but they turned a deaf ear to his admonitions, saying the Lord had sent them into the vineyard, and preach they would in spite of opposition. Another officer corroborated this statement. Cotteril, when asked, what he had to say, stated his defence thus, "The inhabitants of Westminster being a most wicked and sinful race, I was inspired by the spirit of God to preach the gospel among them, and to admonish the ungodly to flee from the wrath

to come. The scripture enjoins that we should preach the gospel to all men; and if this be a crime, why then I certainly am guilty." The other defendant followed in the same strain. The magistrate, told them to find security for their good behaviour. Not being prepared with the necessary bail, they were conveyed to the lock-up room, where they immediately commenced psalm-singing.

#### 28. GREAT FLOOD AT CHESTER.

—In consequence of long continued rains, the Dee rose higher at Chester, than it had done since the inundation of 1795. The people were obliged to take shelter in the rows (a species of piazza peculiar to Chester), and an impetuous torrent of water, almost sufficient to float a boat, flowed from the High Cross through the East-gate. The ramparts too gave way. About fifteen or sixteen yards of that part near the Phoenix tower (from the summit of which king Charles witnessed the defeat of his army on Rowtonmoor) fell with a tremendous crash, the foundation being quite undermined by the effects of the heavy rains. Two large porpoises came up as far as the bridge. They were chased by a multitude of boats and men, armed with various missiles; but they made good their retreat again at the reflux of the tide. A little brook that flows through Wrexham, and runs into the Dee, suddenly rose to a height unprecedented in the memory of the oldest inhabitant, washed down several houses, and completely inundated the lower parts of the town. In some instances breaches had to be made in the roofs of the houses, to rescue the inmates from perishing. A great portion of King's mills, on the same stream, was washed away,

and the bridge, and two neighbouring cottages, were totally destroyed. Several other bridges were also carried away, and among the rest Leeswood-bridge, in Flintshire.

#### 29. FIRE AT BRAMHAM PARK.

—This beautiful mansion, belonging to G. Lane Fox, esq. was this morning destroyed by fire. The fire broke out in the left wing, and thence it communicated to the centre of the building, which was completely destroyed, together with the whole of the furniture. A few of the paintings were saved, among others that of the late Mrs. Fox; a full-length portrait of lord Rivers, in his robes; a splendid painting of the death of Germanicus; a family group, by Guest, of the present Mr. Fox's eldest son and his two sisters; a whole-length painting of Queen Anne, and several other pictures; but the portraits of Lord and Lady Bingley, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and the painting, by Haytor, of the celebrated horse, which Mr. Fox rode for a large stake, in a very short time, from Doncaster and back, with several other valuable paintings, were either totally destroyed or so much scorched and injured as to be rendered of no value. While exertions were making to quench the fire in the grand entrance-hall, the drawing-room, and the picture-room, the flames were rapidly extending themselves, and had already enveloped the centre of the house in a dense and almost suffocating smoke, when fresh engines arrived; and the fire was completely subdued by six o'clock, but not till three-fourths at least of the house were destroyed, and more than that proportion of the plate, china, furniture, and other effects either burnt or rendered entirely useless. The damage done

by the conflagration, was estimated at 40,000*l*.

EQUESTRIAN AEROSTATION.—Mr. Charles Green ascended in his balloon, having a pony along with him. The following is his account of the excursion:—"At half-past six o'clock on Tuesday evening, the atmosphere being perfectly serene, I determined to attach the pony to his apparatus, and prepare for the ascent. For this purpose, the hoop of the platform on which he was to take his stand was opened, and he was led from his stable, but was extremely annoyed by the pressure of the crowd, to escape from which he took his station with apparent pleasure, and behaved rather rudely to one or two strange gentlemen who were anxious to arrange a portion of his decorations that had become misplaced. While his fetlock-joints were being secured, and other arrangements made, he was perfectly calm, and repeatedly licked my hands. The saddle was made fast to the hoop, to which also were attached my grappling iron, a bag of beans, and about two hundred and fifty pound of ballast in eleven bags. Soon after seven o'clock every thing being in readiness, I ordered the last rope to be loosened and we ascended slowly and nearly perpendicularly. At the moment of liberation, my companion made several plunges backwards and forwards, and trembled violently, evidently alarmed at the shouts which I could distinctly hear until I had passed the Thames. He, however, in a few seconds regained his serenity, and became quite passive, eating some beans from my hand, which, by leaning forward, I could easily give him. I now hung out my grapnel to be prepared for a descent, and dismounted to arrange

some ballast; but finding that my weight on one side threw the platform off its perpendicular, and considerably discomposed my little companion, I resumed my seat, and, discharging a little ballast, attained the elevation of about a mile and a quarter. Here we were visited by a descent of snow of the finest texture, which from the reflection of the direct ray of the sun from above, and the oblique rays from the clouds beneath, had the appearance of a shower of silver dust. On descending a little, the snow appeared changed to rain; but on a still further descent, neither rain nor snow were to be felt or seen, a circumstance not to me unusual. During these gradations, the little animal appeared quite at home, and finished his bag of beans. Having been in the air upwards of half an hour, I began to prepare for a descent; and there being scarcely a breath of air stirring, this was, with very little trouble, and without the slightest injury to the pony or myself, effected in a clover field in the parish of Beckenham, Kent. The moment my companion was liberated from his confinement, he took advantage of his situation, and enjoyed himself luxuriously among the clover, which he devoured with every appearance of a keen appetite, although he had eaten more than a pint of beans while in the air. The weight taken up on this occasion was as follows:—

The balloon and appendages (including grapnel, plat- form, cables ballast, &c.)	508
Weight of the pony	250
Weight of myself	148
Total	906

30. SINGULAR ACCIDENT.—An inquest was held in Bishopsgate

street, London, on the body of a boy only fifteen years of age, named Charles Atfield, who had been apprenticed to a grocer in Bishopsgate-street. The deceased, was, according to the evidence of his fellow-apprentices and the servants of the family, remarkable for a lively and cheerful disposition. He was found quite dead, suspended by his apron from the ballusters of the staircase in his master's house.

William Dowgate stated, that, within the last six months, the boy had practised hanging himself with the jack towel, which he so ingeniously twisted about his neck, that he could raise himself off the ground. Witness on one occasion went into the room and saw him hanging. Witness took no notice, as he was in the habit of doing it, and went out. Shortly after, he told witness that he had nearly hanged himself, for that he was black in the face. Witness replied, that he would try once too often. He made no answer to that: but invited the witness to try the experiment, which he declined.

The master of the deceased, could not account for the act; he never saw any thing about the boy like insanity. He really believed he was trying the sensation hanging would produce, and, unfortunately for him, he had carried the experiment too far. He was a singularly ingenious boy, and was never happy but when he was trying experiments.

The jury returned the following verdict.—“That the deceased unwittingly, and against his own intention, strangled himself.”

UNLICENSED THEATRICALS.—*Guildford Assizes.*—*Dunn, v. Dawidge.*—The plaintiff was the manager of Drury-Lane theatre,

and the defendant, of the Cobourg theatre. It was a *qui tam* action brought to recover penalties for performing the regular drama in a place not duly licensed, under the 25th Geo. II., which enacts, that, for every performance of the regular drama in a place not privileged by patent or by the Chamberlain's license, the party so offending should forfeit 50*l.* The declaration stated two performances of Douglas, and two of Richard III. A witness proved the performances. He had with him, when he went to the Cobourg, a copy of the pieces as performed at Drury-lane, and found them nearly word for word the same. The jury found for the plaintiffs, on the first and third counts; penalties, 100*l.*

BETS.—*Guildford.*—*Ford v. Belcher.*—The defendant was the well known pugilist, and the present action was brought to recover the amount of stakes deposited by the plaintiff in his hands, to abide the issue of a badger fight. The stakes were given up by the defendant to the party in whose favour the decision of the referee had been given. The plaintiff now sought to impugn the justice of this decision. On the case being called on, lord Tenterden, after ascertaining that it related to a bet, ordered it to be struck out, observing, that he would not allow the time of the court to be wasted, or its dignity impaired, by trying trifling actions about bets.

SHIPWRECK.—The brig *Hannah* and Catherine, lately arrived at Cork, picked up, on the 4th May, a boat, containing two men, who had passed through the following horrible state of suffering. They had belonged to the *Superb*, a Bristol trader on a voyage to Quebec. She

ran foul of an iceberg on the 21st of April, which stove her forward. This occurrence obliged all hands to take to the pumps, at which they continued without intermission for two days and a night, when a schooner hove in sight; and the captain proceeded in the jolly-boat, to treat with them to take the crew. While the captain was so engaged, the vessel being in a sinking state, the crew left the pump to get the boats out to leave her. They succeeded in getting out a boat (the one subsequently picked up), and seven men got into her, on which they unhooked the tackle, slipped the ship, but could not regain her; and, the weather becoming thick, they could not find the schooner, and were left without provisions, water, masts, sails, or any thing that would enable them to struggle for existence, except two oars! In this state they were buffeted about for eleven days, not knowing in what direction they were moving, when they were fallen in with by the Catherine and Hannah. Of the seven men, only two were alive. Two of them died about twenty-four hours after leaving the ship, from their previous sufferings, and on their bodies the others subsisted for some time. Three others were also dead in the boat, whose blood afforded drink, and their bodies sustenance to the wretched survivors. Capt. Lumsden instantly took the living men on board, but one of them survived only about twenty-four hours.

**DISASTROUS SHIPWRECK.**—*Halifax, July 26.*—His Majesty's ship Tyne arrived at this port with one hundred and fifty two passengers, men, women, and children, saved from the wreck of the brig Dispatch, of Workington, which

struck on a rock, three-quarters of a mile from the main, and eighteen miles to the eastward of Cape Ray. The mate and the crew, nine in number, were all saved. From the statement of the mate it appeared, that the brig sailed from London-derry, with two hundred passengers, on the 29th of May, bound for Quebec; that, from the 19th until the 29th of June, they did not see the sun, and, from the 30th to the 7th inst., they could not get an observation; on that day they made land, which they supposed was Cape Chapeau Rouge. From that time they had constant fog, but, having run with a S. E. wind till it was supposed they were abreast of Cape Ray, the course was altered to N. W. half N. about five p. m., on Thursday the 10th. At six p. m. a rock was discovered three points on the lee-bow; the helm was put down, but the brig struck almost immediately and filled. An attempt was made to land the passengers from the lower studding sail boom, but it failed. The pin-nace was got out, and instantly stove; the jolly boat was lowered in the hope of saving the women, but the surf was too high, and, after hanging on by a rope for three hours, the boat was thrown over the quarter, and the master with two passengers who were in her drowned. The mate succeeded in getting the long-boat out, which fortunately swung clear of the brig, with about thirty passengers in her: they held on all night by a rope from the bows, and the following morning, the mate and three seamen dropped from the jib-boom with two oars into the boat, and landed on the main those in her. The stern of the brig fortunately fell on the rock when she parted, and the majority of the passengers

got to the rock by a rope from it. From Friday till Tuesday evening was occupied in getting them off to the main in small parties, through a tremendous surf. Four men and ten children perished from fatigue on the rock, and between thirty and forty were washed off, or fell between the brig and the rock and were drowned. Those who were saved were indebted for their lives to the exertions of a fisherman named Harvey, residing with a wife and eight children on Dead Island, about four miles from the spot where the accident happened. He had picked up on Saturday evening, a keg and straw bed, close to his house, which led him to suspect a shipwreck. The following morning (Sunday) at daylight, he started in a boat only twelve feet long, with his eldest girl, aged seventeen, and eldest son, only ten, as his crew, and by six o'clock reached the spot, where those were, who landed at first in the long-boat, with six others who had been got off the rock, with the wreck of the jolly-boat, which had been thrown on shore. Harvey's knowledge of the place and tides enabled him to direct the exertions of the mate and three seamen in placing the boats. On Sunday evening at six p. m., sixty men, women, and children, were saved that night; during Monday, thirty; and on Tuesday, all who were alive: the whole were obliged to strip to enable the seamen in the boats to drag them with a small line through the surf, and were afterwards barely covered with clothes washed on shore. Harvey during each night had conveyed to his house those most in want of support, and shared with them half of the stock of provisions provided for the support of his family till the autumn; the other half he gave to those on the beach.

**CHESS.**—*Match between the London and Edinburgh Clubs.*—This extraordinary match, which commenced on the 24th of April, 1824, has just terminated in favour of the Edinburgh players—the fifth game, on the result of which the match latterly depended, having been resigned by the London club on the 31st of July. There does not appear to have been any decided error in this game. The other games terminated as follows:—The first was drawn at the thirty-sixth move; the second was won by the Edinburgh club at the fifty-third move; the third, which lasted upwards of three years, and is perhaps the finest game of the match, was drawn at the ninety-ninth move; and the fourth was won by the London players on the fifty-fifth move. The greatest cordiality prevailed between the clubs during the match.—*Calcedonian Mercury.*

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### AUGUST.

**3. THUNDER STORM.**—On Sunday, about two o'clock in the afternoon, the city of York was visited by a very terrific thunder storm, accompanied with heavy rain and high wind. The rain descended in such torrents as almost instantaneously to flood the narrow streets, and the water rushed into cellars, &c. in streams. A house in Thief-lane, near North-street Postern, was struck by the lightning in the following singular manner:—A ball of fire entered an adjoining barn, in which a young man was standing, when the building appeared as if filled with one continued blaze of fire, and the young man was struck senseless to the ground into a flood of water, caused by



the torrents of rain. From the barn the ball passed out by the roof, into the chimney of the house, some bricks on the top of which were displaced. When it entered the kitchen, the occupier, Mr. Wilkinson, was seated by the fireplace; in front of the fire a cat was lying, and Mrs. Wilkinson was standing a few feet behind the cat. It appeared like a large ball of blue fire, variegated with different colours, and instantly struck a brick in the floor with such violence, as to force it down into the ground; the cat was killed on the spot. It then exploded with a report as loud as a cannon, shaking the house to its foundation, and immediately ascended by the wall, through the ceiling, into the chamber above, where it forced the stone of the chimney-piece from its situation, breaking it to shivers; a large looking-glass was also broken, and a tea-caddy and several other articles injured. The house smelt strongly of sulphur for a considerable time afterwards. Both Mr. and Mrs. Wilkinson were untouched, though the cat was killed between them. — *York Herald.*

**INQUEST.**—As a waterman was rowing his wherry between Mill-stairs and Founders'-stairs, near Rotherhithe, he found in the river the body of a man, wanting the head and the left leg. On examination, it was ascertained that the head must have been severed from the body by a sharp instrument. An inquest being held, the waterman deposed that he had found the body floating. The witness, added, that the corpse was tied up with rope yarns. A surgeon, who was examined, stated it to be his opinion, that the man had died a natural death, and had been

afterwards dissected: this supposition was justified from the fact that the main sewer, which communicates with one of the Borough hospitals, empties itself into the river; and the probability was, that, subsequently to dissection, the operators had thrown the body into the sewer, and that it floated down with filth into the river. This being the whole of the evidence produced, a verdict of "found dead" was returned. The jury remarked that there was certainly no evidence to prove that the body had been dissected at either of the hospitals. Wherever it had undergone that process, it was extremely improper, they observed, that the individuals should have thrown the remains into a place where there was a chance of their being again exposed to the public view.

A week afterwards, some watermen, who were dredging upon the Thames off Bell-wharf, Shadwell, drew up in their net the head of a man, in a state of rapid decomposition. By desire of the magistrates it was subjected to the examination of Dr. Bateman, of Ratcliffe, in order to ascertain, if possible, whether it had been used for anatomical purposes. The skull was entire, never having been exposed to the operation of the dissecting knife. The teeth, and the substance of the eyes remained. From the mass of decomposed flesh remaining appended to it, the doctor was of opinion that it was the head of some person who had been drowned; and that it had been separated from the body by the action of the water forcing it against the cables of the ships moored in the river.

**4. FIRE IN A PRISON.**—*Tilsit*—During the night before last, a fire broke out in the south-eastern extremity of the ancient

castle of Ragnit, at present made use of as a house of correction; and such was the violence with which it raged, that it was only with the utmost difficulty that the greater part of the prisoners in confinement could be saved. The different partition walls of the great building being almost entirely of wood, and not one of the five floors into which it is divided being separated from the other by vaults, the smoke soon forced its way into the different apartments. Some of the prisoners succeeded in forcing open the doors of their cells; and those of others were opened by the inspectors, and the unfortunate people thus rescued were then conducted by the military to a neighbouring barn. Several prisoners sought to save themselves by jumping from the windows, in which two succeeded, while a much greater number either lost their lives or were seriously injured. Seventeen escaped, but of these the greater part were afterwards recaptured. In the northern wing of the building, four women, of whom some were already condemned to the wheel, were placed in the most imminent danger, their rooms being entirely surrounded by fire, and the only possible exit being by the windows, which were secured by strong iron bars. A reward of one hundred and fifty dollars was offered to any one who would save them, upon which a mason's apprentice offered to hazard his life in the attempt, but declared beforehand that he would not accept the proffered reward. By means of ladders he climbed up to the window, and there, surrounded by flames and smoke, he succeeded in filing away several of the bars, and rescuing the unhappy creatures from what appeared a certain death.

It was remarked as a singular circumstance, that those already condemned to death, and whose execution was fixed for the 18th inst., were the persons who seemed to return the warmest thanks to Providence for their preservation.

5. BURGLARY.—*Bury St. Edmunds*.—Joseph Bullen, aged 32, and Osborne Bush, aged 19, were indicted for having broken into and entered the dwelling-house of Robert Thain, at the parish of Metfield, on the 8th day of May last, and stolen therein divers articles of wearing apparel, six silver spoons, and other articles, the property of the said Robert Thain. It appeared from the evidence of the prosecutor, and his housekeeper, that, on the 8th of May, he had sold some sheep, and had put the money received for them in a box, in a chest, at the foot of the bed. He went to rest about eight o'clock; and a quarter after twelve, was awoken by two men coming into the room. There was a light in the room. One of the men took the candle into his hand, and went to the foot of the bed, and said "D—n you, lie down and hold your tongue;" and immediately gave him a blow on the head, in consequence of which he bled profusely. One then said to the other, "Open the chest." One of them struck the chest open, and split it, making a great noise. They then went out, leaving the door wide open. From deficiency of eye-sight, the prosecutor could not identify either of the prisoners, and the principal evidence to connect them with the crime, was the testimony of a boy 10 years old, a natural son of Bullen, who deposed thus.—I know Master Thain. I went to his house one night between ten and eleven, with my

father (Bullen) and Bush. My father put me in the window, and I opened the door. They broke the glass and put their arms in and opened the window. There was a key in the door and a bar; and I took the bar out and opened it. Bullen and Bush told me to go home, and they went up Master Thain's stairs. I went up home. Before we went in, Bush went round the house, and Bullen and I in front. A neighbour, whose room was separated from Bullen's by a slight thin partition through which almost every thing could be heard, on being alarmed by Thain calling "murder," got up, and knocked on, and cried to Bullen, several times so loud that Bullen must have heard, if he had been in; but no answer was returned, and soon after some person came up stairs, and went into Bullen's room. Bullen threatened him next day, that if he said he had heard any person go up stairs, he would "give him a lump or two on the scull." A bloody axe, with which Thain's wound had been inflicted, was found near the house, but was not traced to either of the prisoners. They had been seen together about three hours before the

burglary.—The Jury found both prisoners guilty, and sentence of death was recorded against them.

5. MONUMENT TO GENERAL PICTON.—The monument erected to the memory of general sir Thomas Picton, at Carmarthen, was thrown open to public view. A procession left Carmarthen in the morning, consisting of the corporation, the staff of the Carmarthen Militia, the subscribers to the monument, sixty Waterloo veterans, &c. &c., carrying numerous banners, on which were inscribed the names of the battles in which he had been engaged:—Badajoz, Ciudad Rodrigo, Vittoria, Pyrenees, Les Quatre Bras, and Waterloo. On their arrival at the monument, the Hon. G. R. Trevor presented the keys of the monument to the Rev. E. Picton, the general's brother, who transferred them to the custody of the corporation, to whom the monument had been assigned by the subscribers. The structure is in black marble, and, in its general design, particularly the shaft and entablature, resembles Trajan's Pillar in Rome. On the south side of the monument is the following inscription:

#### SIR THOMAS PICTON,

Knight Grand Cross of the Military Order of the Bath,  
Of the Portuguese Order of the Tower and Sword, and of other  
Foreign Orders,

Lieutenant-General in the British Army, and Member of Parliament  
for the Borough of Pembroke;

Born at Poyston, in Pembrokeshire, in August, 1758;

Died at Waterloo on the 18th of June, 1815,

Gloriously fighting for his Country and the Liberties of Europe,  
Having honourably fulfilled, on behalf of the public, various duties in  
various climates,

And having achieved the highest Military Renown

In the Spanish Peninsula:

He thrice received the unanimous thanks of Parliament;  
And a Monument, erected by the British Nation in St. Paul's  
Cathedral,

Commemorates his death and services.  
 His grateful Countrymen, to perpetuate past and incite to future exertions,  
 Have raised this column under the auspices of His Majesty  
 King George the Fourth,  
 To the memory of a Hero and a Welshman.  
 The plan and design of this monument was given by our  
 countryman, John Nash, Esq., F. R. S.,  
 Architect to the King.  
 The ornaments were executed by E. H. Bailey, Esq., R. A.,  
 And the whole was erected by M. Daniel Mainwaring,  
 of the town of Carmarthen,  
 In the years 1826 and 1827.

On the north side is a translation of the above in Welsh.

9. **MAIL ACCIDENT.**—As the Devonport mail was leaving London, the horses, which were full blood, took fright and ran off with great speed. The coachman was unable to stop them, and, in passing Market-street, the near wheels of the coach, coming in contact with the lamp-post at the corner, the pole and splinter-bar were broken, the horses broke loose from the carriage, and galloped off, dragging the pole and broken bar after them, till the near leader rushed against the lamp-post at the corner of Bury-street, the next street to Market-street, with such force, that she broke the spine of her back.

**ACCIDENT AT VINCENNES.**—In the artillery school, at Vincennes, a waggon, containing all the ammunition intended to be used in the exercises that day, accidentally exploded. The soldier who had charge of the waggon was miserably wounded. The two artillerymen, whose duty it was to distribute the cartridges, were found lying more than fifty paces distant, blown to pieces. The body of one of them from the loins upward, was lying at a still greater distance, and in another place was picked

up the half-burned head. The accident was supposed to have originated in a piece of wadding from one of the guns which had just been discharged, being carried into the waggon by the wind.

10. **AEROSTATION.**—Mademoiselle Garnerin ascended in a balloon from Brussels, for the purpose of descending by means of the parachute. She ascended with great velocity for about two minutes when she detached the parachute and car from the balloon, and for an instant appeared to descend with frightful rapidity; but, as the balloon, on being released from all weight, shot upwards instantaneously, and thus, in a moment, greatly increased its distance from the car, it gave the latter the appearance of a much more rapid descent than it actually experienced. Mademoiselle Garnerin chose her distance (about 1,200 yards) so well, that the operation of detaching the parachute, and its progressive and complete expansion, were perfectly visible to the naked eye. The car appeared to descend with very little oscillation, and in two minutes ten seconds, the lady was safe on the ground.

11. **EXECUTION OF CORDER THE MURDERER.**—This morning William Corder, who had been

convicted of the murder of Maria Martin, in circumstances of very peculiar atrocity,\* was executed at Bury. The girl had become the mother of an illegitimate child by him; he had appointed her to meet him at a particular place, that they might be married: when they met he murdered her, and buried the body in a barn. He remained unsuspected, and the fate of the young woman unknown, for nearly a year, when the mother of the latter dreamed repeatedly that her daughter lay buried in the barn in question; and a search being made, the body was found. No other cause was ever assigned for searching that particular spot, which led to the discovery. Before his execution, he acknowledged the murder.

**PRESENTIMENT OF DEATH.**—A singular instance of the exactness with which real events will sometimes follow the course of imagined forewarnings, happened in Fifeshire in Scotland. A Mr. Beveridge, a baker and inn-keeper at Charleston Limeworks, had heard in a dream a voice announcing to him, that he would soon die, and die suddenly. Having afterwards, at two different times, been visited by the same dream and warning voice, he communicated it to his wife. She, however, aware how little dreams deserve to be made the subject of disquietude, paid very little attention to the circumstance. With him it was very different. So firmly was he convinced that he was suddenly to bid adieu to his family, that he immediately set about making up his books and accounts, and arranging his affairs, as a proper preparation for whatever

might happen. What is still more remarkable, a friend of his, Mr. Miller, ship-builder in Limekilns, had a similar dream regarding him; and such was its influence on his mind, that he could not next morning take breakfast, till he had gone to Beveridge and informed him. This corroboration of his nocturnal warnings completely confirmed him in all his apprehensions as to their ominous nature. On the 8th of August he set off in a boat, on a pleasure party up the Firth, taking his gun with him. While the boat was waiting for one of the party who had landed, to go a little distance on business, Mr. Beveridge stepped out, and took his gun with him in the hope of getting a shot as he walked about the shore. On returning to the boat, he used the gun as a support to assist him in stepping in, when it suddenly went off, discharging its contents in his head, and he fell lifeless on the spot.

**12. OPENING OF THE KENSINGTON CANAL.**—This ceremony, which had been reserved for the anniversary of his majesty's birth, was performed by lord Kensington, and a number of friends to the undertaking, embarking in a barge at Battersea-bridge, and proceeding up the canal, accompanied by a number of craft loaded with timber, coals, sand, &c., the first fruits of the speculation. The canal runs from the Thames, near Battersea-bridge, directly North two miles and a quarter, terminating close to the great Western road, half a mile distant from Kensington Palace: it is one hundred feet broad, and capable, of affording passage for craft of one hundred tons burden; the basin is four hundred feet long by

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\* Vide Appendix to Chronicle.

two hundred broad, and is situated in the most thriving and healthy part of the town. This canal, which is the only water conveyance to Kensington, has been completed at the expense of about 40,000*l.*, and its income from wharfs, tonnage, &c. is calculated at about 2,500*l.* per annum.

15. **SUICIDE.**—A servant girl, 18 years of age, was charged at Mary-le-bonne police office, on suspicion of stealing some articles of plate from her master's house. As there was no evidence at all to criminate her, she was discharged, and went back to her master's house, but, in the evening she became unwell, and ultimately acknowledged that, being unable to bear up against the accusation, she had swallowed arsenic. She was directly removed to Middlesex Hospital, but every effort to extract the poison was unavailing, and she died in great agony the following morning.

**CONFIRMATION OF THE NEW BISHOP OF LONDON'S ELECTION.**—On Saturday (16), at 11 o'clock, Dr. Blomfield, the newly appointed bishop of London, attended at Bow church, Cheapside, in order that the necessary forms consequent on his election to the metropolitan see, by the dean and chapter, might be complied with. His lordship was attended by Dr. Arnold, the vicar-general of the archdiocese of Canterbury, and several advocates and proctors. After prayers the customary proclamation for all impugnors of the election to come forward was made by the Apparitor of the arches court. None appearing, the confirmation was proceeded with. The vicar-general read the King's writ of *congé d'elire*, the return made to it by the dean and chap-

ter, and the other documents connected with the occasion; after which the new bishop came to the foot of the table, and kneeling, administered to himself the oaths of canonical obedience to the archbishop of Canterbury, and that against simony. The ancient Bow bells were rung; they are now never used but on similar occasions.

**PATIENTS POISONED BY PRUSSIC ACID.**—In the hospital of the Bicêtre, at Paris, M. Ferrus, one of the physicians was in the habit of employing Prussic acid in cases of epilepsy. The formula which he used was that of Magendie, under the title of syrup of hydrocyanic acid, consisting of one part of medicinal Prussic acid to one hundred and twenty-eight of syrup. In private practice, the medicine has always been procured at the shop of M. Pelletier, and an ounce was usually prescribed for a dose. M. Ferrus, wishing to try the medicine in the hospital, ordered it in the dose of an ounce to fourteen epileptic patients. The house surgeon represented to M. Ferrus that drachm doses only were given, and that these occasionally produced unpleasant symptoms. This induced M. Ferrus to prescribe half an ounce. The medicine was procured from the *Pharmacie Centrale des Hopitaux*, where the syrup is prepared according to the Codex, or French Pharmacopœia, which is, one part of Prussic acid to nine parts of syrup. The infirmarian commenced the exhibition on fourteen epileptics: by the time he had given it to the seventh, the first was dead, and the others expired in the course of twenty minutes.

20. **COACH ACCIDENTS.**—The turnpike gate at Matterly, between Winchester and Alresford, is

placed at the foot of a hill. The horses of the London and Poole Mail having become unmanageable at the top of the hill, descended it at a furious gallop, and came so violently in contact with the gate post, that the post itself was broken off, and carried to a considerable distance, one of the wheel horses had his brains knocked out by the concussion, and the passengers were thrown nearly twenty yards from the coach. One of them was severely injured, but none were killed. The coachman had three ribs and his right arm broken, his eye knocked out, and his head otherwise so bruised and cut, that blood flowed copiously from his mouth, nose, and ears. The guard saved himself by lying down on his foot-board. The coach, notwithstanding the shock, was not overturned.

On the 23rd as the mail from Barnstaple to Bristol had changed horses at Wiveliscombe, and the coachman was about to mount the box, some noise in the street caused the horses to move down the hill; the coachman used every effort to stop them, till he was knocked down; they proceeded to the bottom of the hill, and, in turning a corner, the coach upset. Of three outside passengers, two were thrown with great violence over a wall, one of them receiving a severe contusion on the head, and the latter having an arm broken. The third was killed. An inside passenger had an arm fractured.

21. QUESTION OF LEGITIMACY.—*Gloucester Assizes.*—*Morris v. Davies and Wife.*—This was an issue directed from the Court of Chancery, to try whether the plaintiff, Evan William Morris, otherwise Evan Williams, was the legitimate son of William and Mary

Morris or not; the defendants were Edward Davies, and Harriet his wife, daughter of the said William and Mary Morris. This was the third time that the case had been tried. In the spring of 1827, the issue had been tried at Shrewsbury, and the jury found for the plaintiff, thereby declaring him to be the legitimate issue of William and Mary Morris. In consequence of something which appeared in the arguments before the Chancellor respecting that trial, his lordship had thought that some further investigation was necessary, at the same time expressing his wish that it might be understood that he had formed no opinion in any way unfavourable to the case of the plaintiff. That second issue was tried at the summer assizes of the same year, when the jury found a verdict for the defendant,\* but in consequence of another application to the Chancellor (when the case was heard at great length), his lordship directed that the case should be submitted a third time to the consideration of a jury. It was admitted that Mr. and Mrs. Morris had been living apart from each other for several years before the birth of the plaintiff, and that Mrs. Morris had formed a criminal connection with a person in the situation of a servant. The principal question in the case was, whether there was a legal probability of conjugal access of the husband to the wife, during a particular period of the separation, so as to give the plaintiff the benefit of the legal presumption that he was the son of his mother's husband. The evidence occupied two days. The jury retired about two o'clock on

\* Vide Annual Register, for 1827 App. to Chronicle.

the third day, and continued in deliberation till eleven o'clock next forenoon, when, as one of them held out against the other eleven, Mr. Justice Gazelee discharged them without a verdict.

**ACCIDENTS AT SEA.—*Tralea***  
*Aug. 25.*—A court of inquiry was held on Monday (25) at the Beal station, at the mouth of the Shannon, on the conduct of one of the men of the water guard. On the close of the proceedings, about five o'clock, in the evening, Barry Wm. Gun, esq., Capt. Lloyd, R. N. inspecting commander on the station, and Mr. John Wilson, and five boatmen, left Beal in a boat, to proceed to Ballybunnion. The wind having freshened towards the close of the evening, the boat was overtaken by a sudden squall, on the bar of Beal, and unfortunately swamped, when all on board perished. One of the bodies was found entangled in the rigging of the boat.

**GREAT LEAP.**—On Monday (25) a soldier of the 78th Highlanders, stationed in Stirling castle, was standing at a battery called the "Ladies' look-out" on the south-west side of the castle, listening with some of his comrades to one of his mess-mates, who was entertaining his fellows with the relation of some wonderful "accidents by flood and field," and concluded by looking over the wall and saying, that he had heard of several soldiers who had leaped from the "Ladies' look-out," all of whom had been killed on the spot, or died soon after. The soldier, on hearing this, said, "that is no jump at all; I'll do that at any time," and, immediately descending to a stone which projects a little from the wall, leaped off. His comrades ran round by the valley, to carry him up to the

castle, and render him such assistance as the nature of his wounds might require. But he met them, passed them at full speed, and, though they turned and pursued him, he was the first man who entered the castle, not only unhurt, but without a single scratch. The height from which he leapt is not less than fifty feet.

**CARELESS SHOOTING.—*Lancaster Assizes.***—Ralph Parr was indicted for feloniously killing and slaying William Lee, on the 12th of August last, at Lancaster. It appeared from the evidence, that the deceased met with his death by an accident, occasioned in the following manner:—The prisoner, who was an ostler at a public-house, was engaged in a pigeon match with the landlord and several of the servants; and after the pigeon-shooting was over, the prisoner proposed, that, as a small quantity of powder remained, it should be used in firing at a mark. The gun was then loaded with ball, and the prisoner fired it at a mark on a door, about twenty-three yards distant from the place where he stood. The ball missed the mark, and, going through an opening at the top of the door, struck the deceased, who was accidentally passing on the other side. The deceased was wounded in the spine, and died about a week after the accident. The prisoner was deeply affected by the misfortune, of which he had been the occasion, and had scarcely tasted food since the occurrence happened. Several witnesses gave him a most excellent character, and spoke to the kindness of his disposition, and the mildness of his general conduct.

Mr. Justice Bayley told the jury, that the prisoner had been guilty of an illegal act in shooting in a



place where the passengers were unavoidably exposed to danger.—**Verdict—Guilty.** The sentence was, that the prisoner should pay a fine of 20s. and be discharged.

**SUBJECTS FOR DISSECTION.**—A poor woman in Glasgow having been delivered of a child, some females, in the course of the same evening, observed through a hole in a partition on the stair-case leading to the house, a man put the child under his great-coat. They waited till he came out, when they followed, calling "catch the thief," and crying that he had a child in his possession. A crowd soon collected, and the man was seized, who took the child from under his coat, and threw it from him. He and it were carried to the office, followed by the hootings of the multitude, several of whom appeared anxious to inflict instant punishment. The child was dead; and a surgeon, having examined it, expressed himself satisfied that it had been still-born. The result of the inquiry turned out to be, that the person, in whose possession the child was found, was a medical student, who had been attending the mother during her illness, and had received the child for the purpose of using it as he might think proper, on condition that he should attend the mother till her recovery was completed. He said he had not been present at the delivery of the child, but had visited the mother for the third or fourth time about an hour after it had taken place.

**27. ACCIDENTAL HANGING.**—An inquest was held in West Smithfield, London, on the body of Robert Kendall, a boy twelve years of age, who was supposed to have accidentally strangled himself, while endeavouring to ascertain the sensations caused by hanging. The

foreman to a coffin-furniture maker deposed, that the deceased had been in his master's service about six weeks. He was of a very cheerful disposition. On Monday afternoon he came to witness, and in rather a hurried manner asked for some more work. About a quarter of an hour afterwards, witness heard of his death. He was generally employed in the japanner's room, when at home. A fellow apprentice, said, that he was sent up to the japanner's room, about six o'clock on Monday evening, and saw the deceased hanging from a beam, with his feet a short distance from the floor. He directly threw his arms around the body, when the rope gave way, and they both fell to the ground. The rope did not break, nor was there any appearance of a knot or loop in it. He called for assistance, and a surgeon was sent for, who bled the deceased in the neck, but he was quite dead. In answer to questions by the jury, the father of the deceased described his son as a most exemplary lad, attending church every Sunday twice, and always carrying about with him a small book of hymns, which he learned, and occasionally sang after going to bed. After some consideration, the jury returned a verdict, "that the deceased was found hanging; that the act was his own; but that its causes were to them unknown."

**ACCIDENT AT WINDSOR.**—As one of the small boats, which ply about Windsor, was returning about nine o'clock at night, with nineteen persons on board from Egham races to Windsor, a little beyond Datchet-bridge, it struck, through the inadvertence of a little boy, who guided the helm, on some stakes in the river at a place where formerly an eel-weir existed. The

boat shortly after filled with water, and in spite of the exertions of the boatmen to bring it to the shore, the stern sunk, and all the passengers in that part, amounting to eleven or twelve, were thrown into the water, where nine of them perished. The men in another boat came to their assistance immediately, but could give no more aid than was instrumental in saving the remaining part of the passengers. The coroner's jury returned a verdict of "accidental death," coupled with a recommendation to the commissioners for navigating the river Thames, to remove the stakes. These stakes are the remaining rods to which, formerly, an eel-wear was attached; they run parallel to the shore on each side of the river for the length of about thirty yards, and posts, always above water, point out their commencement and termination. The stakes themselves are often, as in this instance, quite under water, and consequently extremely dangerous, even to those tolerably acquainted with the navigation.

29. ACCIDENT ON LOCHLOMOND.—Two days afterwards, a similar accident occurred on Lochlomond in Scotland. The *Lady of the Lake* steam boat was on her return from her usual voyage to the head of the Loch, and had stopped opposite Tarbet, to receive the passengers who were waiting for her at that place. The small boat, a mere cobbie, immediately put off, crowded with from twenty to twenty-five persons. The lake was smooth, and the steam boat not much more than thirty yards from the shore. Some of the company had remonstrated with the boatman against taking so many in at one time, but he assured them there was no danger. The boat "wab-

bled on," from one side to another, till it came close to the steamer; it then made a "screen" towards the latter, so alarming, that most of the passengers rose up, and clustered to the other side, when the boat upset, and floated keel uppermost. Only one shriek was heard, so instantly did they sink. Boats from the shore and the boat of the steamer were soon on the spot, and picked up those that appeared above water. One individual, a seaman belonging to the *Leven* steamer, who happened to be there at the time, saved four with his own hand.—Two women, who beheld the accident from the shore, pushed off a boat, and oaring it, one with her hand, and the other with a stick, succeeded in rescuing some of the sufferers. Several of the passengers escaped by swimming to shore; but nine were drowned. These drowning caught at each other, and went down together.

ANTIQUITIES.—The keeper of the church-yard of Elgin, while engaged in digging among the ruins of the cathedral, for the purpose of clearing away every thing which could mar the effect of the edifice, discovered a stone coffin, generally supposed to have been the coffin in which were deposited the remains of king Duncan, who was slain by Macbeth, at Inverness. It is matter of historical fact, that king Duncan was buried about the identical spot in which this stone coffin has been found. Boethius, the most ancient of the Scottish historians, mentions that "Duncan was buried in the place on which the middle steeple stood,"—the very place in which the stone coffin in question was discovered. It is cut out of one stone, measures about six feet in length, two in breadth, and one and a half in depth.

## SEPTEMBER.

1. MURDER.—*Chester*.—James Clegg, aged twenty-eight, was tried before the Hon. Thomas Jervis, for the wilful murder of his wife, Mary Clegg, at Runcorn, on the 24th of May.

John Ellis deposed as follows.—I was at work at the top lock, near the new bridge, at Runcorn, on the morning of the 24th of May, and saw two flats lying side by side, at about four o'clock in the morning. In one of them I saw a woman, who was going from the after end to the forecastle, calling to the men that it was time to get up. In returning back she slipped down between the vessels, and screamed out, and a man from the forecastle ran and got a pole with a hook; but I did not see what they did. In about a quarter of an hour after, I heard a scream of murder. It was a female's voice, and came from the same flat, accompanied by a sound like blows. In about ten minutes after that, the vessel began to move towards Manchester, the screams continuing as long as the flat was in sight.

William Woodward stated that he was going along the towing-path, and heard a woman "shrieking" in the cabin, and saying, "Oh, Lord have mercy upon me." He knew that the prisoner commanded that flat.

William Nicholls likewise knew the prisoner to be captain of that flat. He heard a voice, which appeared to be that of a woman in trouble and distress, say, "Oh! James Clegg."

Jos. Hazlehurst was the steersman on board the flat *Neptune* on 24th of May. The prisoner was the captain; he was called up by

the deceased on that morning; she went along the other flat's decks, slipped and fell into the water. As soon as he saw her in the water, he caught hold of her by her clothes with the boat-hook, and pulled her up, and handed her to her own boat. She did not appear to be hurt, and made no complaint, but she moaned as if she was crying. He saw nothing the matter with her face, no bruise nor blood; he handed her down to the cabin, and said to her husband; "Jem, get up;" he asked what for, he replied, "Get this woman into bed, do not let her sit here." He asked where she had been; witness said, "I don't know, but she has wakened us, and we have taken her out of the cut." Prisoner got up and began to dress himself. Brooks was then gone for the horses, and witness went on deck. In about ten minutes he heard a noise like knocking up and down the cabin and slamming of doors. When the flat started, he heard a shrieking; and when they had got on a little way he heard a great noise in the cabin. The deceased shrieked out, "Oh my human blood!" twice or thrice. The screams became weaker; and the witness, on looking down the scuttle, saw the deceased lying on the cabin floor, and some blood by the side of her face. She was lying on her side. The prisoner came up, and drew a bucket full of water. Witness said to him, "Oh! Jemmy, donna lick her no more." He replied, "D—n her eyes, I'll kill her." He then went down to the cabin with the water, which the witness heard splash on the cabin floor. The prisoner again came up and took down another bucket of water. They had then gone a long way; and she gave another heavy "shriek." He never

heard her speak afterwards. When they had gone some way further, he said to the prisoner, "Jemmy, why don't you look after that woman; it is not a right thing to let her lay in that way." He replied "D—n her eyes, I wish she was a corpse, it would be as good as 200*l.* in my way at the year's end." He said before they got to Lyme, that he would put her ashore there. The prisoner left the boat at Lyme, and then the witness, having gone down to the cabin, found the deceased in bed. He shook her; she did not speak, but made a bit of a noise in her throat. He could not make her answer him. They got to Manchester that night about ten o'clock, and, the next morning about four o'clock, the prisoner went for a doctor.

After the examination of a number of other witnesses, Mr. Justice Jervis summed up, and the jury found Clegg *guilty* of manslaughter.

His lordship said he should have been perfectly satisfied, if the jury had found the prisoner guilty of the higher offence; and sentenced him to be transported for life.

2. MANSION-HOUSE. — *Gin*. — One of the officers principally employed in clearing the streets of paupers, brought to the office a woman, who had been found begging with a wretched emaciated child, about two years and a half old, in her arms. After examination, she was sent to the usual place of confinement. As the officer was escorting her, she complained of weakness, and begged that he would be so good as to pay out of her money for a drop of something that would comfort her at the next public-house. He immediately consented, and they entered a public-house together, but he stood at the door while she went

to the bar. He was surprised at her delay, and, upon turning round, he saw the child swallow a glass of gin without hesitation. Upon inquiring how much was to pay, he found that the mother and child had taken between them no less than nine pennyworth. The child soon afterwards breathed its last, and the last cry from its throat, was "gin, gin." It could not be prevailed upon to take a drop of medicine, gruel, or any thing else, up to its dying moments, but "gin, gin."

4. CONNAUGHT-ACCIDENT. — On the 4th, an old row-boat, in a rotten and leaky condition, started from Annadown, about eight miles up Lough Corrib, having about thirty-one persons on board, who were going to the fair of Galway. When opposite Bushy-park, within two miles of Galway, she suddenly went down, and all on board perished, except twelve persons, who were rescued by another boat. Eighteen of the bodies were taken out of the lake in the course of the day. The accident occurred by a sheep putting its leg through one of the planks, which produced a leak. In order to stop it one of the passengers applied his great coat to the aperture, and stamped it with his foot; in doing so, he started one of the planks altogether, and the boat immediately sunk.

5. BELFAST. — *Slavery*. — An investigation took place at the sessions-house in Belfast, before C. M. Skinner, Esq. the police magistrate, and Wm. Clark, Esq., connected with the following circumstances:

The *Lavinia*, from Trinidad for Belfast, having put into Bermuda in a leaky state, was condemned, and two vessels were chartered to bring her cargo of sugars to Belfast.

They arrived there, and a few days afterwards, information that there were twelve slaves on board of the Bermuda vessels, was communicated to the Moyallen Branch of the London African Anti-Slavery Association, some of whose members, immediately repaired to Belfast, and claimed the interference of the magistrates in liberating those unfortunate men. The eleven negroes having attended, the magistrates informed them, that, according to the laws of this country, any slave coming here is free as soon as he steps ashore. Some of them replied that they were aware of this. The magistrates then called on them individually, and asked each, whether he wished to return home with the ship, or to claim his freedom; and remain in this country? Eight of them answered, that they wished to return to their families and friends. Three of them said, that they wished to be free. The gentlemen, who attended on the part of the Society, stated that they had no intention or desire of influencing the choice of these persons, nor did they make any complaint against any of their employers; all they aimed at, was, to give the men an opportunity of claiming the advantage which the laws of Great Britain afforded them, if they chose to do so. They added, that, as to the three young men who had expressed a wish to remain here free, the society would endeavour to obtain employment for them; and, as they expressed an inclination to follow the seafaring profession, they would endeavour to procure situations for them in some of the steam-boats or other vessels belonging to the port of Dublin. The negroes were informed, previous to any questions being put to them, that it had lately been decided in England, by Lord

Stowell, that, if a slave claims his freedom on his arrival in Britain, and returns to the island from which he was brought, he may be reclaimed there as a slave.

7. MURDER.—A murder was committed at Rochelle, the perpetrator of which was almost immediately discovered, under somewhat singular circumstances. At night cries of murder had been heard, proceeding from a house in a very retired street, in which resided an old lady and her two nieces. The cries were heard by the nuns of an Ursuline convent, who rang the alarm bell, and roused the neighbourhood. Two of the guard ran to the house, where they learned from the two nieces, that their aunt had just been murdered, but that they dared not come down to open the street door, as they saw the murderer in the passage. The guards, however, mounted by means of some clothes which the young women held out of the window. On their entrance, they found the aunt dead in her bed, having been stabbed in several places. Other persons arrived at the spot, and the house was strictly searched, but the murderer had escaped, though without taking with him any property. It appeared, that, being acquainted with the place, he had got a ladder, placed it on the tiles, forced open the shutters of a hay-loft, fastened a cord to another window, and let himself down in an opposite street, in which the cord by which he had escaped was found hanging, having upon it the marks of bloody fingers. Being thus certain of the escape of the assassin, his pursuers were desirous of following his track, and for that purpose were about to send for a tiler to examine the tiles over which he had passed, when some

one present suggested that there was one at hand, and mentioned a man named Richard. He came, and gave his assistance in a cool and collected manner, though he evinced some reluctance to descend the ladder placed on the tiles. After some time, his person caught the eye of one of the nieces, who instantly exclaimed, "That's the man I saw in the court-yard—it is Richard who has murdered my aunt." Every one was surprised at this charge, as Richard had the name of being an honest man, was much respected by many persons at Rochelle, and was known to be a constant attendant at church. He was also known to have received many acts of kindness from the deceased lady. The niece, however, persisted in her charge, and Richard was closely examined. It appeared that he had recently washed his hands, and there were discovered some drops of blood on his shirt. One of his fingers had the mark of a very recent excoriation, for which he could not account. There was, besides, some hay stuck in his hair. There were other circumstances, which left little doubt of his guilt, though he strongly denied all knowledge of the crime.

8. THE JEWISH YEAR.—In London, the Jewish year, five thousand five hundred and eighty-nine, was ushered in with the preparatory rites observed on such occasions by the Israelites. At sun-set, the Jews, resident in the metropolis, assembled at their synagogue, when the usual prayers were read. The congregation remained until between eight and nine o'clock. On their new year's day for the present year, (Tuesday, 9th) they again assembled at half-past five o'clock in the morning, to celebrate the

Feast of Trumpets, in commemoration of Abraham's offering up his son. At ten o'clock the trumpets were sounded, which announced the commencement of the year, and those who thought proper left the synagogue; but many of them remained until one o'clock. They met again at sun-set the same day, when the observance of those rites terminated. No food was allowed to be taken till the sounding of the trumpets, on either of those days.

FALL OF HOUSES.—On the 8th, early in the morning, the inhabitants of Charterhouse-lane were alarmed by the fall of a range of old and dilapidated buildings, in Frogwell-court. From one part of the rubbish the half-buried body of a female, named Morgan, was immediately drawn out; but her four children were still in the ruins. In a very short time the two eldest children were dug out; fortunately they had been but slightly imbedded in the rubbish. Their preservation was owing to two beams coming in contact, which formed a support over their heads. The other two, one an infant about six months old, and the other about two years, were taken out dead. The father had gone to his work before the accident happened, and Mrs. Morgan was in the act of dressing herself, having left the infant in the bed, where, had she remained, she must herself also have been killed, as the bedstead was broken to splinters. Another family occupied the lower part of the building, but fortunately escaped unhurt.

SUPPOSED MURDER.—An inquest was held at the Castle tavern Woolwich, on the body of a man, who had been found drowned in the Thames the day before. The body had the appearance of hav-

ing been in the water for five or six days. The throat was cut from one ear to the other, and some of the front teeth knocked out. There were marks of violent contusions on the head and on the left arm, which was broken near the wrist. Round the waist was a cord, to which was attached a stone of about eight pounds weight. The deceased appeared to have been about forty-five years of age. It appeared from the evidence, that, on the preceding morning, the ship-keeper on board a fishing-smack, lying at Barking Creek's mouth, observed something drifted by the vessel, which the mate said he thought was a human body, and, by desire of the captain, he put a rope round under the arm-pits of the body, and towed it ashore. He had examined the pockets, but found no money; in the waistcoat pocket were a tortoiseshell-comb, a tooth-brush, and a pencil. There was no paper of any sort about the body. When first picked up it was floating with the back upwards. After it was brought on shore, a stone was found tied round the middle, and hanging in front of the lower part of the belly. The shirt collar was unbuttoned, and some blood was issuing from the wound in the throat. A surgeon stated, that the wound on the throat was sufficient to have caused death, that the man might have run twenty yards after receiving it. The carotid artery was severed, and the wind-pipe partly divided. The following verdict was returned.—“That the deceased was found on the 7th day of September, dead, and floating on the river Thames, with his throat cut and a stone tied to his body, but whether he died of the said cut, or by drowning, or by his own hands, or

by the hands of any other person, there is no evidence before this inquest to prove.”

9. ACCIDENT BY AN EXPLOSION ON BOARD A STEAM PACKET.—The packet called the Duke of Sussex, captain Smith, left Lincoln, on Tuesday the 9th, at the usual time, but another packet getting the lead, Mr. Smith's engine was put to full pressure; notwithstanding which, when he arrived at Dogdyke, the other packet was above a mile a-head. Several passengers were waiting at Dogdyke for the purpose of embarking in the Duke of Sussex, and the engine was stopped to take them on board. During the time of this stoppage, the weight on the safety-valve (about 17lb.) was not removed; consequently, the steam accumulated greatly, and, from the action of the valve being impeded, an unusual noise was heard in part of the packet. The passengers being all on board, the word was given to set the engine-a-going; but in attempting this, the boiler suddenly burst, with an explosion which was distinctly heard at the distance of two miles, and on the alarm subsiding, it was discovered that the side of the boiler had been totally blown from its position, and that great quantities of steam and boiling water had been ejected, knocking down some persons on shore, and slightly scalding others. There were seventeen passengers on board at the time, most of whom were so situated as to escape serious injury. Immediately on the boiler bursting, the large iron chimney was thrown down, and the sides of the packet were stove in, when the vessel lurched, and one side went down, the other being aground. The sufferers were immediately conveyed ashore.

11. OLD BAILEY.—The sessions commenced, and the calender contained the names of four hundred and seventy-two prisoners, of whom four were charged with murder, two with forgery, and twelve with embezzlement.

Peter Fenn, described as a school-master, was indicted for uttering a forged bill of exchange for 50*l.* to one Thomas Pratt, well knowing the same to be forged. The prisoner under the name of the rev. Peter Fenn, had, some time before, been engaged as a teacher in a respectable academy kept by a Mr. Kirkman, at Islington, where he had gained the respect and confidence of a great number of persons. After he left Islington, he opened an academy on his own account, in Hyde-street, Bloomsbury, and was shortly afterwards introduced to Mr. Thomas Pratt, a respectable army agent; and, having engaged in certain money transactions, he induced Mr. Pratt to discount several bills, amongst which was the bill in question. It was dated the 21st of February last, and purported to be drawn by a Mr. Phillips upon one James Powell, of Colchester, and to be accepted by that individual, payable four months after date, at Messrs. Hankey's bank, in London. The bill, which became due on the 24th of June last, was discounted by Mr. Pratt, and the prisoner shortly afterwards left this country for the continent. Upon inquiry being made on the part of Mr. Pratt, it was discovered that the bill was a forgery, and the prisoner, being pursued, was found at Calais by Mr. Pratt's attorney, and brought to England; where, in the course of an interview which Mr. Pratt had with him, he made a distinct confession of the forgery.

The body of the bill had been written, under the direction of the prisoner, by a person of the name of Davison, who had been an usher in the prisoner's school. The signatures were forgeries: it was proved that that which purported to be the acceptance of James Powell was in the handwriting of the prisoner, that no person of the name of Powell resided at Colchester, and that Messrs. Hankey, at whose house the bill was made payable, had no customer of the name of Powell residing at Colchester.

Mr. Pratt's attorney, who had found the prisoner at Calais, swore that, when the latter saw him, he appeared like a frantic man; he said he was ruined, and mentioned who had ruined him. Witness the same evening made a memorandum of what passed. The prisoner said, "I will go quietly to Newgate—only don't put me in irons. I'll plead guilty. I shall then have about six weeks, after I am condemned. I'll see no one—I'll do as Fauntleroy did, and it will be over in a moment. I was coming to England to deliver myself up to justice." Witness requested him to compose himself, and, after some further conversation, the prisoner, clasping his hands together, said, "Melton is the man who ruined me; he has gained by me 7,000*l.* within the last two years." The prisoner mentioned other names, also, and told witness, that he must not leave him or he should cut his throat. Mr. Pratt himself deposed, that he had an interview in the lock-up-house with the prisoner, after he had been brought to England. The bill now produced was spoken of; and the prisoner declared to Almighty God that witness had not gotten a bad bill; he



added, that, if any thing could give satisfaction to a man in his unfortunate situation, it was witness's liberal conduct to him during their acquaintance. The next day but one witness had another interview with the prisoner at the same place. At that interview the 50*l.* bill was spoken of. Witness, having, since the former interview, made some inquiry respecting the bill, told the prisoner that he was fearful from the result of those inquiries that he (the prisoner) had deceived him with regard to the bills. He then, without any reserve, said, "I am sorry to say they are forgeries."—The jury found the prisoner *guilty*. The same prisoner was tried, on the following day, (12), for forging or uttering, knowing it to be forged, another bill for 159*l.* 10*s.*, which he had discounted with a former pupil. He was convicted of this charge, too, on the same evidence of his own admissions. Sentence of death was passed on the prisoner: but he was not executed.

**ACCIDENTAL HANGING.**—A boy about fourteen years of age, named Anthony Clayton, who was employed in the factory of Mr. W. Hunt, of New Mills (Manchester), and was remarkable for intelligence far beyond his years and his station in life, was suddenly missed from his employment in the afternoon. His disappearance excited some apprehension for his safety, and an immediate search for him was commenced through the factory; in the course of which two women, having gone into an upper room in which no person was employed, found him suspended by the neck from a steam pipe, and perfectly lifeless. On further examination, it was discovered that

he had round his neck a strong leather collar, evidently intended for the purpose of preventing strangulation. In an outhouse adjoining the factory, two other collars were found each retaining marks of having been strongly compressed by a cord; and to a beam in the outhouse were attached two cords, which had evidently been drawn very tight, and then cut. It appeared that the boy had been making experiments, either on the sensation produced by hanging, or on the means of preventing strangulation by wearing a collar round the neck. In two of these he had been successful, having been enabled to cut the cords by which he was suspended. In the third experiment, however, he had been unable to effect this, and had perished—a victim to his own curious and inquisitive disposition. An inquest was held on the body, when the jury returned a verdict—"that the deceased came by his death, while trying an experiment to ascertain the sensation produced by temporary strangulation."

**12. CHARGE OF MURDER.**—

*Old Bailey.*—Margaret Harlican, aged 21, was indicted for the wilful murder of Mary Ann Moore, a child five months old, by pouring over it a quantity of scalding water.

Eleanor Cawley, the mother of the deceased child, stated, that the prisoner and her mother lived in Crown-court, Rosemary-lane, Whitechapel, in a house kept by a female of the name of Smith. On the 26th of August last, a woman of the name of Toomey had been invited by the prisoner into her room. On a bed there were three children, one belonging to the prisoner, the other to Mrs. Smith, and the third to witness. There

was a kettle on the fire, which the prisoner told her mother to take off because it was boiling. The mother took it off, and put it on the hearth. Some words having arisen between the prisoner and Toomey, the prisoner struck her on the side of the head with a stone bottle, and then struck her with her fist in the face. Toomey said it was a pity to let a blow go twice, got up, laid hold of the prisoner, and knocked her down on the bed. She fell on the bed without much violence. The two women having been separated, the prisoner went to the bed and took her own child off and laid it under the window; then she made over for the kettle of water that lay on the hearth, saying that, if she could not get her revenge on the b—y woman, she would get it on the children. She then took up the kettle, which had the lid on, and threw it on the bed where the children were. The witness took up her own child, and dipped it in a tub of cold water. The child's clothes were full of hot water, and the witness's fingers were burned in taking up the child. The child died in the hospital the next day.

This account was corroborated by the evidence of other witnesses. The medical gentleman, who had attended to the child in the hospital, stated, that it was scalded over its back, belly, thighs, and legs. It had lost a great part of its skin, and appeared very much exhausted from the shock it had received. He ascribed its death to the scalding it received. Immersion in cold water was calculated to do it good, and not to accelerate its death. The officer, who apprehended the prisoner, stated, that she told him she was coming to give herself up, as she knew she

had done wrong, and had been very uneasy all night.

Mr. Justice Littledale summed up the evidence to the jury, and observed, that this was a somewhat novel case; and the question for them to determine was, whether what the prisoner had done amounted to the crime of murder, or to that of manslaughter only. To constitute the crime of murder, there must be what the law called "malice aforethought;" but in this case it was certain that the prisoner had entertained no previous malice towards the child, which had given her no provocation for the act she committed. The jury would consider on whose part the provocation arose, and if they were of opinion that the prisoner had not been influenced by malice aforethought towards the child, it would be their duty to acquit her of the charge of murder, and find her guilty of the minor offence of manslaughter.

The jury retired, and, after ten minutes' deliberation, found the prisoner *Guilty of Manslaughter*.

12. STORM.—The coast along the counties of Elgin and Banff was visited with a tremendous gale from a north-eastern direction, which was productive of considerable damage to property, together with loss of life. A new schooner, the *Traveller of Sunderland*, broke loose from her moorings at Hopeman, a small creek about six miles to the north of Elgin. She was driven ashore a little to the westward of Hopeman, among some small rocks, on one of which she was thrown, being without cargo or ballast at the time, but did not receive any injury. Another boat, belonging to Rotten-slough, came ashore on the same day between Speymouth and Port-

gordon. She had foundered at sea, and the whole of the crew, consisting of six men, had been unfortunately drowned. Three of them had wives and a family of six children each. Another boat was also upset about half a mile off Portgordon, and two of the crew, consisting of four individuals, were drowned. The others clung to the buoys and nets which were in the boat. One of the two who escaped with their lives was a boy; who, perceiving the buoys making no progress towards the shore, cut the nets from the buoys, by which means he was drifted ashore, after being tossed about for two hours. Upwards of a dozen boats, lying in their mooring at the port of Buckie, were dashed to pieces.

ANTIQUITIES.—A rose noble, one of the beautiful gold coins of the reign of Edward the Third, was turned up by the plough in a field belonging to sir Geo. Armytage, of Kirklees Park, situated at Crossley, in Mirfield. It was nearly the size of half a crown, but not so thick. When found, it was quite bright, in a good state of preservation, and of the purest gold. On the impress side, Edward is represented in a ship, holding a sword in his right hand: in his left, a sceptre and shield. On the shield are engraven the arms of England and France quarterly. The margin bears the inscription of "Edvard. dei gra. rex. Ang. dy. Hyb. et Aqt." The reverse represents a flowery cross, interspersed with *lioneux* and *fleurs-de-lis*, with the pious motto, "*Jesvs avt. trans. per med. illorum ibat.*" The coins, of which this is a specimen, were struck to commemorate Edward's victory over the French at sea, on Midsummer-day, 1340. Very few of them are extant. A

common noble of the same coinage was found in the river Witham, near Lincoln, and is in the possession of Henry Hutton, Esq. The coin above described is in the possession of sir G. Armytage, bart.

13. CONSECRATION OF THE BISHOP OF CHESTER.—The ceremony of confirmation of Dr. Sumner, as bishop of Chester, took place in York Cathedral. In the centre of the first elevation, leading to the altar, was placed a table and three arm-chairs, with crimson cloth, where the confirmation was to take place. The litany was read from the proper desk by the rev. James Richardson, M. A., which being concluded, the lord bishop elect was conducted to the chair at the west end of the table. Mr. Mills commenced the ceremony by exhibiting the royal assent and the commission of the archbishop, which being read and accepted, the elected bishop was presented, and the citation returned. The usual forms being afterwards gone through by Mr. Buckle, the lord bishop elect rose from his chair, and, kneeling on a hassock, took the oaths of supremacy, simony, and canonical obedience. The consecration took place next day, Sunday the 14th. The archbishop, with the bishops of Gloucester and Winchester, and the bishop elect, alighted at the south door of the cathedral, and were received with the customary formalities by the dignitaries of the church, &c. preceded by the vergers, &c. and were conducted into the vestry to enrobe. When the archbishop and his chaplains had entered the cathedral, and the bishops of Gloucester and Winchester, with the bishop elect, had taken their seats in the stalls, divine service was commenced by reading the morning prayers. These

being ended, the archbishop and bishops of Gloucester and Winchester proceeded to the altar, where the communion service was commenced by his grace the archbishop: the only difference in the communion service being the introduction of a collect especially appointed for the occasion. The gospel was read by the right rev. the bishop of Winchester, brother to the bishop elect. The archbishop then read the Nicene Creed. The sermon being ended, the organ was played, whilst the bishop elect went from his stall, and was brought up by the bishops of Gloucester and Winchester to the archbishop, who was seated in the chair; the bishops saying, "Most reverend Father in God,—We present unto you this godly and well learned man, to be ordained and consecrated Bishop." After some other prayers, the archbishop and the two assistant bishops laid their hands on the head of the bishop elect, and the solemn consecration prayer was repeated by the archbishop. This done, the Holy Bible was put into the hands of the newly-made bishop, with a solemn admonition from the archbishop, who then pronounced the benediction, and the congregation was dismissed.

13. In the Court of Assize of Paris, a young man named Dupuis, aged twenty-two, was charged with the assassination of the Sieur Presle, a horse-dealer. Dupuis pretended that Presle had carried on a criminal connexion with his (Dupuis's) mother: he wished, he said, to avenge the outraged memory of his father. He first challenged Presle to a duel, and, when the latter refused to give him satisfaction, he went to the house of his mother at Ivry, saw Presle, and laid him dead

at his feet by a pistol-shot: with another pistol he attempted to destroy himself, but he received only a slight wound. On this person was found the following note, addressed to his mother, the widow Dupuis:

"Madam,—I have avenged the memory of my father and the dishonour which you have brought on my sisters and my family. Before you receive this letter, I shall cease to exist."

The jury having negatived the question of premeditation, Dupuis was condemned to hard labour for life. A brother of his had been executed at Lyons for assassination. After sentence was pronounced, the President, addressing the counsel for the accused, said, "The court has observed with regret, that in your defence you thought proper to pronounce a eulogy on duelling and suicide."

15. ATTEMPT AT POISONING.—A Servant maid in the employment of Mr. Fergusson, near Forres (Scotland) having conceived, illwill towards some of the shearers on his farm, attempted to destroy the lives of the whole, eleven in number, by poison. She had mixed it up in a kind of diet very general at farm-houses in that country, known by the name of sowens; and, as is customary, sent out the sowens to the shearers in the field. The sowens not possessing that smoothness on the top which is usual, and having at the same time a watery and otherwise singular appearance, the reapers, in the first instance, determined on not taking them. On second thoughts, however, they resolved on making their dinner of them; but a few minutes only had elapsed after the conclusion of their meal, when every individual began violently to vomit. They were then

all taken to the house ; and, in the course of the afternoon and evening, the symptoms considerably abated ; and medical assistance being procured, they finally recovered.

**AEROSTATION.**—On the 17th, a Mr. Robertson, who ascended in a balloon from the Castle-gardens, New York, had the following narrow escape, as related in the American journals. On the cords being let go, the balloon rose to the height of upwards of one hundred feet before the wind had carried it beyond the circumference of the Castle walls. Unfortunately it had been let off directly to the windward of the flag-staff, with which it came violently in contact, in consequence of which the netting not only became entangled with the staff, but the car was turned nearly upside down. Mr. Robertson having his back to the flag-staff, had not time to prevent its collision, which he might otherwise have done with a pole. In this perilous situation, with his head hanging down, and his feet uppermost in the car, clinging by the frail netting which attached it to the balloon, he remained at the height of near a hundred feet from the ground, vibrating in every direction. At this instant a large rent was made in the balloon, and he gradually descended about fifteen feet. The spectators cried out to him to take hold of the halyard of the flag-staff. Though nearly black in the face from his position, Mr. Robertson was perfectly collected. At this moment a man climbed the rope for his relief, but was unable to ascend nearer than within some fifteen feet of Mr. Robertson, when his strength failed, and he was obliged to descend. It was hardly supposed possible that his physical power could longer

sustain him. Still he held on, sometimes, apparently, by his feet, and sometimes by one hand, grasping at any and every thing with the other. At length he caught the rope, and by a powerful effort, and a very dexterous movement, he cleared himself from the car, and the entanglement of the cords, and was seen suspended by one hand. He then caught the rope with his other hand, and descended forty or fifty feet with great velocity, and fell the remainder of the distance, but was caught by the people below. He was soon upon his feet, and retired to a private apartment, where his hands, which had been blistered and somewhat excoriated by the cords and the rope in his fall, were dressed. He also lost one of his front teeth, by having seized a cord in his mouth, as he threw himself from the car. He was not otherwise injured.

24. Two persons, named Bouton and Scribot, were brought before the tribunal of the Correctional Police, having been apprehended in the rue St. Denis, where they had established a secret manufactory for gunpowder. In the person of Bouton, who was nearly blind, was recognized the individual who was condemned to death with Gravier in 1821, for an attempt on the person of one of the royal family, by discharging petards under one of the arcades of the Carousal, at the time when the duchess de Berri was upon the point of giving birth to the duke of Bordeaux. Bouton had been pardoned, and had formed the project of going to Buenos-Ayres, to establish a powder-manufactory ; but his infirmities and want of pecuniary means prevented the execution of this design. Bouton was sentenced to pay a fine of 3,000 francs, and Scribot to three months' imprisonment.

**24. DREADFUL CATASTROPHE.**

—This afternoon, the houses Nos. 4, and 5, in Exeter-street, Strand, fell in with a dreadful crash. It fortunately happened that the excavations in Catherine and Brydges streets, for the construction of a new common-sewer, were going on, and in a few minutes upwards of fifty men, the best calculated to act in such an emergency, were at work in clearing away the ruins. The first body taken out was that of a carman, of the name of Neaves, in the employ of Mr. Thomas Cross, of Royal-row Lambeth. He was taking in a load of bricks directly under the house No. 4, when the two houses fell, and he was killed. After digging for about half an hour longer, a faint cry was heard, and in a few moments an aged woman, named Edgeley, was found, with her left arm fractured in several places. She was a lodger in the attic story, and was engaged in knitting when the crash took place; but remembered nothing afterwards until she was taken out. An hour afterwards, two children, the one seven years old, and the other nine months, were taken out. The infant died almost immediately, but the other was found to have received no material injury. The next person extricated from the ruins was a girl, seventeen years of age, who had happily received no other hurt than a few slight bruises. From her it was ascertained, that, at the time of the accident, there were six persons in the house No. 5, that she knew of—namely, her mother, herself, her two brothers, Frederick aged nine years, and Francis aged nine months, (the infant killed), her sister Selina, aged seven (the little girl saved), and Mrs. Edgeley, who was seventy-eight years of age. Her father

had gone to the west end of the town on business, about half an hour previous to the occurrence. At the time that she was taken out, the cry of a lad was heard, and, in a short time, the workmen reached the spot where the boy Frederick was buried beneath the ruins; but, fortunately, he was preserved by some timbers falling crossways, so as to prevent the rubbish from smothering him. He was so hemmed in, that to extricate him was impossible without sawing asunder the beams by which he was protected. The rubbish immediately over the spot where the boy was lying was next cleared away, and in less than ten minutes he was brought to the open air. He was found to be free from fracture, but his head was much bruised, and he appeared to suffer from extreme thirst, and a considerable degree of fever. While he was under the ruins he said several times to the men who conversed with him, “Never mind, don’t hurry, I shall get out presently.” It was ascertained, before this boy was dug out, that the mother had been killed, her body being discovered with the head completely jammed to pieces between two heavy joists of timber.

**INQUEST.**—An inquest was held in the Lambeth-road on the body of a female infant, which had been discovered buried in St. George’s field. The person who found it, stated, that an old woman, whom he had just before seen talking to a little girl, pointed out the body of the deceased child, which was crammed into a hole running under the footpath into the carriage road, which had been made as a temporary drain to carry off the water into the waste land; the body was partially covered with

earth, but its legs were visible. He drew it out, and then found it to be completely naked, and with two marks upon its neck. The medical witnesses were of opinion, that it had been recently born, and had been born alive, and that the marks on the throat might have been caused in the birth. The watch-house keeper at the Circus gate then brought into the room a middle-aged and very respectably dressed female, whom he had thought proper to detain, on suspicion of having participated in the affair, from what had fallen from her in the course of conversation. She appeared either to be labouring under mental delusion, or to be very much intoxicated. She seemed very faint, and repeatedly called for water, and "where's the child? where's the child?" The body was then placed before her upon the table. In a state of great agitation she unclosed the cloth, sank back in her chair, and turned her head aside from the body. After she had recovered, the coroner asked her, if she had ever seen the infant before? She replied, "that child never lived half an hour after its birth; but you have so disfigured it." Coroner.—Were you at the child's birth? She replied, "No, I was not at its birth, but I have been charged with murdering it, and, of course, I ought to suffer for it." She then got up again, and inspected the body a second time, and turning its head round to look at its neck, called for more water, being very faint. Coroner.—Where do you reside, and what is your name? Woman.—Ah, I will not tell you that, for obvious reasons. This question being put to her repeatedly, but in vain, she was removed into an adjoining room in custody. The

officer said, that he recollected this woman having attempted to throw herself over Westminster-bridge about five months before. At the suggestion of the jury, she was examined by medical persons, who reported that there was nothing to warrant them in saying that she had recently given birth to a child. The coroner said, that, if she was not the mother, it was his opinion that she knew all about the transaction. But, as she was not at present in a fit state to be examined, he would adjourn the inquiry, and commit her, in default of securities, till the next examination. Next day the woman's husband came forward; and it was ascertained, that she was a crazy-headed person, rendered doubly so by intoxication, and knew nothing at all about the matter.

ARRIVAL OF THE QUEEN OF PORTUGAL.—On the 24th, the Brazilian frigate *Imperatriz*, of forty guns, vice-admiral Manoel Antonio Farinha, having on board, Donna Maria da Gloria, the young queen of Portugal, arrived at Falmouth from Gibraltar, whence she sailed the 5th inst. Her majesty was received with every demonstration of respect due to her rank, and the frigate was saluted on her entrance by the garrison and men of war, and, again, on the royal standard of Portugal being hoisted at the main after coming to anchor. The viscount Itabayana, the marquis Palmella and his lady, general Valdez, the late governor of Madeira, together with the heads of the military and civil departments, immediately went on board to pay their respects to her majesty, and the former more particularly to confer with the marquis de Barbacena, the lord chamberlain, as to future proceedings. The queen's retinue were not

certain, until her arrival, that this country would receive her in any other character than as duchess of Oporto, and therefore the royal standard was not hoisted on board the Imperatriz, until a royal salute from the forts and ships, with decorations of colours, announced her acknowledgment as queen by the British government. Her majesty landed next day, and proceeded by easy journeys, to London. Congratulatory addresses were presented to her by the corporations of the principal towns through which she passed.

#### MUSICAL FESTIVAL AT YORK.

—This festival took place on Tuesday the 23rd, Wednesday the 24th, Thursday the 25th, and Friday the 26th. The principal performers were Madame Catalani, Madame Caradori, Miss Paton, Miss Stephens, Mrs. Knyvett, Madame Stockhausen, Mr. Braham, and Mr. Phillips. The performances took place in the Minster, and the music was principally sacred. In Handel's *Dettingen Te Deum*, with which the performances opened on the first day, the chorus consisted of ninety cantos, ninety tenors, seventy altos, and one hundred basses: these, with thirteen principal singers, and two hundred and fifty instrumental performers, making up a total of six hundred and thirteen. The performances took place in the Minster, and, besides the Messiah, were principally selections from Handel, Paesello, Haydn, and Mozart. The festival closed on the 26th, with a grand fancy ball. There had been another ball on the Monday evening. The following were stated to be the sums paid to the principal performers, and the amount of money received.

	Guineas.
Madame Catalani .....	600
Miss Paton .....	£200
Miss Stephens .....	200
Madame Caradori .....	200
Mrs. Knyvett .....	100
Madame Stockhausen .....	100
Mr. Braham .....	250

The other male performers inferior sums.

#### RECEIPTS FOR TICKETS.

Saturday (principally for patrons' tickets) ..	£1,376 10 7
Monday (including ball)	3,371 8 6
Tuesday .....	2,199 13 6
Wednesday .....	2,840 16 6
Thursday .....	3,013 11 0
Friday, including fancy ball	1,821 13 6

Total ..... £14,623 13 7

The expenses were estimated at from 12,000*l.* to 13,000*l.* The clear surplus was to be allotted to the hospitals 1,000*l.* each.

29. *AURORA BOREALIS*.—This meteoric phenomenon was seen to great advantage on the 29th. At seven o'clock a segment of light first formed about the north magnetic pole, and gradually increased in height till eight, when its altitude was 26°, and it extended from W. by N. to N. E. by N. The first four streamers or columns of light shot up nearly perpendicular from its base, in the N. W. by W. point of the horizon, at twenty minutes before eight, and were quickly followed by others, considerably wider, from every part of the segment. About forty columns of light appeared, some of which reached to an altitude of 35°. were from 1 to 2½° broad, and varied in colour from light yellow to light red. At a quarter past eight, a great deal of light emanated from the edge of this segment in the shape of a broad band, and, in five minutes afterwards, a perfect arc of flame-coloured light, 3° broad, was formed above it. This arc was evidently thickened by a constant stream proceeding from its western



base, and at first intersected the Northern Crown, passing a few degrees under Polaris, and between Capella and Algol. It continued to rise and increase in breadth till it was nearly  $20^{\circ}$  above Polaris, when it had an altitude at its apex of  $70^{\circ}$ , appeared stationary, was nearly parallel with the Milky Way, and extended from W. by S. to E.N.E. Its breadth at this time, a quarter before nine, was about  $4\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , and was measured by means of the two stars *beta* and *gamma*, in the head of the Dragon, as it exactly filled the space between them. At ten minutes to nine, part of the luminous arc disappeared to the eastward, but was again made perfect by thick streams of light from its western base. It again disappeared at its eastern base, gradually wore away, and at five minutes past nine, when some clouds passed over, it could not be traced, except at its western base; yet the segment of light, from which it first appeared to rise, was not entirely effaced till ten o'clock. This was the most beautiful luminous arc of the Aurora ever observed in this latitude: it was more uniform in breadth and its light more permanent than the one observed in the night of September 26, 1826, as that arc was only made perfect at intervals by the meeting of the streamers in the zenith from its extremities. Several long-trained meteors appeared during the Aurora; and a hard gale blew from the S. W., which seemed to bend that part of the arc near the western horizon considerably out of its regular curve.

#### ELECTION OF A LORD MAYOR.—

A meeting of the livery was convened in the common-hall, pursuant to the municipal regulations of the city, for the election of an

alderman to serve as lord mayor for the year ensuing. The attendance of the livery was very numerous. The lord mayor and court of aldermen, attended by the city law authorities and officers, opened the proceedings in due form. The recorder came forward to state to the livery the nature of the business on which they were assembled. He was immediately assailed with hisses and groans, and other similar manifestations of popular disgust, which rendered what he said inaudible, except to those who were close to his person. The lord mayor and court of aldermen retired, and left the livery to their election. The common serjeant then read to the livery a list of those aldermen who had not yet served the office of lord mayor—namely, aldermen Thompson, Key, Crowder, sir Peter Laurie, and Farebrother, who were now put in nomination for election. A show of hands was then taken. It was apparently unanimous in favour of alderman Thompson. A small number was held up for Mr. alderman Crowder. The sheriffs declared the choice of the livery to have fallen on alderman Thompson, and on alderman Crowder. The two names were reported to the court of aldermen. The lord mayor and aldermen returned to the hall, when the recorder came forward to announce that the election of the court had fallen upon the senior alderman, Thompson. This announcement was almost inaudible, in consequence of the hisses and groans with which the learned judge was again received by the citizens.

POISONING.—A female, in the bloom of youth, and very handsome, was committed to prison, at Bremen, charged with having poisoned 65

persons, amongst whom were three husbands and five lovers. The motives for these crimes were love, jealousy, ambition, or avarice. One of the victims was a physician, who, after having examined one of the persons poisoned, and pronounced the cause of the death, was himself poisoned on the following day. On being apprehended by the police and examined, poison was found concealed in the hair-papers of her head, and she acknowledged thirty of the murders.

**SINGULAR GOURMAND.**—A barber of Modena, for a considerable time, evinced at intervals symptoms of madness. He was thought quite cured, when a short time ago, after showing signs of melancholy for a few days, he cut his throat with his razor. Surgical assistance was immediately procured, but at the end of four days he died. From some particular appearances, he was opened, and, to the astonishment of the operators, they discovered in his stomach fifty-nine Venetian sequins, seventy-two imperial ducats, Roman and Dutch, eighteen half doubloons of Parma, two louis, three half sovereigns, and a quarter doubloon. It appeared that the unfortunate man had swallowed the whole a few moments before he had cut his throat,—that they had produced inflammation, and would have caused his death,—and that he could not have recovered, even if he had not committed suicide.

**FEVER IN GIBRALTAR.**—On the first of this month, some cases of infectious fever having occurred in Gibraltar, the report went abroad in the place that it was the yellow fever which had appeared. An immediate cessation of business took place, and most of

the Spanish families quitted Gibraltar for San Roque and Algeciras, without waiting to ascertain the truth of the report or the real nature of the malady. The number of fugitives increased so rapidly, that the Spanish authorities became alarmed, and refused access to any more of them; and an order was shortly after issued by the governor of Gibraltar, that no persons whatever should quit it without permission. All the remaining residents had therefore no alternative but to stay and face the evil. At first it was believed that there was not serious ground for alarm, and no medical reports were issued, the sickness being affirmed to be not more frequent than it usually is after a long continuance of dry weather like that which prevailed in Gibraltar. But the malady gradually assumed a more decided and destructive character. By the 22nd the number of cases of fever had amounted to nearly six hundred, out of which between seventy and eighty had ended fatally. During the remainder of the month, the number of new cases, and of deaths, as appearing from the medical reports of the hospitals, were the following; but it was understood that these reports by no means included all the cases which occurred.

Sept. 23rd,	admitted 67,	deaths 11,
24	..... 67,	..... 10,
25	..... 65,	..... 14,
26	..... 77,	..... 12,
27	..... 100,	..... 13,
29	..... 109,	..... 17,
30	..... 98,	..... 18,
		583,
		95,

And the total number of cases in September was one thousand two hundred and thirty three, among which two hundred and nine deaths had occurred, being

about one in six. By the 25th, the troops had all been encamped on the neutral ground, and at Europa point, to guard as much as possible, by the more open air, against the danger of infection. The district called the Neutral Ground remained perfectly healthy; but the persons transferred to it suffered great privations, while numbers of the poorer sort, prevented by the fever from pursuing their usual occupations in the garrison, were in danger of perishing from hunger.

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### OCTOBER.

**SUPERSTITION.**—The following instance of the ignorance and superstition prevalent in some of the French provinces occurred a short time ago at Bucigny. Three young girls of that place having been suddenly attacked on the same day with convulsions, it was instantly rumoured that they had been bewitched. In consequence of this rumour, nearly four hundred persons went in procession to their house, where some of the leaders performed a variety of exorcisms. A woman, who had been with them on the preceding evening, became suspected of having bewitched them, and fled for safety to the house of the mayor. The mob, however, being determined to release the females from the spell under which they were supposed to be suffering, were continuing their exorcisms, when an immense toad was observed crossing a pathway near the house. The exorcisors immediately concluded, that the evil spirit, which had bewitched the young females, had taken the form of this

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animal and they condemned it to death. It was roasted alive in the presence of the females, under the impression received in that part of the country, that, in proportion as the wizard or witch suffers, the person bewitched derives relief. In this case, however, the convulsions were greater after the execution of the toad than they were previously, and the crowd quitted the spot to hold fresh deliberation. The Procureur du Roi being informed of the affair, sent a physician to examine the females: his report was, that they were merely suffering under a nervous affection, which would very shortly yield to proper remedies.

**LONDON UNIVERSITY.**—On the 1st of October this institution was opened, by Mr. Charles Bell, professor of physiology and surgery, delivering the first lecture of the courses dedicated to the medical profession. He prefaced his lecture by an introductory discourse, in which he spoke thus of the new Institution:—

“Gentlemen;—It will somewhat diminish the oppressive nature of my duty to-day, if you will permit me to say, that, although I have the honour of first appearing before you,—a circumstance accidental,—I speak my individual sentiments only, as your professor of Physiology and Surgery.

“The munificent arrangements made for science and education, and the numerous audience now assembled, must not lead me for a moment to assume that the labour of the professors will be light or easy. The task which awaits us is a very difficult one—we must win our way to public confidence, as if our professional exertions were but commencing.

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"The success of the University will depend on the relation established betwixt the teacher and the pupil—the devotion of the one to the interests of science, and to the instruction of youth; and the gratitude of the other for the highest benefit that can be received—the improvement of his mind and the acquisition of a profession: through the improvement of his mind, incalculable increase of happiness; and by the acquisition of a profession, the best security for independence that the condition of society admits. For obvious reasons London must continue to be the principal school of medicine; but whilst there are many favourable circumstances, there are also many unfavourable to regular study; and it is now to be demonstrated that it is possible to retain that which is favourable, and to avoid the defects. In colleges, such as have been instituted in former ages, the professors enjoy the advantages of independence and seclusion, and are removed from the distraction of our busy world. It is otherwise in London. Here professional men are differently situated, and more activity is requisite, perhaps of a different kind, less contemplative or theoretical—more practical; and to maintain a distinguished place, unceasing exertion is necessary. They are on an acclivity, or rather in a rushing stream, where they will be carried down, if they do not endeavour to ascend. In the course of thirty years, I have seen the establishment of many schools attempted; but it has always happened, that the temptation of following a lucrative practice has far outweighed the desire of reputation to be gained by teaching; and, consequently, just when the

professor became useful by the knowledge he was capable of communicating, he has withdrawn himself: and so the situation of a medical teacher, instead of being the highest, and entitling him who holds it to be consulted in cases of difficulty,—as being of the seniors of his profession—one who has withstood petty solicitations, and has maturely studied as well as practised,—it is merely looked upon as a situation introductory to business—one of expectancy, and to be occupied in rapid succession by young and inexperienced men. Let us hope, that, instead of this rapid succession, this University may be able to raise the professors of science to higher consideration, induce men of talents to prepare themselves for teaching, and to continue their public labours to a later period of life.

"With respect to our students, the defects of their mode of education are acknowledged on all hands: they are at once engaged in medical studies, without adequate preparation of the mind,—that is to say, without having acquired the habit of attention to a course of reasoning; nor are they acquainted with those sciences which are really necessary to prepare them for comprehending the elements of their own profession. But in this place this is probably the last time they will be unprepared, for example, for such subjects as we must touch on to-day. In future they will come here to apply the principles they have acquired in the other class rooms to a new and more useful science." At the conclusion of the lecture, the Warden, Mr. Horner, announced, that the whole of the University was open to the inspection of the persons present. A considerable

part of the building is as yet unfinished, but in a state rapidly approaching completion. The museum of Pharmacy, and the *Materia Medica*, is already very forward. The dried medical plants are arranged with great ingenuity and extremely convenient for the access of students. The anatomical and surgical museum is in great forwardness. It contains some very rare and curious specimens prepared with great skill and beauty, and is furnished with some part of a very large collection of drawings, made by Mr. Bell. The lower part of the building is fitted up as a refreshment room, in which the students may be supplied at a very moderate rate with dinners, breakfasts, and other refreshments.

#### 2. MURDER AND SUICIDE.—

An inquest was held on the bodies of Charles Green, aged twenty-seven years, and Eliza Green, his daughter, aged two years; the bodies lay in the house No. 45, Gray's-inn-lane. The father lay with his head nearly severed from his body, and his murdered child by his side.

Mr. Benjamin Burton, of Chesterfield, Derbyshire, surgeon, stated, that he had known the deceased a great number of years. He was a native of Wittington, in Yorkshire, and formerly had occupied a good farm, but led a very debauched life, neglected his business, and got involved in difficulties. He had disposed of the whole of his crops and farming stock, and come up to London for the purpose of procuring a situation. His wife had died about last Christmas. Witness saw the deceased for the last time alive at the Pewter Platter, in Wood-street, Cheapside, when he informed witness that he was in the expectation of getting a

situation as guard to a stage-coach. He had then the produce of the sale of his effects, or at least the remainder of it, in his possession; but he was keeping company with a number of dissolute young men, on whom he spent his money, in entertaining them, they having deluded him into a hope, which was never realized, that they could obtain for him the situation he required. Some times he appeared overjoyed at the idea of getting a situation, but at other times he was in a melancholy and desponding mood. The verdict of the jury was, "that Charles Green was insane at the time he committed the acts—first, by administering poison to his child, which was the occasion of her death, and afterwards of cutting his own throat." It appeared that he had taken off his coat and waistcoat, and had washed and shaved himself, before cutting his throat. A razor, stained with blood, was lying close by. Upon the drawers was lying a piece of an old letter, on which was written, in pencil, "Forgive me this rash act." The paper had neither address, signature, nor date. The child had been found on the bed, in the agonies of death. A narcotic poison had been administered to the infant, and, on searching the room, a bottle, which had contained laudanum, was found. After an ineffectual attempt to dislodge the poison, a coach had been procured to carry the infant to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, but it had proceeded a very short distance, when the child breathed its last.

**LIGHTNING.**—On Sunday last, the 5th inst, while divine service was performing in the parish church of Kilcoleman, Claremorris, in the county of Mayo, a dreadful tempest,

accompanied with rain and lightning, came on. The beautiful spire of the church, which had been consecrated only on the 1st of August preceding, attracted the electric fluid, and was immediately rent to atoms. Some of the stones fell upon the roof, which caused it to give way, but it so fell upon the pews, that only one female lost her life; five others were dangerously wounded, and many suffered from bruises.—*Dublin Evening Mail*.

#### EXAMINATION OF A MUMMY.—

*Paris, October 7.*—A few days ago one of the mummies in the museum of the Louvre was opened. It was one of the finest of the valuable collection made by the chevalier Drovetti. According to the hieroglyphic inscriptions, this mummy, which was the embalmed body of Nouté Mai (the beloved of the Gods), had been, during a few years, one of the priests of Ammon. It was enclosed in a kind of pasteboard, richly ornamented on the outside with figures of Gods, and symbolical animals. The preservation of this funeral covering was perfect, it having been originally protected by two wooden coffins, in which the mummy was conveyed to Paris. The pasteboard was untouched by decay, and in the same condition as when it at first came from the hands of the embalmers. As soon as it was opened, the minute pains, which the Egyptians bestowed upon the arrangement of their mummies, was observable. The successive unrolling of the cloth and ligatures which bound the body manifested the various operations which were gone through by the embalmers, and of which the following is the description:—First, After the process of descia-

tion by the natron had been finished, the dead body, enveloped in a sheet, had been plunged into a vessel of boiling bitumen, which penetrated every part in such a manner as to form, in crystallizing, a bed of solid bitumen surrounding both the body and the sheets in which it was wrapped. The back of the head had alone been exempt from immersion in this penetrating liquid. Secondly after the immersion, each member had been enveloped by bandages—the fingers first, then the arms, and the legs, separately, and, lastly, the entire body, which by means of different pieces of linen placed upon the front of the neck, the breast, the loins, the abdomen, and upon the outside of the arms, and the thighs, &c. and kept firm in their place by innumerable turns of the bandages, preserved the just proportions of the living body. This dressing concealed the excessive meagreness of the corpse, which was, in reality, reduced to skin and bone by the natron.

When the body was completely unrobed, the head was discovered to have been shaved, a custom which literary antiquities, as well as ancient monuments, prove to have been adopted by the Egyptian priests. The teeth remained in their place, and an attentive examination showed that the individual had been about forty years of age when he died. A leaf of gold covered the mouth, a plate of silver lay upon the breast, and straps of coloured leather hung from the shoulders. The cavities of the eyes were filled with plugs of linen, which, like the bandages, had been soaked in oil of cedar, a celebrated preservative against corruption. The interior of the head was empty, but the envelop of the brain was preserved. Drops of pure bitumen, of extreme brilliancy and some

thickness, were found upon the breast, between the thighs, and upon other parts of the body.

7. **QUEEN OF PORTUGAL.**—The young queen of Portugal arrived in London, from Bath, on Monday the 6th, and took up her residence at Grillon's hotel, Albemarle-street. In Marlborough, Reading, and the other towns through which she passed on her journey, she had been loudly greeted by the people. Next morning a deputation of the Portuguese nobility, gentry, and principal merchants at present in the metropolis, waited upon her majesty, to present an address. Some of the most distinguished members of the deputation were introduced to the queen by the marquis de Palmella, as the Portuguese minister, previous to the presentation of the address. The deputation were subsequently introduced into the presence of her majesty, who was attended by the marquis de Barbacena, lord Clinton, and sir William Freemantle. The Brazilian minister, and several gentlemen attached to the Portuguese and Brazilian legations, were also present. The following address was read by the marquis de Palmella:

"We trust your majesty will allow us to have the honour, this day, of fulfilling the most sacred and most pleasing of duties. A number of faithful subjects of your majesty, present themselves to-day at your majesty's feet, and hope that you will deign to accept, in conjunction with the declaration of our homage and respect, the expression of delight which we feel at the arrival of this happy day, when we have the felicity of being in the presence of our beloved and revered sovereign. It is unnecessary, madam, to use superfluous

words to express our sentiments of attachment and loyalty to your sacred person; our presence in this country, and in this place, fully proves the sincerity of our attachment. Your majesty is now surrounded by persons who have voluntarily risked their all, and sacrificed every thing to maintain their honour and keep sacred the oaths which they had sworn to your majesty and to your august father, the magnanimous and generous legislator of Portugal. But we this day regain the best part of what we have lost. Here we still have a country, the true centre of which is the diadem which encircles the august brow of your majesty, by the grace of God, and by virtue of legitimate right, and of which no human power can ever deprive you. May your majesty deign to accept the homage of our vows, which are in accordance with those of all Portuguese who have been driven from their homes by tyranny and a government founded upon usurpation; and which are also in accordance with the sentiments, equally fervid, though from necessity silent, of many other faithful subjects of your majesty, which terror and chains compel them to bury in the bottom of their hearts."

To which her Majesty made the following answer:—

"Faithful Portuguese,—I am grateful for the sacrifices you have made for my sake. Believe me, I shall never forget the martyrs of legitimacy." The members of the deputation were then severally presented to their sovereign by the marquis de Palmella. The duke of Wellington and lord Aberdeen arrived shortly afterwards, for the purpose of welcoming her majesty on her arrival in the capital. They

came in their state carriages, were dressed in military uniform, and decorated with their several orders. Messages of congratulation were also sent from his Majesty at the royal cottage at Windsor.

8. FALCONRY. — The duke of St. Alban's, Hereditary Grand Falconer of England, gave a grand day of falconry, at Redbourne. Among the party who were invited to partake of the entertainment, were the mayor, aldermen, town-clerk, sheriffs, and coroners of the county of Lincoln, the neighbouring gentry, and the tenants of his grace. The birds, eight fine falcons, were each chained to a section of a cone of wood, about fifteen inches in height, and ten inches in diameter at the base. They were unhooded, but belled, and mostly sat at the top of their posts. Six of them were taken for the sports of the day.

1st Flight. — A dog having pointed, a hawk was unhooded and loosed; it rose wheeling over the heads of the party, sweeping to the right and to the left; now rising into mid-air in the distance, and now attentive to the hawk's call, gradually contracting its range of flight, and narrowing its circles; descending suddenly to the surface of the earth, and then rising again with equal abruptness. The partridge was flushed, and flew with the wind, towards the company; the hawk marked it with apparent unconcern, and as if little disposed to take the same direction; yet, without exactly pursuing any track, he gradually neared it to within a certain distance, when he suddenly crossed on the bird's line of flight, and, seizing it at a height of thirty or forty yards, bore it in his beak, bleeding and screaming over the heads of the company, carrying it

down into the belt of a plantation adjoining the road. The hawk was immediately recovered to the hand of the hawkers.

2nd Flight. — As soon as the hawk was loosed, the wind carried it with great violence to the east; and though the hawkers exerted his utmost endeavours, the sound of his call did not appear to reach the bird, which kept wheeling in large circles, and making for the east and north-east alternately. At length it crossed the road at a distance, and flew off for the woods to the left of the company. The duke galloped after it with "drawers" or lures attached to his girdle, and was followed by a number of other horsemen; but, though they came up with it again, it changed its course, and went off.

3rd. Flight. — Though it was evident, from the state of the wind, that there was great danger of losing the hawks by persisting in the sport, a third hawk was tried. A bird was flushed, on which it darted almost immediately, and killed it. A second bird rose, and made across a large field for the company. The hawk was at a considerable distance, but bore obliquely on the same line: all were convinced that the bird would escape: but when it was about half across the field, the hawk, being at a height of twenty yards above the bird, flew rapidly, as if to pass over it, and then descended in a sudden swoop, curving down with great force, and striking the bird, which had lowered itself, with a violence that made it roll over several times as it fell on the ground. Yet the point of contact was not visible to the eye; the motion, when it was struck, could not be traced; only the effect was visible. The hawk rose again, and crossed



the road ; but soon returned over the spot where the bird lay trembling. The partridge again rose, and flew down a lane ; the hawk followed it with apparent indolence, but soon made a second dart, striking the partridge with violence into the ditch.

**LAUNCH OF A FRIGATE.**—On the 8th a new forty-six gun frigate, called the Clyde, was launched at Woolwich with the usual ceremonies. She was built upon a plan furnished by sir Robert Seppings, of a light, elegant, and peculiar construction, being round at the stern, the work of which was low, so as to allow the stern chasers to be fired over them. The following were the dimensions :—Length on lower deck, 152ft. ; length of the keel for tonnage, 127ft. 3½in. ; extreme breadth, 40ft. 3½in. ; depth in hold, 12ft. 8½in. ; burden in tons, 1,081, 29-94ths.

**AN OBSTINATE COW.**—On Wednesday the 8th, an action was tried in the county court at Preston, before the under-sheriff, by Mr. Joseph Pacey, against Mr. John Ramage, the keeper of the Vauxhall-road watch-house, in Liverpool, to recover damages for alleged negligence of the defendant in omitting to take proper care of a cow, impounded in a pinfold kept by him. The circumstances of the case were of a somewhat singular nature. It appeared, from the evidence, that, about six o'clock in the evening of the 8th of July last, a cow was found wandering in Tithebarn-street in a very disorderly manner, to the terror of the lieges, several of whom it had thrown down ; and, for this conduct, it had been seized, and dragged to the pound, kept by the defendant. Here the restive animal determined on making her escape, and, ascend-

ing a flight of six stone steps, she proceeded along a passage, and, breaking open a door, found herself in a room where Mrs. Ramage and her family were taking tea. The company ran screaming from the room, leaving her to the uninterrupted enjoyment of the bohea, and, buttered toast. The cow, immediately commenced operations on the good things before her, but from natural awkwardness, overthrew table and tea-service ; and, after doing some other mischief, bolted through a door opposite the one at which she had entered the room, and down five steps into a yard, where egress was stopped ; and, before she could retrace her steps, Mr. Ramage and his assistants took her into custody, and conveyed her to her original place of durance. The next morning, Mr. Ramage, on visiting the yard, found that his prisoner had again escaped, and he immediately made a search for her. She had climbed a heap of stones, lying in one corner of the yard, to a wall about twelve feet from the ground, along which she had walked (though the wall was but on brick and a half thick) a distance of sixteen feet, and climbed somewhat higher to the top of a shed ; this she had walked over, and again elevated herself by gaining the top of a building used as a file-cutter's shop. Not being sufficiently acquainted with that part, she at once pushed one of her feet through the sky-light, to the inexpressible horror of Mr. Rockett, the file-cutter, who was at work below. Having extricated her foot, she again ascended, and walked along the roof of a warehouse, the height of an ordinary three story house. This roof proved to be too weak to support the weight of the

animal, and she fell through upon a pile of bags of cotton, and rolled to the floor, where her journeyings ended, for she was found in this room, lying on her side, very materially injured. The owner of the cow had to pay 2*l.* 2*s.* to the proprietor of the warehouse as compensation for the injury sustained; and he now sought to recover damages from the pinfold keeper, for allowing the beast to wander. After some deliberation, the jury returned a verdict for the plaintiff, damages 2*l.* 2*s.*, subject to a point reserved for decision as to the jurisdiction of the court to try the cause.—*Liverpool Courier*.

9. PAUPER MARRIAGES.—At the Mansion-house, a gray-headed man, upwards of seventy years of age, and his newly-married wife, charged the officers of Bishopsgate parish with having refused to support them, although they belonged to the parish.

The Magistrate.—What could have induced two such objects to marry?

The pauper said, that he could not do without a companion.

The beadle of Bishopsgate ward stated, that the pauper was a regular speculator in wives, and that the female, who appeared by his side, was his fourth spouse. The moment he lost a wife, he was ready to take another, if he could get any parish to portion one of its female paupers off to him. The system was this. When a parish has a troublesome woman, either as a drunkard or a prostitute, the officers very willingly give her two or three pounds as a marriage-portion. This fortune is large enough to tempt male paupers to aim at her hand. She has often to make her election between from four or five lovers, but the officers will not

give the cash to any suitor who does not belong to some other parish. The moment the marriage takes place, the parish, to which the female belongs, gets rid of her for ever, and that to which the husband belongs is burdened with both. The present couple were married about two months ago, but they spent the whole fortune in two or three days in gin and beer.

The Magistrate desired, that the pauper's wife, who was standing out of sight, should come forward.

She confessed that her husband was not long paying his addresses to her. They were both widows, and were not likely to have children, and he asked her to speak for a fortune to the beadle, and they would get married.

The Magistrate.—And what did you do with the 2*l.* 10*s.*?

The old woman replied, that she never saw a farthing of the money; but she belived the beadle kept half. If her husband thought he would have been served such a shabby trick, he would not have relieved the parish of her.

The Magistrate.—How long did you know him before you married him?—I knew him one day, and was his wife the next.

The Magistrate refused to make any order upon the parish-officers in favour of the man, and advised the overseer to take the couple into the workhouse, and to employ them moderately there.

EARTHQUAKE.—*Genoa, Oct. 9.*—After a slight shock of an earthquake last night, about ten o'clock, not perceptible to the greater part of the inhabitants, a more violent one shook the city for about thirty seconds. The oscillation was accompanied by a horrible crash. The greater part of the population,

wailing and half-dressed, ran out into the gardens and squares, and there waited till day-light, before they returned to their dwellings. A third shock was heard at half-past eight in the morning. A great number of houses were split from top to bottom, among others the ducal palace, whose fine hall, which was reckoned one of the most beautiful in Europe, was rent in two. Several chimnies, some of the turrets ornamenting the churches, and the clock of St. Peter d'Arena, were broken to pieces. Nobody perished.

11. MURDER IN MANCHESTER.—Between twelve and one o'clock in the morning, a person, whose name was unknown, having quarrelled with a prostitute, gave her in charge to the watchman on an accusation of having stolen money from him. The watchman, named Howarth, declined to interfere, as the man was brutally drunk, and did not seem to understand what he was about. Shortly afterwards, Howarth was found sitting on the flags, holding his hand over a wound, from which his bowels protruded. He died the same evening. From his statement it appeared, that, after parting with the drunken man, he had proceeded to his beat; and, about a quarter past three o'clock, he was in Mason-street, when he saw the man coming towards him. Immediately on meeting each other, the fellow, without saying a single word, drew a carving knife, from under his coat, made a violent stab at the lower part of his abdomen, and ran away. Howarth immediately called for assistance, and other watchmen came up to him, but too late to secure the murderer. Of the persons who saw the man on that night, no one knew any thing at

all about him. A reward was offered for his apprehension.

QUEEN OF PORTUGAL.—On Sunday the 12th, the birth day of Don Pedro, at the residence of the marquis Palmella, above two hundred Portuguese swore the oath of allegiance to the young Queen Donna Maria, and recorded their attachment to the ordinances of the emperor Don Pedro, and to the charter which had been to them the source of bitter sufferings. The marquis de Palmella addressed his fellow-countrymen for three quarters of an hour, thanking them on the part of their sovereign and country, for the sacrifices which they had made in the cause of both. He made them fully acquainted with the views of the emperor Don Pedro, in the conditional abdication he had made of the Portuguese crown in favour of his eldest daughter—the condition being, the preservation of the charter, and the marriage of Donna Maria—always, however, reserving those natural rights, as guardian, that can never be severed from a father during the minority of his child.

The secretary of the embassy then read the different decrees of Don Pedro respecting his conditional abdication in favour of Donna Maria, and also despatches from the Emperor's cabinet in Rio de Janeiro, communicating to the marquis de Palmella, in the strongest terms, his majesty's sense of his loyalty in this crisis of the affairs of Portugal, and highly approving of his having ceased to hold any communication with the present usurped government in Lisbon. There were present, on this occasion, the whole of the Portuguese and Brazilian legations at the court of London, the Bra-

zilian minister Plenipotentiary at the court of Vienna, and the Portuguese Plenipotentiary at the court of the Netherlands. The marquis de Palmella was the first to take the oath of fealty to the young queen. His excellency's example was immediately followed by all the members of the Portuguese legation in London, as well as the Vice-consul, and the minister Plenipotentiary to the Netherlands, and his *attachés*, and afterwards by the several Portuguese peers of the realm, members of the chamber of deputies, grandees, titular nobles, generals, and other military and civil officers in the Portuguese service, &c.

14. AEROSTATION.—*Balloon Ascent*.—Mrs. Graham and Mr. Pickering made a second ascent from the Chichester gas works, on Tuesday the 14th. The inflation was completed at a few minutes before four o'clock; but, on the lady and gentleman taking their seats in the car, it was obliged to be lightened of nearly all the ballast, and even of the grapples. It then rose majestically yet so steadily as to be scarcely seen to advance, there being but very little wind, which blew from the north, and the sun shining most resplendently at the time. After being up about eleven minutes, the descent was made in a field near Sidlesham-common. On the car first touching the ground, the balloon, from having no grapples, rose nearly three hundred yards, and on again descending, came in contact with a walnut tree, and the aeronauts narrowly escaped being thrown out; but by this time several persons had collected, and made all secure.

17. MURDER.—The following very deliberate and brutal murder

was committed in Yorkshire, near the village of Snyder, in the foot-road from Wakefield to Pontefract, on Friday the 17th. William Longthorne, a post-boy, had agreed to walk that morning from Wakefield to Pontefract, in company with a man named Mosey. They left Wakefield early; and, when crossing a beck close by Snyder, Mosey first knocked him down, and threw him into the beck. Longthorne then got out of the beck, and was making his escape from the murderer, when, about twenty yards from it, the latter seized hold of him again, got him down, took a razor from his pocket, cut his throat from within an inch of each ear, robbed him of his watch and some money, dragged him by the feet, face downwards, to the beck side, and then threw him into it, leaving a channel of blood from the place where he cut his throat to the beck side. The murderer then went off; and Longthorne managed again to get out of the beck, and crawl towards Snyder, where he was found still living. He was so much weakened that he could not speak; but with a slate and pencil he wrote down the particulars. He added, that, when Mosey had him down, he held his right hand fast, and the gashes on his left hand had been inflicted in trying to defend himself with it against the razor. He died on the following Sunday. The spot, where the murder was committed, was surrounded with farm houses in all directions. Some children going to school had seen Longthorne lying bleeding by the beck side, and had run off terrified.

22. LOSS OF LIFE FROM FIRE.—Inquests were held in Huntingdon-street, Kingsland-road, Lon-

don, on the bodies of Mary Eleanor Elizabeth Ball, William Charles Ball, and Thomas George Ball. The first-named, aged about eight years, perished in the house No. 11, in that street, destroyed by fire on Monday, the 20th; the others, younger children, had been rescued from the flames, but were so dreadfully burned, that they had died, on the following day. The parents, it appeared, had gone out on Monday evening, leaving the three children in bed, shut into a room on the first floor, with a candle placed in a dish upon the table. About ten o'clock the upper apartment was discovered to be on fire, and the flames spread with exceeding rapidity. A person named Vellely made his way through the flames, and brought two of the children out at the risk of his own life; but the girl perished in the flames. Her body, reduced to a cinder, was presented to the view of the jury; but the limbs had been completely separated from it.

**CASTING OUT DEVILS.**—The *Kaleidoscope of Bordeaux* contains an account of an exorcism performed by the Curé of Roussillon, M. Soucasse, upon a female named Hortensie Dabardie, who, when in a state of delirium from illness, was pronounced by the wisecracks of the district to be possessed with devils. The *Kaleidoscope*, after mentioning the facts which preceded the arrival of the curé, says —“M. Soucasse, having inquired the cause of the disturbance, approached Hortensie, and pronounced the name of Jesus. She uttered ‘a diabolical cry,’ and the curé declared that she was certainly possessed. He exclaimed, ‘Fly, fly, and get some holy water and my robes, and

hasten for my missal as quick as possible.’ He was instantly obeyed. Hortensie was then led to the church, being sprinkled all the way with holy water, and, immediately on entering, she fell down, apparently exhausted. The curé then pronounced some sacramental words, threw half a bucket of holy water upon her, and, turning himself towards the people, exclaimed, ‘Look! look at the little devils who go out of her.’ Immediately after this idle ceremony, the sacrament was administered to Hortensie Dabardie, who partook of it; and, directly after this, it was pretended that all the devils had flown away. They were forty-seven in number, and the curé said, that the three last had given him more trouble than all the rest. He declared, also, that though he had seen only one fly out of the window, he was certain that they had all disappeared; the one he alluded to was black as ebony, and had a dart more than a foot in length.”

**25. OPENING OF THE ST. CATHERINE'S DOCKS.**—These docks were opened on Saturday the 25th, with much pomp, in presence of a numerous assemblage of all ranks, both gentlemen and ladies. At twelve o'clock the doors of the dock-house, opposite the mint, were thrown open for the admission of company; and, soon after that hour, the line of carriages reached from Tower-hill through the Minories to Leaden-hall-street. Upon the delivery of tickets in the long-room of the dock-house, a printed programme was given to each visitor, by which he was directed to the spots best fitted for the enjoyment of the scene, and instructed in the order of the arrangements for the day.

Along the quay of the north warehouse, commanding a direct view of the entrance to the docks from the Thames, temporary benches had been erected in rows three or four deep. These were entirely filled with company. The three quays of the import dock were also lined with visitors, the western quay being devoted to the exclusive accommodation of such as were not favoured with tickets for the collation. The windows of the various warehouses, and the landings for goods on each floor, were also occupied. The vessels, which were about to enter the docks, had their yards manned, and their rigging was ornamented with the flags of all the nations of Europe.

At the entrance of the dock was stationed the band of one of the regiments of foot guards; whilst, at the opposite extremity, or the river entrance, was placed a large private band of wind instruments. Between these, and at the entrance of the eastern dock from the basin, was a company of artillerymen, with a train of artillery to fire salutes, and keep up occasional discharges during the ceremony. The line of quay from this corps of artillery to the great flood-gates was thronged with the *élite* of visitors.

At about forty minutes after one o'clock the signal bugle sounded; the band of the royal artillery, on board the *Elizabeth*, immediately struck up "*Rule Britannia*," and this noble vessel began to move slowly through the passage from the river to the outer basin. She was ornamented with flags of every nation, and of every device, and with broad pendants streaming from her signal halyards, from the truck of each mast to the very gunwale. The instant the bow of the vessel entered the basin, the artillery corps

fired a royal salute; and as soon as she neared the pier, the sound of the cannon was succeeded by the cheers of ten thousand voices, whose shouts were returned by the seamen and the numerous company on board the ship. The next ship that entered was the *Mary*, three hundred and forty-three tons, a Russian trader. She was laden with every description of Russian produce, and had on board forty veteran pensioners from Greenwich, all of whom had served under Nelson at the battle of Trafalgar.

Next followed the *Hindustan*, of four hundred and twenty-four tons; the *Aurora*, the *Emma*, the *Catherine Ann*, the *George* and *William*, and the *Prince Regent*, of four hundred tons, to load for New South Wales.

The site of these docks lies immediately below the Tower; the amount of capital raised by shares was £1,352,800; and it was estimated, that the whole expense of their final completion would be about £1,700,000. Independently of the space actually occupied by the docks and warehouses, the company possess freehold waterside property of the value of 100,000*l.*, which they were obliged to purchase by the terms of the act of Parliament, and which yields a large annual rental, capable of very considerable improvement. In clearing the ground, one thousand two hundred and fifty houses and tenements were purchased and pulled down,—no less than eleven thousand three hundred inhabitants having to seek accommodation elsewhere. The area thus obtained is about twenty-four acres, of which eleven and a half acres are devoted to wet docks. The first stone was laid on the 3rd of

May, 1827, and upwards of two thousand five hundred men have since been employed, from day to-day. The canal leading from the river is one hundred and ninety feet long, and forty-five feet broad; and is crossed by a swing bridge twenty-three feet wide, supposed to be the largest of the kind yet executed. The great advantage of the canal is, that it is sunk so deep that ships of seven hundred tons burden may enter at any time of the tide—a desideratum long wished, and, for the first time accomplished by the St. Katharine's Dock Company. On the right of the canal, and immediately within the dock walls, the engine-house is situated. It is furnished with a steam-engine of one hundred horse power, by means of which the canal may be filled or emptied as occasion may require. The warehouses are upon the most extensive scale. They are five stories high above the ground in the fronts facing the docks, and six in those facing the streets; the ground-floor towards the docks is eighteen feet high, open, and supported by massy pillars, for the accommodation of vessels discharging; towards the street it is divided by means of a mezzanine, into two stories which are devoted to the warehousing of goods. The Smithfield range is four hundred feet by one hundred and five feet; the foss-side road; ditto, four hundred and seventy-five feet by ninety-five feet; the Tower-hill ditto, four hundred and forty feet by one hundred and twenty-five feet; and there are commodious vaults under the whole.

There is a liberal supply of powerful cranes below; and, over the wells or shafts, which reach from the top to the bottom of the building,

is machinery for raising goods to the height required. Each crane has an umbrella-shaped covering to protect the apparatus from the weather, and a bell by which to announce to those above when the tackle is made secure. The columns supporting the walls of the warehouses next the dock are three feet nine inches in diameter, with Doric capitals, and of most admirable workmanship. They are of cast iron, two inches thick, and were supplied by the Milton foundry in Yorkshire. The pillars supporting the floors are also of cast iron, three inches in diameter, and so furnished with flanches, as to give their section the appearance of St. George's Cross. The stairs are wholly of granite, and the pavement of the quays, in the neighbourhood of the cranes, of cast iron. Sliding mooring rings are fixed in the dock walls, which rise and fall with the fluctuation of the water, so that there is no occasion for loosening or tightening the headfasts of the vessels. The docks will be capable of containing from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty ships at one time, independently of craft. The depth of water at spring-tides is twenty-eight feet in the lock, being four feet more than is to be found in any other dock in London; and, in consequence of a channel being kept clear in the river of three hundred feet wide, a ship, however large, may come up to the St. Katharine dock at any time in perfect safety, with the certainty of admission.

27. SINGULAR ROBBERY.—On the evening of Monday the 27th, a man went into the shop of a gold refiner, in London, and asked to be served with eight grains of fine gold. The shopman took down a

canister, in which gold in pieces was kept for sale by retail, and proceeded to weigh the quantity asked for, keeping at the same time one hand cautiously upon the canister. He had finished weighing, and was putting the gold into paper, when the customer said, "how much have you weighed?" — "Eight grains, according to your order," was the reply. "O dear me," said the fellow, "I beg your pardon, I made a mistake; I was to have asked for twelve grains." Something in the manner of the man made the shopman suspect that he intended wrong, and he kept a tighter hand upon the box; but the additional four grains were put into the scale; and at that moment the fellow took something from under his waistcoat, and discharged a quantity of burning liquid (afterwards ascertained to be aquafortis) upon the face of the shopman. The shopman screamed aloud in agony, at the same time instinctively making an effort to seize the ruffian; but he eluded his grasp, and, snatching up the canister containing the gold, made off with it. A man in the back shop came out on hearing the young man scream, and ran into the street in pursuit of the thief, but he had disappeared. The shopman was in a dreadful state of suffering, and medical assistance was procured as soon as possible. The skin, wherever the liquid had fallen, was completely burned through; the hair on the front of the head was removed, and one eye was materially injured. The canister taken away contained about one hundred and forty ounces of fine gold, which, at the present price of that article, may be valued at about 680*l*.

**POISONING OF GAME.**—*Cheshire Sessions.*—The *King v. Samuel*

*Burgess.*—The indictment charged the defendant with having, on the 25th of February last, at Chorley, in the county of Chester, maliciously and unlawfully placed in a field there several quantities of wheat, impregnated with arsenic, with intent to destroy the game of the prosecutor; the second count varied the offence; the third count charged the offence with intent to destroy fowls and other animals wandering there, the property of his Majesty's subjects. The case proved in evidence was the following: The prosecutor was a gentleman of great landed property in the counties of Chester and Lancaster. The offence charged was one of frequent occurrence, and the prosecutor had felt it his duty to prefer the present indictment. The defendant was a weaver by trade, and on the evening of the 28th of February, Robert Walton, the son of the prosecutor's game-keeper, observed the defendant in a field belonging to the prosecutor, and in the occupation of the defendant, apparently in the act of sowing some kind of seed. Walton asked what he was sowing, and the defendant answered, "I am sowing nothing." Next morning Walton went to the field where the defendant had been seen, and there he discovered wheat sown thickly in several places, and gathered up about half a pint of it. It had the appearance of having been soaked in some kind of liquid, and, in order to ascertain its effects upon any bird, an experiment was made. A cock fowl was procured, and allowed to eat as much of the wheat as it could. It was then put into a bag, in order that it might get no other description of meat, and, about ten o'clock the next morning, it died, leaving no doubt



of its having been poisoned. The contents of the bird's stomach were afterwards examined by Mr. Deane, surgeon, of Wilmslow, who declared, that the wheat had been soaked in a solution of arsenic.

After evidence had been received for the defendant, tending to prove ill-will towards him on the part of the prosecutor's witnesses, with a view to show that the prosecution originated in malice, in which, however, the defendant failed,

The Chairman summed up, and the jury, after some deliberation, found the defendant *guilty* on the third count only, charging the defendant to have placed the arsenic with intent to destroy fowls, &c. He was sentenced to be imprisoned for three months.

FORGERY.—*Old Bailey, Oct. 28.*—Joseph Hunton, draper, aged fifty-eight, a very respectable member of the society of friends, was indicted for forging and uttering as true, a certain bill of exchange for 48*l.* 10*s.* with intent to defraud sir Wm. Curtis, bart., and others. The prisoner was also indicted for uttering a bill of exchange with a forged acceptance for 162*l.* 9*s.*, with intent to defraud sir Wm. Curtis, and others. He was further indicted for uttering a bill of exchange with a forged acceptance for 50*l.*, with intent to defraud sir Wm. Curtis, and others. There were several other indictments against him of a similar nature, to all of which, on being arraigned, he pleaded "not guilty."

The court was crowded to excess; several members of the society of friends were present. After the jury had been sworn, the prisoner applied to have his trial delayed till the next sessions; and when he was told that the

application came too late, his counsel, at his request, threw up their briefs. The following evidence was led.

William Curtis, esq.—I am a partner in the house of sir William Curtis and Co. I knew the house of John Dixon and Co. The prisoner is a partner in that house; they carried on business in Ironmonger-lane; and kept an account at our house. I was in the habit of discounting bills of exchange for the prisoner. On the 1st of August, he came to our house with several bills, and requested them to be discounted. The bill now produced is one of them. I hesitated, and had a conversation with him on the subject, and requested him to explain the nature of the various bills, as they were drawn on persons of whom I had no knowledge. He replied, they were drawn on persons with whom they did business. I remember asking him, who Mountain, the acceptor of the bill named in the indictment, was. He said he was a person with whom his house had extensive dealings. The witness here described the manner in which the banking-house transacted business respecting discounting bills.

Mr. Blackett, a clerk in the house of sir William Curtis and company.—On the 1st of August there is an entry in our discount-book of a bill for 162*l.* 10*s.* cashed for the house of John Dixon and company, of which the prisoner is a partner. I presented that bill at the bankers' where it was made payable; they refused payment, and informed me it was a forgery.

Alexander Chuney, another clerk in the banking-house of Messrs. Curtis and company, detailed the manner in which the bill was entered in their books.

John Dixon.—I am partner with the prisoner; he drew all the bills; the writing in the body of the bill produced is in the prisoner's handwriting. I am not aware that we have any customer of the name of Mountain living at Bury St. Edmund's, whose acceptance it purports to bear.

William James.—I am ledger-clerk at the banking-house of Messrs. Lees and Co., bankers, where the bill is made payable; there is no person of the name of Mountain who keeps an account at our house.

Mr. Henry Mountain.—I live at Bury St. Edmund's; about nine months since, I was in the prisoner's employment; he was at that time carrying on business as a draper at Bury; I was an apprentice; there is no other Henry Mountain in that place besides myself, and I have never had any dealings with the prisoner on my own account, nor at any time owed him any money; the acceptance of the bill now produced is not in my handwriting, or by my authority.

Joseph Warren.—I am a draper at Bury St. Edmund's, and know the handwriting of Henry Mountain; the acceptance to this bill is not in his handwriting.

A. W. Robarts, esq.—I am a partner in the house of sir William Curtis and company. Prisoner had applied to me on several occasions to discount bills. At one time I refused to comply with his request. A few days subsequently I received a letter from him, stating, that, in consequence of our house having refused to discount, and finding his affairs in an embarrassed state, he had determined on absenting himself for a short time.

The letter was here put in and read.

Edward Hurst examined.—In consequence of some information which I had received, I went, in company with a person named Forrester, to St. Helen's. We there went on board a ship bound for America. I found the prisoner in the cabin, and asked him, if his name was not Wilkinson, as I had a letter for him? He said it was. I then told him that I was a police-officer, and had a warrant against him on a charge of forgery. Prisoner was at the time in the act of writing. There were several letters lying before him. I asked him if they were his? He replied that they were. I then took them from him, and put a mark upon them. The letter now produced is one of that number.

The letter was here put in and read: it was addressed to the editor of the *Times* newspaper, and purported to be written by a third person. It stated that the reports in circulation respecting the prisoner having absconded were unfounded.

This was the case for the prosecution.

The prisoner, on being called on for his defence, read the paper which he had previously handed up to the Judge: it was to the following purport:—"I beg most respectfully to state, that I am not ready to take my trial, and I think I stated on Friday sufficient grounds to warrant the ordering it to be postponed, but the learned judges thought otherwise, and decided against the application. Their motives for so doing I do not impugn; they were, no doubt, guided by strict impartiality, and an equal love of justice, and on technical grounds they were perfectly right; but for the reasons I then stated, I have no means of defence; I have no access to my papers; but if my

trial had been postponed till next sessions, I should have been fully prepared: however, that not being allowed, I shall not do myself or my cause the injustice of attempting a defence. I refrained from cross-examining any of the witnesses my persecutors have brought forward against me; nay, I even requested the learned counsel, whom I had retained on my behalf, to take no part in the proceedings; for, as my slight request was refused, I determined to let my persecutors have their own way, and quietly to submit to their malice, and the awful consequences that may attend it."

Mr. Justice Park recapitulated the evidence at great length. His Lordship called the attention of the jury to the letter, which was proved to be written by the prisoner to the editor of the *Times*, and which stated that the prisoner had not fourteen children, but only ten, and that the amount of the forgeries which he had committed was not 14,000*l.*, as represented, but 5,000*l.*, which would have been repaid, if the bankers had not refused to discount.

The jury consulted for a short time, and then returned a verdict of *guilty*, but recommended him to mercy.—The judge then intimated to the prisoner, that the prosecutors thought it proper to proceed against him on another indictment, which would be tried that day week, the 4th of November.—[*Vide infra.*]

29. SUICIDE.—An inquest was held at Bermondsey, on the body of Susan Heath, aged thirty-five, who had terminated her existence by swallowing a quantity of arsenic. A witness stated that she had known the deceased twelve years. She

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was the wife of a respectable stonemason at Colchester, in Essex, but she went by her maiden name, in consequence of having eloped from her husband with a man with whom she had resided for three years. Eighteen months ago he had deserted her, and, being left destitute, she was compelled to make away with her clothes and furniture to support her. Her last alternative was to make an application to her husband, who declined any correspondence with her; and, being driven to despair, she became a common prostitute. Twenty months ago the witness had seen the deceased, but did not again see her until August last, when she met her, and offered her a situation in her family if she would promise to reform. This the deceased did, and had conducted herself well until within the last fortnight, when she appeared dissatisfied and sullen, but declined quitting her situation, saying it was her nature to be dull, and she could not help it. On one occasion she said, that, as her husband would neither forget nor forgive, it would one day or other be the death of her. On Friday last she obtained permission to go to the Bull Inn, Aldgate, to fetch a parcel. In two hours she returned, but brought no parcel, and appeared much depressed in spirits, and at different times during the day appeared labouring under strong aberration of intellect. At eleven o'clock she went to bed, and was the next morning found dead on her bed, beside which was a teacup, containing the dregs of arsenic. A surgeon proved the death of the deceased to have been caused by arsenic, which also covered the sides and bottom of the cup. The poison had not taken

effect more than three hours before his arrival. The jury returned a verdict of "Temporary Insanity."

29. OLD BAILEY SESSIONS.—The sessions closed to-day, when four prisoners were transported for life, fifteen for fourteen years, and sixty one for seven years; two were sentenced to imprisonment and hard labour in the house of correction for eighteen months, six for twelve months, one for nine months, twenty-seven for six months, three for four months, twenty-eight for three months, seven for two months, thirteen for one month, three for six weeks, four for fourteen days, and three for seven days. One was ordered to be whipped and discharged, and one to pay a fine of one shilling, and be discharged. The passing of sentence on the capital convicts was delayed till the second trial of Hunton, who had been already convicted of forgery, should take place.

STEAM BOATS ON THE THAMES.—*London Sessions, October 31.*—*Talbot v. Tucker.*—This was a case which excited considerable public interest. A gentleman, of the name of Talbot, some time before, had lodged an information against captain Tucker, of *The Sons of Commerce* steam-boat, for having demanded the sum of two shillings and six pence, fare from Gravesend, instead of one shilling and six pence, the fare of passengers in passage-boats, as regulated by the new act passed to settle the watermen and lightermen's fares. The defendant had pleaded that steam-boats were not comprehended under the waterman's act; that therefore the regulations of that act were not binding on them. He had been convicted, however, by

the lord mayor, who was himself a member of the waterman's company, and from that conviction this appeal had been brought. For the appeal it was argued, that the word "steam-vessel" was never mentioned in the act, nor did it contain any words in which a vessel of such a description was comprehended. If the legislature intended that all vessels were to be included in the words "and other vessels," it would not have been necessary, *mutatis mutandis*, that wherries and lighters should have been enumerated. On the other hand it was contended, that a specific mention of the particular vessel was not requisite, and that the terms cited did comprehend steam-vessels. The recorder announced the judgment of the majority of the court, that the conviction ought to be quashed. A similar decision was given on a second appeal; and it was thus so far settled, that steam-boats were not within the jurisdiction of the court of aldermen or of the watermen's company.

GIPSIES.—*Lindsey Sessions.*—The following instance of gross imposture on the one hand, and of credulity on the other, occurred at these sessions. Lydia Hart and Isabella Payne, two girls of the gipsy tribe, were indicted for stealing various sums amounting to 40*l.* 5*s.* and two silk handkerchiefs, the property of William Graves Tomlinson. The case proved in evidence was the following. The prisoners being at York races on the 11th of August last, obtained a key to the weak side of the prosecutor, a journeyman smith, and accordingly the prisoner Hart called at his master's shop to purchase a frying-pan. The frying-pan, however, was too small, and she was

then taken down into the cellar to see others. With all these she found fault, and having then finished her frying-pan story, she went up to the prosecutor, and taking him by the hand, addressed him in these words—"Young man, you have been uneasy in your mind, but I am the woman as can make you comfortable." Surprised by this strange assertion, the young man inquired what she meant: and she replied, "I can tell you of something which will make you happy as long as you live." He pressed her for an explanation, but this she evaded. A meeting was appointed on the race-course, where the gipsies were encamped; and, the following morning, he repaired to meet the oracle. She then said, "Something is ordained for you in the house where you live. What money have you, young man?" He answered, "Two shillings." But this was not enough. She urged him to bring 50*l*. To this he demurred, saying he thought two shillings enough for telling his fortune. "Oh!" she replied, "It is not a fortune-telling business, it is quite a different affair." She then took his two shillings, tied them up in one of his handkerchiefs, and laid them upon a book which was upon her knee. "Now," she said, "you must say after me—'I leave this in God's name, to receive it again, so help me God.'" This oath he was silly enough to repeat, and was then dismissed, with an injunction to bring more money on the following morning, when he accordingly took her 10*l*.; and the customary oath, as he called it, was repeated, and he left the money. On the following morning, having some doubts of the issue of the business, he only took three shillings down. At this she was somewhat

displeased, and, a trifling quarrel having ensued, she gave the whole of his money back into his hands, and declared that another person should enjoy the advantages previously destined for G. Tomlinson. He returned her the money, and declared he would "see the end of it." On the following morning he again visited the camp with 30*l*., which he paid over, after repeating the usual ceremony. This was a prize too vast for delay, and seeing that their dupe was already drained, then came the important secret, which was prefaced by incantations; it was, that, on the following Saturday morning, he would find 1,000 guineas in his master's cellar! "How do you know?" asked Mister Graves; "Why," said Miss Hart, "I have dealings with the devil!" and to this he bowed in humble submission, and looked at his watch to count how many hours must pass before he found the golden prize. "Oh! by the bye," said the gipsy, "that is a very pretty watch of yours, what did you give for it?"—"I gave 15 guineas," answered the simpleton. "Well, you must leave that with me." This was too much—it was the last feather which broke the camel's back. "Why," exclaimed his dormant suspicion, "what can you want it for?"—"To know the exact moment when you will find the money, and unless you give me it, I cannot tell you when to search." He was content; he left the watch, and proceeded home. On the following morning he went down, but the party had trooped "over the hills and far away." He was thus roused from his golden slumber; the guineas were shadowy nothings, and all the refuge he had was pursuing his fair deceiver, who had taken the money, watch, &c.,

and he speeded after her to Horn-castle, where she had fixed her abode, pleased enough at having taken in a Yorkshire bite. There he found her, and also found that his money was spreading about, much to his mortification. She was apprehended, and thence resulted this trial. The jury acquitted Isabella Payne, but found the prisoner Hart "guilty of obtaining money under false pretences." The prisoner's counsel maintained that this was a verdict of acquittal, because it was theft with which she was charged; but the chairman directed the jury to find guilty or not guilty, without any qualifications. The prosecutor's counsel then consented that the prisoner should be acquitted, and the jury, though with great reluctance, found her not guilty.

#### CONTAGION AT GIBRALTAR.—

During this month, the infectious disease which had been so fatal in Gibraltar in the preceding month, continued to extend its ravages. The civil hospital not affording sufficient accommodation for the sick, the new Protestant church was fitted up for a temporary hospital. The Bay continued healthy, though not subjected to any restriction regarding intercourse with the town. On the neutral ground cases occurred, but only among people who had fled from the town.

On the 6th October, general Don, the governor, issued the following proclamation:—

"Whereas a disease, highly dangerous to the public health, exists in this fortress, and it is expedient that every endeavour should be used to prevent its clandestine introduction into the neighbouring countries;

"It is ordered that no vessel or craft, under forty tons burthen, be

permitted to clear out at, or to depart from, this port without a special permission for that purpose from his excellency the lieutenant-governor, on the application of the captain of the port."

Great alarm was felt in the Spanish territory adjoining Gibraltar, on the subject of the fever, and the precautions taken to prevent its introduction there were extremely rigid. The vigilance of the authorities was directed principally against smugglers, as the source whence the greatest danger arose of the introduction of infection; and so severe were the measures resorted to, that at Algesiras three smugglers, who made an attempt to land with contraband goods, were shot, and their bodies burnt, by order of the board of health of that place. The proclamation of general Don, which was fatal to the little trade remaining to Gibraltar, was surmised to have been occasioned by a threat from the board of health at Cadiz, that, unless he issued some order of that sort, calculated to avert the danger from smuggling, the supply of vegetables and provisions to the garrison from the Spanish towns would be entirely cut off. On the 11th a meeting of merchants connected with the Gibraltar trade was held in London, when it was resolved to enter into a subscription for the relief of those inhabitants of Gibraltar who had been placed in a state of destitution, by the total interruption of business.

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#### NOVEMBER.

1. MURDER.—A most brutal murder was perpetrated on Saturday the 1st, in the neighbourhood of Ballyconnell, in the county of

Cavan. A fair had been held that day in Ballyconnel, and a party of about five in number, on their return from it, went into a public-house at the cross-roads of Lismore, to drink. Daniel O'Reilly, one of the party, drew a sheathed dagger from his breast, and said to another of the party, named Doud, "We have not been good neighbours, but this will make peace between us." He was desired to put it up, and did so; but they had not proceeded more than twenty paces from the house, when O'Reilly drew his dagger, and wounded Doud in the knee. On this a young man named William Bloxam rode up, and interfered in behalf of Doud, when O'Reilly struck him. Bloxam dismounted for the purpose of resenting the blow he had received, when O'Reilly, being far stronger, threw him down and despatched him. He inflicted on his victim no less than seventeen wounds; five of them were near the heart, and one of them actually passed through it. Their companions, who had supposed that they were only boxing, came up on seeing O'Reilly make off, and found Bloxam weltering in his blood, and life totally extinct. The greatest promptitude was exerted in pursuit of the villain, and he was taken that very night near Ballinamore where he resided. An inquest was held next day on the body, and, before William Irwin, esq. coroner, a verdict of "Wilful murder," was returned against O'Reilly, who was instantly lodged in the county gaol.—*Sligo Journal*.

INNOCENCE OF A CONVICT DISCOVERED.—On Saturday, the 1st, a young woman named Mary Walters was brought before the lord mayor, charged with having robbed Miss Eaton, the daughter of the owner of the Elephant public-

house, in Fenchurch-street. In the course of the investigation, incontestable evidence was given of the innocence of a girl, named Ann Crawley, who was convicted, the sessions before last, of a robbery, and sentenced to transportation for seven years.

In August last, Miss Eaton missed a ring and several other trinkets, and Mary Walters having been at that period employed as a servant in the house for some time, no suspicion attached to her. Soon afterwards Mary Walters complained that she had herself been plundered of clothes, and she charged Ann Crawley, who had been in the house but a few days, with the theft. The girl most resolutely denied that she was a thief; but her accuser persevered in the charge, and a person was employed to search Crawley's box. The report was, that there was nothing in the box that did not appear to be the girl's own property. This did not satisfy Mary Walters, who, with alacrity, went to assist in the search. She had not gone far in her examination of the box when she said, "Here are my clothes," selecting some unmarked articles, and, holding up a ring, which had not appeared before, "Here is my mistress's ring." This was considered conclusive of Crawley's guilt. She was apprehended, committed by the lord mayor, tried at the Old Bailey, convicted, and sentenced to the punishment already mentioned. Mary Walters remained in her place with an increased reputation for integrity. The other day, however, a silk umbrella was missed, and, after some inquiry, it was traced to the shop of Mr. Barker, the pawnbroker, of Aldgate. The shopman said it was pledged by a young woman in the name of

Roach, and he accurately described Mary Walters, who was instantly taken into custody. She was soon identified as the thief. "Have you got any other articles in the name of Roach?" said the loser to the shopman. Search was made, and most of Miss Eaton's rings and other trinkets, which had been stolen, in the belief of the public, by Anne Crawley, were found pledged in the same name. The shopman, however, could not swear, that Mary Walters was the person who pledged them. It appeared that they had been all pawned in August. Upon the trial of Anne Crawley, she solemnly denied that she had ever stolen any thing; and she protested, that the clothes, which Mary Walters claimed as her property, and received at the Old Bailey, were her own, and purchased by her hard earnings. Mary Walters was subsequently tried for, and convicted of, the theft, the trial establishing in the clearest manner, the perfect innocence of Ann Crawley. The latter was immediately liberated by order of the home secretary: but to what society had this innocent girl been doomed, before her undeserved trial, and after her unjust condemnation?

4. FORGERY.—*Old Bailey*.—Joseph Hunton, the quaker, was again put to the bar, charged with having feloniously forged the acceptance to a certain bill of exchange for 94*l.* 13*s.*, dated the 23rd of August, 1828, purporting to be drawn upon John Dixon, and accepted by Richard Luck, with a view to defraud sir William Curtis and Co.

The second count charged, that he had uttered a like bill of exchange, well knowing it to be forged, with a view to defraud the same parties.

There were other counts in which it was alleged that the bill had been uttered with a view to defraud John Dixon and Richard Luck. The evidence was of precisely the same nature with that given upon the first trial; the acceptance being proved not to be in the hand-writing of Mr. Luck, and to be in the hand-writing of the prisoner. In his defence, the prisoner called Mr. Robarts, a partner of the banking house which had discounted the bill, and examined him to the following effect.

Prisoner.—Was this bill discounted by the house of sir William Curtis and Co. on account of the knowledge and opinion that it had of the acceptor, or on account of the knowledge and opinion that it had of myself?

Mr. Robarts.—This bill was not discounted by me on account of any knowledge I had of the acceptor; but purely upon the ground of the previous assurance of the prisoner that it was a *bona fide* transaction of business.

Prisoner.—Was there not at the time in the possession of sir William Curtis and Co., a deed of assignment placed there by John Dixon and Co., as a collateral security for any bills that might be discounted?

Mr. Robarts.—There is in our possession a deed of assignment purporting to be a collateral security to us for any bills or advances we might make to the house of J. Dixon and Co.

The prisoner then addressed himself to the jury to the following effect:—

"Gentlemen,—I stand before you in a situation, which renders any struggle or endeavour on my part to obtain an acquittal vain. When I was brought up on any



former trial, I applied to the court to have it postponed, in order that I might have the opportunity of examining my books and accounts and by that means be enabled to shape the form of my defence. That request, it appeared, could not be granted, and the trial proceeded. The natural consequences followed; a case was established against me, I was unprepared with a defence, and was consequently convicted. I beg leave, however, to acknowledge my best thanks to the learned judge who presided on that occasion for the very humane and impartial manner in which he put my case to the jury. It is true, that since my last trial, I have been offered the opportunity of using my books as I then requested, but it is now too late to be of any service to me. If that offer had been made before my conviction, I should have been able to have made an available defence; but, as I before said, it is now too late—I am already convicted. Any proof, therefore, that I might bring would be of no avail. The offer of the use of my books now, or of producing evidence, now that I have been found guilty, is in fact the same as to say to a man who has on a strait waistcoat, be free. Under these circumstances, I consider any defence that I might offer would be perfectly useless. I have now no money of my own. I took no money of any of my creditors when I endeavoured to escape from this land. The little that I had about me was advanced by my friends, and that was taken from me upon my apprehension. I was once in better circumstances, but since my bankruptcy I have had no supply which would enable me to enter into the expense of a defence aided by counsel. My friends, it is true,

would have come forward for me now, as they did on the former occasion, had I not positively denied to give my consent to what I considered would be a wasteful expenditure of money. I have therefore no counsel, and can only throw myself upon the merciful consideration of the court and of the jury, reminding them that a wife and ten children are dependent upon my exertions for their existence."

The jury, after a short deliberation, said, they believed the prisoner to be guilty of uttering the bill with a knowledge of its having been forged, but they were not unanimous in the opinion that it had been uttered with a view to defraud.

Mr. Justice Park.—I cannot take such a verdict, gentlemen; you must say whether you believe him to be guilty or not guilty of the general charge.

The jury again consulted for a short time, and then returned a verdict of *Guilty*, but begged to recommend the prisoner to mercy.

Mr. Justice Park.—Upon what ground, gentlemen?

Foreman.—Upon the ground, my lord, that a collateral security had been placed by him in the hands of sir William Curtis and Co.

Mr. Justice Park.—If by that, gentlemen, you mean to acquit the prisoner of an intention of fraud, I cannot receive the verdict. I must tell you that the circumstance of there being a collateral security for bills or cash advanced in the regular way of business, and in *bona fide* transactions, is not sufficient to acquit the prisoner of fraud; for, if he uttered the bill in question with a knowledge of its being a forgery, he must have done it with a view to defraud some one or another.

Some of the jury appeared anxious to argue the point with his lordship, but he cut them short by saying that it did not become the dignity of the bench to be reasoned with in such a manner. If the jury had any difficult point in which his assistance was necessary, he should consider himself bound to give it. He had already made them acquainted with the law of the case. The facts were entirely for their consideration, and it was their duty to pronounce such a verdict as their consciences should direct.

The jury, after deliberating for a few minutes, returned a verdict of guilty upon the second count generally; but again strongly recommended him to mercy, not only upon the ground of the security before alluded to, but also upon that of his having a wife and large family dependent upon him.

There were three other indictments against the prisoner, but the prosecutors now declined to proceed on them.

Hunton being asked by the recorder, in the usual form, if he had any thing to say why sentence of death should not be pronounced, delivered in reply, the following address.

"I have but little to add to what I have already said in this court, except that, in all my transactions with my prosecutors, the idea of fraud or of injury to them never once entered into my mind; on the contrary, they know that I have endeavoured successfully to promote their interests, though at the expense of my own; and though I am convicted of having violated the law, yet, having given ample security to my prosecutors for the performance of my engagements with them, I hope I may be

permitted to express that I am not conscious of any moral or wilful guilt with respect to them. I have lived more than half a century with a character hitherto of unimpeached integrity, of which ample testimonials can be produced. I have endeavoured conscientiously to discharge the duties which I owe to society, and have maintained and educated a numerous family, still under my care, with credit and reputation. I have now attained that period of life when I might have reasonably expected to have received some reward for my exertions; but a series of misfortunes and of losses, to an amount exceeding the usual lot of man, have entirely destroyed those expectations; and having given up all my property to satisfy the claims of my creditors, until those claims are adjusted I am entirely destitute, and have hardly any property left which I can now call my own. If these circumstances are any alleviation for my having violated the law, or if they form a plea for the mitigation of punishment, may I earnestly entreat, for the sake of a most worthy and truly deserving wife—for the sake of ten most affectionate, most dutiful children, most of whom are in the early stages of life,—all of them innocent participators in and sufferers by my misfortunes, but whose heads will be lowered down to the very dust, if, in this period of adversity with all their prospects of happiness destroyed, the extreme punishment of the law is inflicted on me, and the life of the husband and father, now almost their only consolation, be taken away. For the sake of these, may I most earnestly entreat, that, when the sentence now to be pronounced is laid before the king

and council, these alleviating circumstances may be mentioned,—that the peculiarly defenceless situation in which I have been brought to trial, and especially that the very kind and very humane recommendations of both the juries by whom I have been tried, may also be communicated; and that I may be recommended as a suitable object of the royal clemency,—that I may be permitted to live the few remaining years which may be allotted me, until it may please Divine Goodness, in his infinite mercy, to call me from this state of probation in the regular course of nature; and that a life, which, though passed in a humble sphere, has, I trust, been of some use to society, may not be cut off by the most appalling of all deaths—by the hands of the executioner.” Sentence of death was then passed on him, and on the following criminals who had been capitally convicted at the same sessions, viz. two, for cutting and maiming with intent to murder; three, for stealing in dwelling houses to the amount of above, £5; five, for robbery; one, for uttering a forged order, and one, for uttering a forged receipt, for money; seven, for house-breaking and larceny; four, for burglary; and one, for being at large before the period of his sentence of transportation had expired;—being in all twenty-five.

5. COMBINATION.—At a meeting of magistrates held at Dobcross, Lancashire, Amos Platt appeared to answer to a complaint against him for neglecting and deserting his work. His employer, Mr. J. D. Whitehead, of Oak View, stated, that he engaged the defendant, on Monday last, to work for him; that he left his employment the same day, and, on being

remonstrated with, refused to return. Platt, in his defence, acknowledged that he had left his work, but stated that he had done so in consequence of some persons threatening to take away his life if he continued in that situation, which belonged to a person who was in the “Union,” and had a large family to maintain.

Being questioned who the persons were who had menaced him, he professed entire ignorance of them, and was very reluctant to make any communication on the subject. The magistrates having asked Mr. Whitehead, if it was his wish that Platt should return to his employment, or be committed for neglect, Mr. Whitehead said, he should prefer the former, and would, to the utmost of his power, protect the defendant from any violence; but if he refused, he must press for a commitment, as it was high time that some check should be put to the proceedings of the Union. A boy in his employment had been assaulted, and nearly killed by a number of men, because his father had not joined the Union. Platt was then ordered by the magistrates to return to his work, otherwise he would be committed to prison for a month, which, after considerable hesitation, he at length consented to.

After this case had been disposed of, the overseer of Saddleworth appeared upon a summons which had been taken out against him by a person who stated that he was out of employment, had a large family to maintain, and, on making application for relief, had been refused. The overseer, in reply, said, that the complainant belonged to the Union, and might have employment, if he chose to relinquish that association. This being the case, he did not

consider himself authorized to grant any relief. A law agent appeared on behalf of the complainant, and contended, that the overseer was bound either to grant relief or find the man employment; but acknowledged, on the question put from the bench, that the Union had employed him to appear for the complainant. The magistrates expressed themselves in very strong terms of disapprobation of the conduct of the Union, which amounted to a conspiracy; and said, that, in their capacity of magistrates, they should oppose every thing which emanated from such societies. They then signified to the overseer their approbation of his conduct, and refused to grant an order.

This combination arose from a few of the master manufacturers, taking advantage of a temporary stagnation of trade, having begun to pay their work-people in kind instead of currency; in consequence of which the latter formed themselves into a union, and raised a fund for the purpose of prosecuting those masters who were guilty of such illegal proceedings. So far the thing was good, and was encouraged by a number of the respectable manufacturers and other inhabitants. But this state of things did not long continue. A number of designing persons from a neighbouring township came amongst them, and represented how formidable they might render themselves to their employers, if they became masters of a considerable fund. In consequence of this mischievous advice, they formed themselves into a union, for the purpose, as they expressed it, of equalizing wages—began to hold lodges, or secret meetings, in different parts of the township—and bound themselves by a secret oath

to abide by the rules of the society, and not leave it on any account whatever. These proceedings were carried on for some time unknown to the manufacturers; but, the fund having increased to upwards of 1,000*l.*, the united workmen began to exult in the success of their plan, and no longer made a secret of their intentions. Their employers, alarmed at the attitude which the combination had assumed, immediately formed a union amongst themselves to counteract its effects, and came to a resolution not to employ any men who continued in the Union. The natural consequence of this was, that the men, sooner than renounce the Union, left their employment, and nearly the whole manufactures of the place were stopped.

10. LORD MAYOR'S DAY.—The pageants and hospitality of this annual festival were distinguished, this year, more than ordinary by pomp and abundance. The procession started from Guildhall about ten minutes past eleven, and it occupied three-quarters of an hour in passing the Royal Exchange. The whole of the parties engaged in the procession had not embarked till half-past twelve. The procession did not reach Westminster, where the usual ceremonies were performed, before two o'clock; nor was it able to return to Guildhall until near five o'clock.

The aquatic and cavalcade arrangements were provided with more than usual show and expense. At the dinner, in Guildhall, every part of the hall and adjoining courts and offices was appropriated for the reception of company, and, at seven o'clock, from seven hundred to eight hundred persons sat down to a sumptuous repast.

At the principal table sat the

lord mayor, the late lord mayor, the duke of Wellington, the lord Chancellor, the earl of Aberdeen, lord Ellenborough, the lord Chief Justice of the court of King's Bench, Mr. Justice Bayley, Mr. Justice Gaselee, Mr. Baron Garrow, Mr. Baron Vaughan, Mr. Peel, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Speaker of the House of Commons, lord Mountcharles, lord Lowther, Mr. Herries, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, sir George Murray, Mr. Arbuthnot, and several other members of his Majesty's government. At the other tables was a full attendance of the civic authorities and their friends. The bill of fare on this occasion was the following: two hundred tureens of turtle, sixty dishes of fowls, thirty-five roasted capons, thirty-five roasted pullets, thirty pigeon pies, ten sirloins of beef, fifty hams (ornamented), forty tongues, two barons of beef, ten rounds of beef, fifty raised French pies, sixty dishes mince-pies, forty marrow-puddings, twenty-five tourtes of preserves, twenty-five apple and damson tarts, ninety marbree jellies, fifty blanc-manges, ten chantilly baskets, four fruit-baskets, thirty-six dishes shell-fish, four ditto prawns, four lobster salads, sixty dishes of vegetables, sixty salads. Remove—fifty roasted turkeys, thirty leverets, fifty pheasants, two dishes pea-fowl, twenty-four geese, thirty dishes of partridges. Dessert—two hundred pounds of pine-apples, one hundred dishes of hot-house grapes, two hundred ice-creams, sixty dishes of apples, sixty dishes of pears, fifty savoy cakes (ornamented), thirty dishes walnuts, seventy-five ditto dried fruit and preserves, fifty-five ditto rout cakes, twenty ditto filberts, twenty ditto pre-

served ginger, four ditto brandy-cherries.

WAGERS.—*King's Bench, Nov. 10.*—*Huson v. Horsman*.—This action had been brought to recover a wager-deposited on a trotting-match, and was tried before Mr. Justice Bayley, at the last York assizes. A motion was now made, on the part of the plaintiff, for a rule *nisi*, to set aside the verdict obtained by the defendant, and for a new trial.

Lord Tenterden, without entering into the merits, said he wished the learned Judge at the assizes had refused to try the cause.

Mr. Justice Bayley was glad to hear that observation from his lordship. He had in the outset expressed his disinclination to try the cause, and had ordered it to stand at the bottom of the cause list; and he should not have tried it, if the other causes had occupied the whole of his time.

Lord Tenterden said, he had long been of opinion that the time of courts of justice ought not to be occupied with such actions as these.—Rule refused.

LIBEL.—*Soames v. King*.—This was an action of libel brought by the plaintiff to recover compensation for an injury he had sustained in consequence of the publication of two letters written by the defendant, and which, it was alleged, were false and malicious, and had been the direct means of preventing the plaintiff from being elected an elder brother of the Trinity-house. The case had been tried before the lord chief justice, during the sittings after last Trinity term, when it appeared that the plaintiff and the defendant were both sail-makers, carrying on business in Ratcliffe-highway, and that the former, in consequence of the

death of one of the elder brothers of the Trinity-house, had become a candidate to fill the vacancy occasioned in the establishment by that circumstance; but that, contrary to his expectations, he was unsuccessful at his election, and was rejected. Upon inquiry he found, to his no slight astonishment, that the defendant had circulated among the electors a number of miserable verses contained in the two letters complained of, in which his character and reputation were attacked in a violent and scandalous manner. The handwriting of the defendant and his publication of the letters had been distinctly proved at the trial. To prove his malicious intentions,, a person of the name of Ashton stated, that, several months after the alleged libel had been published, he met the defendant at Lloyd's coffee-house, when, in the course of conversation, he said, "the Soames's are perjured scoundrels, infamous blackguards, and I will thrash them within an inch of their lives." The defendant denied that the libel had been written or published by him, and called witnesses to prove that the handwriting was not his; but, as their evidence was not satisfactory to the jury, they returned a verdict for the plaintiff, damages, 400*l*.

Mr. Serjeant Taddy now moved for a rule to show cause why that verdict should not be set aside upon two grounds—first, that the evidence of Ashton was inadmissible; and, secondly, that the damages were excessive. He contended upon the first ground, that whatever the defendant might have said after the publication of the libel could not be admitted as proof of his malicious feelings or intentions, when it was actually

written. It would have been different, he contended, if the conversation proved by the witness had taken place before the publication. Upon the second ground, he insisted that very little, if any, injury had been sustained by the plaintiff, as he had since been elected an elder brother of the Trinity-house, and had consequently, fully established the uprightness of his character, and that therefore the amount of the verdict was far beyond the extent of the injury sustained.

The Court, however, was clearly of opinion, that the evidence of Ashton was admissible to prove the *quo animo*, although it was perhaps unnecessary, as it appeared that the conduct of the defendant had been most malicious and wicked, so much so, that the court would not have considered the verdict too much even if it had been for a much greater amount.—Rule refused.

11. FOG IN LONDON.—On the night of Tuesday the 11th many accidents were occasioned, and some of them nearly fatal, by the prevalence of a very dense fog. In the City-road the wheels of a van came in contact with a post, the driver being quite unable to distinguish the road, and pitched a man who was sitting in the vehicle, on his head, and seriously injured him. The horses took fright, and ran as far as the Angel, at Islington, where a female had a very narrow escape. She was sitting on the luggage of a gentleman just arrived from the country, and the wheel of the van crushed one of the boxes, and grazed the female's leg. A watchman directed his lantern, which had a reflector, to the horses' heads, and they turned away, otherwise the female must have

been run over. On the river, a good deal of damage was done below the bridge, and two barges struck the starlings of London-bridge, but fortunately swung off. In the Borough, the fog was uncommonly dense. In consequence of it many of the mails were much after their usual time. The steam-boat from Hamburgh reached Gravesend on Tuesday night, but, owing to the thick fog which prevailed on the river, could come no further. Many vessels coming up were also detained. On the following day, the fog down the river was so dense, that all business in the loading and unloading of shipping was nearly suspended. The stages, which go the short distances, were unable to leave town, and several hackney coaches which attempted to proceed, even at a walking pace, were overturned. One coach was proceeding along Knightsbridge, with a party for Grosvenor-place, when, the driver taking the open space before St. George's Hospital for the turning, the horses came in contract with the iron railings of the area, in the eastern wing of the Hospital, with such violence that a portion of the fence and stonework was broken down, and, the iron spike having entered the chest of the horse on the off side, the animal was killed on the spot. The coachman and passengers escaped unhurt.

13 ENCKE'S COMET.—*Observatory, Gosport*—Between seven and eight o'clock in the evening of the 5th inst., a faint nebulous circular spot was observed here, about half a degree on the eastern side of the star marked *u* in the constellation Pegasus, when it was on the meridian. As there was a quick succession of attenuated cirrostratus clouds passing over

towards the N. W. that evening, nothing more could be done than to determine its position, as a guide to future observations; and from its having no distinguished central light, some doubts were entertained as to its being a comet. From the interposition of light clouds and mists, no favourable opportunity offered again till the evening of the 11th, when the sky became very clear and frosty: yet the comet could not be found till the moon had set, about eight o'clock, when it was observed on the breast of Pegasus, or in right lines with *u* Pegasi and *o* Aquarii, and *a* Pegasi and *e* Cygni, the intersection of which lines gave its position. The comet was more luminous this evening than on the former, still it was a turbid coloured misty-looking circular light, but sufficiently luminous for the measurement of its diameter. When the moon had set, its diameter was measured with a Dollond's divided object-glass micrometer, by means of a small telescopic star situated at its western edge; the angle it subtended was nearly three minutes of a degree. On the 12th, during the first part of the evening, the atmosphere was very hazy, but it cleared away soon after six o'clock, when the comet was again seen while it was bright moonlight, and was found to have advanced more than a degree from its position the preceding evening, between two telescopic stars with which it had formed an equilateral triangle. On the 13th, the sky was clear till seven o'clock, which gave another opportunity of seeing the comet on the meridian; but, as the moon was then nearly under it, it was with difficulty seen with the telescope. Its right ascension was 22h. 4m. 30s., or  $331^{\circ} 7' 30''$ ; and its declination,  $19^{\circ} 17'$  north.

It is generally denominated Encke's comet, from that astronomer having truly calculated its orbit, and was first discovered in the year 1786: it was afterwards observed in 1795, by Miss Herschell, whose researches in the science are entitled to universal praise; also in 1805, 1819, 1822, 1825, and in the present year. It makes a complete revolution round the sun in about three years and a quarter; consequently it must have made thirteen revolutions, since 1786. From its uniform orbicular motion, the shortness of the period of its revolution, and its dull appearance without any perceptible nucleus, it may be regarded as a singular cometic body, with some planetary qualities, and perhaps in a state of progressive condensation.

17. ILLEGALITY OF BEQUESTS FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF POPERY. — *Rolls Court.* — *De Themines v. Bonneval.* — In 1803, the bishop of Blois and thirty-six other bishops of the Gallican church, who were then resident in England, published, both in French and in Latin, a book addressed to the Pope, containing strong remonstrances against the concordat which had been concluded between Napoleon and the Pope. In 1823, the bishop of Blois transferred into the names of four trustees a sum of upwards of 3,700*l.* 3 per cent. stock; and a deed was at the same time executed, by which it was declared that the dividends were to be paid to the bishop for life, and, after his death, were to be applied in promoting the circulation of the above-mentioned book; but if at any time any of the trusts should be declared by a court of law or equity to be void, then the trustees were to stand possessed of the stock upon trust for the

bishop absolutely. The bishop had filed his bill, praying that the trust for the promotion of the circulation of the book might be declared void and illegal, and that the stock might be retransferred to him. The object of the book was to prove the inalienable and absolute supremacy of the catholic church and of the pope, and that no temporal power could lawfully exercise any authority in matters of ecclesiastical arrangement. On a former day the Master of the Rolls had expressed his opinion that the object of the book was contrary to the policy of the country, and was therefore void, as being in the nature of a superstitious use.

On behalf of the crown, it was now contended, that the effects of the particular trust mentioned in the deed being declared to be void was, that the property must go to such use as the king, by his sign manual, should direct. On the other hand the plaintiff argued that he had a right to have the stock re-transferred to him, because the prerogative of the crown to direct the disposition of a fund given to an illegal charity was founded on the principle, that the general purpose of the donor was to give to some charity, and that this general purpose was not to be disappointed because the particular purpose could not be executed. Here that presumption was excluded by the circumstance that the donor had expressly provided, that, if his particular purpose was unlawful, the fund should go back to himself. — To this the crown answered, that the proviso by which the stock, if the trusts were declared unlawful, was to be retransferred to the bishop, was an evasion of the law.



The Master of the Rolls.—The policy of the court will not permit the execution of a superstitious trust; but the court avails itself of the general intention to found a charity, and, where the particular charity is superstitious, it devotes the fund to some other charitable purpose. Here there is no general intention of charity. The gift is conditional; the stock is given for a particular purpose, if that purpose be lawful; if it is not lawful, the stock is to revert to the grantor. It is said, that the condition is unlawful. I do not think so. A condition, which looks forward to the possibility of a court deciding the gift to be unlawful, is not unlawful. I shall, therefore, declare the trusts of the deed to be illegal and void, and shall order the stock to be re-transferred to the plaintiff.

17. RESURRECTIONISTS.—At the Middlesex Sessions, Henry Holm, a student of medicine, along with James Wood, and Charles Charsley, the one a bricklayer and the other the son of the sexton of Hendon, were indicted for a misdemeanor, in having, on the 13th of September last, unlawfully and wilfully broken open a vault in the church of Hendon, in which certain dead bodies were interred, and in having unlawfully severed a head from one of the said bodies, to the outrage of public decency.

The Vicar of Hendon deposed, that, on the 12th of September, he saw the defendant with a bag in his hand. Holm's father had previously requested permission to open the vault in question, which witness refused. Holm told witness, that his son (the defendant) was a devoted admirer of Spurzheim; and that his only object in wishing to have the vault opened,

was to collect the scattered bones; witness then said he would allow the vault to be opened an hour on the Saturday morning, but could not permit the coffins to be touched. Saw the defendant Wood on the Saturday about two o'clock, and reproved him for breaking open a coffin. Witness asked Wood how he dared cut off a head; on which the latter said, it was not he who had done it, but Mr. Henry Holm. He had given permission for the vault to be opened.

John Armitage.—Remembers being near the churchyard at Hendon on the 13th of September, at half past seven in the morning, and saw a vault open. The defendants were in the vault, and saw Holm pull down the shroud; he was fingering about the neck part of the body; and then he cut off the head, which he put into a bag and took away with him. Other persons saw this as well as witness.

Cross-examined by Mr. Alley.—Had heard that something was going on, but was passing "promiscuously." Charsley did not say, that he had the vicar's permission to open the vault; as the parish-clerk was there, thought it was his business; saw Wood come out, and saw him assist in opening the coffin.

Some other witnesses were examined in support of the case; and the chairman having summed up the evidence, the jury found the defendants *Guilty*, but recommended them to mercy on the ground that they had committed the offence with the idea of furthering the interests of science.

The Chairman said, that the court could not pass a slight sentence for such an offence, but would take time to consider the subject. The defendants might be

discharged on entering into recognizances to appear next sessions to receive sentence.

At the Sessions held on 1st December, the defendant Holm was sentenced to pay a fine of 50*l.* to the King, and the two other defendants, 5*l.* each. The corpse, from which the head had been severed, was that of the mother of the defendant Holm, who had been buried for twenty years, and his alleged object was to make some phrenological investigation, with a view to trace the source of an hereditary disorder.

**ROADS IN FRANCE.**—In the month of August the French ministry nominated a commission to inquire into the state of the public roads, and suggest improvements. This commission appointed two of its members, Baron Pasquier and Count Molé, to draw up a statement embracing the result of their inquiries; and the former has just printed his report. It appears from his statements, that the highways, either at present used or about to be opened, extend the length of eight thousand five hundred and eighty-four leagues, the league being four thousand two hundred yards, or about two English miles and a half. Of this total amount, three thousand five hundred and seventy-two leagues only (or less than the half) are in a state of repair, and are kept up at the expense of 2,280 francs per league (or 8,146,821 francs in all); 3,580 leagues are in such a state of dilapidation, that it would require 18,624 francs per league to render them fit for use; one thousand eight hundred and thirteen, being unfinished, would require to complete them 47,420 francs per league; and three hundred and sixty-five, being still to be opened,

would demand 71,962 francs per league for their construction. Thus, separately from any expenditure for annual repairs, it is calculated that 198,000,000 of francs, or nearly 8,000,000*l.*, sterling, would be necessary to restore and complete the lines of communication, which go under the name of royal roads or national high-ways in France. Of course the whole of this charge would not accrue in one year, nor are all the roads, which it would be necessary to complete, of equal urgency; but such an expenditure would be requisite to form a tolerable system of roads in France, or to bring the existing communications into a proper state of repair. In the opinion of Baron Pasquier, this expense, though great, ought to be borne with cheerfulness by the nation, and would soon be repaid with interest, by the increase of wealth, and the extension of industry, which improved facilities of communication would create.

**19. EXPLOSION OF GAS AT COVENT GARDEN THEATRE.**—Between one and two in the afternoon, one of the gasometers, containing the gas for lighting the theatre, exploded. The alarm was given by a Mr. Cooke, Skinner the director of the gas, and an Irish labourer named Barry, who came running up stairs from the gas-room, immediately after the explosion, their persons completely blackened from head to foot, and their flesh torn and mutilated. Part of their clothing had been burned from their backs, and part of it was still on fire. Three other men were slightly scorched and bruised. It appeared, from their account of the accident, that two of their companions, Douglas, the storekeeper of the theatre, and

Fennell, the master-gasman, were missing, and that they had been seen immediately next to the gasometer a few seconds before the explosion took place. Safety lamps having been procured, the bodies of Douglas and Fennell were found after a search of two hours. The latter was seated in a bent position, nearly doubled up at the top of a staircase, which leads from the gas-room to a part of the theatre but little frequented. Douglas was found at the bottom of the staircase with his head in a hole, and his arm placed over his eyes, as if to defend them from the flames. From the attitude of the body, it was conjectured that he had been in the act of endeavouring to effect his escape up stairs, when he was overpowered by the effects of the sudden rush of noxious air. Fennell, it was supposed, had mounted the staircase, with a like intention, and in all probability would have effected his escape, if it had not unfortunately happened that the door was locked through which he had hoped to pass. Of the three men, Cooke, Skinner, and Barry, who had escaped at the time, one died in the course of the day, and the other a few days afterwards. The cause of the accident was said to have been the following. A scientific gentleman had been requested to superintend the cleansing and purification of the cellars in which the oil-gas apparatus is fixed, and which were in a very impure and dangerous state from the quantity of putrid oil and filth which adhered to the sides of the gasometers and tanks, and floated on the surface of the water in the latter. The workmen began to pump water into the tanks, and continued doing so until the oil on the sur-

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face ran over into the passages nearly ankle deep. The workmen were unfortunately moving about with a number of candles amidst this body of oil and corrupted matter, which had been long gradually accumulating, when the oil took fire, the flames spread over the surface, and enveloped the whole place. No explosion, properly speaking, took place; but the gas, having escaped from one of the gasometers, mixed with the vapours produced by the flame of the oil, and materially assisted, but did not cause the combustion.

#### 19. NEW LONDON BRIDGE.—

On the afternoon of the 19th, the ceremony of fixing the key-stone to the last arch of the new London-bridge took place. The concourse of people assembled to witness the ceremony was very great. The time fixed for its performance was two o'clock, and by that hour hundreds of persons had assembled on the works. The lord mayor and the bridge committee arrived at about half past two o'clock. The key-stone of the city abutment arch was raised, the lord mayor and the bridge committee standing around it. The stone was then gradually lowered to its place amidst discharges of cannon after which a silken rope was attached to the pulley by which the "monkey" (a machine used in driving piles) was worked, and the lord mayor assisted in giving the last stroke, amidst loud cheers. His lordship then took the mallet in his hand and struck the stone three times. At the third stroke, the whole assemblage gave three times three. The lord mayor then addressed sir E. Banks and Mr. Rennie, the contractors for building the bridge, and expressed his gratification at the progress already

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made towards its completion; then dashing a glass of Champagne on the key-stone, he drank "success to the bridge." The first stone of the bridge was laid during the mayoralty of Mr. Alderman Garratt, in June, 1825, and, by August, 1827, the first arch had been turned with stone, the second arch half turned, and all the piers erected. In June last the foundation-stone of the last arch was laid. The first arch on the Southwark side is entirely freed from wood-work, and has been so for some time. The second arch is nearly clear; and the wood-work of the third arch is about to be removed. The levels on the first arch for the road have been raised, and on the second they are in a forward state. On the city, as well as on the Southwark side, the stairs to the bridge are in the course of formation, and it is fully calculated, that, in about a year, the bridge will be ready to be opened for foot passengers.

**BURGLARY.**—On the night of the 19th, the following determined burglary was committed at the village of Sibsey, near Boston. An old woman, sixty-eight years of age, had long resided in a cottage there, in a lonely situation, being herself the only inhabitant of the hut. For many years she had officiated as sexton of the parish, and in this capacity she was said to have hoarded a considerable sum of money, which it was generally understood she kept secreted in her house. Tempted by this rumour, some villains, on the night above-mentioned, broke into her cottage. About eleven o'clock, she was aroused by hearing one of the windows broken, and rose from her bed to ascertain the cause, when she was astonished by seeing a man's head, which protruded

through the broken window. He swore at her, and insisted upon her going to bed, saying he did not wish to hurt her: but she was not daunted by his appearance, and prepared to resist the intrusion, and to defend her hoard, even at the peril of her life. She armed herself with a large hay-fork, the best weapon at hand, and struck with the fork-tines at the head of the robber, but she missed her aim; she continued striking, however, at the man, until he wrested it from her grasp. During this conflict an attempt was made to break open the door of the house, but the old inmate placed a large fork in a slanting position, so that the ruffians could not succeed in this attempt. Thinking the robbers would not venture a second time after being thus defeated in their design, she went to bed, but was again roused by hearing a noise in the house. On getting up to discover the cause, she was suddenly seized by a desperado, who threw her down on the bed, and pulled out a knife, with which he threatened to destroy her, if she did not lie quiet. Two ruffians had effected an entrance this time by pulling out a window in the back part of the house, while a third kept watch outside the house. They told her they knew that she had sold a fat pig lately, that they were come for the money, and money they would have. One of them then proceeded to rifle the house, while the other man watched over her. They remained in the house nearly an hour, during which time they plundered it of guineas, sovereigns, and seven shilling pieces, to the amount of 50*l*. They also took away a quantity of plate, &c. which was valued at 10*l*., making the total loss 60*l*.

20. EXPLOSION IN A COAL-

**MINE.**—On Thursday last, the 20th instant, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the Eye-pit, at Washington, exploded with great violence. The heavy frame-work erected at the pit's mouth, with the large pulley-wheels attached to it, was thrown down; in fact, the whole of the machinery was destroyed; corves and other missiles were projected from the bottom of the pit, and scattered in the surrounding fields. An immense cloud of smoke issued from the shaft, accompanied with a report surpassing that of the largest piece of artillery, which was heard through all the surrounding villages. There were fifteen persons in the seam, when the explosion took place, and only one man escaped! He was severely burnt. A coroner's inquest was held on the bodies, and a verdict of "accidental death" was returned. To what cause the accident was to be ascribed was not ascertained; but the men had been using open candles, instead of the safety-lamp.

**SHIPWRECK.**—As the French West Indiaman, *La Jeune Emma*, of Cherbourg, which had got out of her course during hazy weather, was endeavouring, without a pilot, to enter Carmarthen harbour, she struck on Cefn Sidan sands. The whole of the crew and the passengers who were below, rushed upon deck, over which the sea broke; and, before day-light appeared, thirteen of them had been swept away by the continued breaking of the sea. The passengers were colonel Coquelin, of the French marines, and his daughter, an interesting young lady, niece to Josephine, *cic-devant* empress of France, and their two servants; all the four perished. Four of the crew, by clinging to spars and fragments of the wreck,

succeeded in reaching the shore alive, and as the vessel held together till day-light, two more were saved by the exertions of the people on shore.

**24. STEALING OF DOGS.**—Three men were brought before the sitting magistrates at Union-hall, on the following charge:

John Yates stated, that, having some small tenements to let in Glasshouse-yard, St. Saviour's parish, the three prisoners called on him last week and hired one of them. They had not been many days in the new habitation before the neighbours were exceedingly annoyed by the constant howling of dogs, and, on complaining to the prisoners of the nuisance, they received only abuse and ill language. In the course of the week the people residing near the spot observed the prisoners take several very fine dogs into the premises which they occupied, especially in the night time, and, suspicion having been excited that they were dog-stealers, information of the circumstance was given to the owner of the place, who, having endeavoured in vain to obtain admittance in the usual way, was obliged to burst open the door. On the ground were found lying the carcasses of nine dogs, divested of their skins; and two more were suspended from a hook in the ceiling, prepared to undergo the same operation. In the same apartment where the dead animals were found, four living dogs were fastened up, all of which seemed to be nearly starved to death. One of the animals, a very fine bitch, was in such a condition from hunger, that she had devoured one of her own whelps; and the other dogs that were alive, would, it was asserted, have eaten each other, had they not been

fastened up apart. The complainant added, that, being convinced the prisoners were dog-stealers, and that the animals found on the premises were all stolen, he had them taken into custody. Of late several valuable dogs had been stolen in the district, for the sake of their skins, which were valuable, and fetched a good price at the furriers, who manufactured them into fur caps. Two of the dogs found on the premises were led down to the office, and although it was evident they had been kept without food for a considerable time, yet they appeared to be very fine animals. The prisoners were remanded.

28. *Court of Requests.*—A respectable looking woman was summoned for a quarter's wages due to her maid. The complainant stated that she had been hired by the defendant as maid of all work at 7*l.* per annum. She had been there only a fortnight, when the defendant told her that she should pay her only a shilling a week, as she did not suit her. The complainant objected to this composition, and prepared to go away, but her mistress would not allow her, and she remained till the end of the quarter. On applying for the amount of her wages, the defendant refused to pay more than at the rate of a shilling a week; she was therefore under the necessity of resorting to these means to obtain payment. The mistress having denied that she had agreed to pay more than a shilling a week, the complainant was sworn to the fact, and a witness also swore to the agreement for 7*l.* a year being made. The defendant, on hearing the girl take the oath, exclaimed, "Ah! now you will go to—, where the man told you who cast your nativity." She then

handed into the court the following bill, as a set-off against the demand:—

	s.	d.
To making the gown I gave you at the funeral of my mother ..	3	6
To one shilling lent you to go to the play .. .. .	1	0
To one shilling lent you to go to hear the trial of Mr. Hunton	1	0
To two shillings lent you to have your nativity cast .. ..	2	0
To one shilling I lent you to go and see the new moon .. ..	1	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	8	6

One of the commissioners requested to know more particularly respecting the shilling lent the girl to see the moon. The defendant gravely replied, that one evening the girl came running in from the garden, and said, there was a new moon. "Then" said I, "take this shilling in your pocket, and turn it, then you are sure to have money all the year round." The girl admitted having the shilling for the purpose stated, but said, that, after she had turned it, she, to complete the charm, put it up the chimney, and the next day upon looking for it, it was gone. The commissioners would not allow that shilling, nor the two for casting the girl's nativity, and ordered the defendant to pay the complainant the balance.

30. LONDON UNIVERSITY.—The number of students at the University of London, at the end of this month amounted to four hundred and thirty-seven, and there were so many attending the lectures of professor Amos on English Law, that he was obliged to remove to one of the large theatres. The council were receiving valuable presents for their museums and library. A donation of some interest had been made to the latter by Mr. Wyld, of Charing-cross, the successor of

Faden. It was a chart and directions for sailing from the harbour of Halifax to Quebec, drawn up by and in the hand-writing of Cook, the navigator, when he was master of his Majesty's ship Northumberland.

COMBINATION. — *Nottingham Lace Makers.*—A meeting of the machine-holders and lace-makers of that branch, in number about seven hundred, took place on Monday last, at a public-house, in Nottingham, and afterwards adjourned to the open valley of the park, near the town, for the purpose of adopting measures towards checking the glut of lace in the market. The most important step taken, was that relative to restricting the period of working to eight hours per day, or four hours for each individual, relieving each other in turn. In order to ascertain how such a plan would be rendered essentially available, a committee was appointed, with power to call a meeting at the earliest opportunity, and report the progress of their inquiries.

JUVENILE DEPRAVITY.—The court of assizes of the department du Nord (France) condemned, a few days ago, to fifteen years' imprisonment, two boys only twelve years old, convicted of having committed, four years before, the twofold crime of rape and murder on the person of a little girl seven years of age.—*French Paper.*

MURDER AND SUICIDE.—On the 30th November, the following murder was committed by Edward Roach a whip-maker, residing in Birmingham. A short time before, he had formed an imprudent connexion, which soured his temper, and destroyed his domestic happiness. On the evening of the 30th he returned home, and was

naturally, enough reproached by his wife for his irregularities; a violent recrimination ensued, during which a scream of "murder" was heard, accompanied soon after by the discharge of a pistol. The neighbours heard the report, but, unable to get into the house, in consequence of the door being fast locked, they sent for an officer, who instantly proceeded to break open the fastenings. On going up stairs, after examining the lower rooms, a sickening spectacle presented itself. Alone, on the floor, and close beside the staircase, lay the body of Roach's wife, her face hacked and stabbed in various places, her neck pierced through and through, and her arm nearly severed from her body. Round the corpse was a dark pool of blood. In another part of the house Roach himself was discovered stretched dead upon a bed, with his brains scattered thickly over his shoulders. On his left arm lay an infant (his youngest child) awake, and near him the pistol with which he had effected his destruction. Two other children were fast asleep in bed.

CONTAGION IN GIBRALTAR.—The contagious, or epidemic disease, which had raged at Gibraltar during September and October, began to abate with the heavy rains which prevailed in the beginning of November; and, during the month, the place, with a few variations, returned gradually to its ordinary state of health. The following were the numbers of cases and deaths given in the official statements.

Oct. 29th, admitted 66, deaths 25,	
30	..... 73, ..... 15,
Nov. 4th, .....	51, ..... 17,
5	..... 48, ..... 20,
7	..... 57, ..... 15,
8	..... 47, ..... 9,

9	.....64,.....	8,
10	.....35,.....	11,
14	.....41,.....	8,
18	.....27,.....	8,
16	.....24,.....	2,
17	.....44,.....	10,
18	.....29,.....	6,
19	.....28,.....	7,
20	.....17,.....	5,

The total number of cases, from the 1st September to the 18th November, was stated to have been six thousand four hundred and twenty-one, and the deaths one thousand five hundred and sixty-three. According to the official accounts, however, the deaths were fewer by about three hundred.

#### DECEMBER.

CONSPIRACY.—*Middlesex Sessions, December 1st.*—William Spencer Northhouse, and William Low were indicted for having unlawfully obtained by false pretences, from one William Baldey two bills of exchange, value 50*l.*, and money to the amount of 45*l.*, with intent to defraud him of the same. The indictment contained various counts, stating the false pretences to have been the representing that they were about to establish a newspaper, to be called the London Free Press, in which Joseph Hume, Esq., M. P., and colonel Leslie Groves Jones, had each consented to take five shares of 100*l.*, each, and to become partners—that several other persons had purchased shares,—that one of the objects of the newspaper was to be the advocacy of popular opinions,—and that it was sure to answer, as, in the event of any difficulty, Mr. Hume would bear the other shareholders harmless.

The witnesses on both sides were ordered out of court.

Mr. William Baldey examined.—Is a linen-draper, carrying on business in Great Russell-street, Covent-garden, and is acquainted with the defendants. Mr. Northhouse lodged in his house. On the 31st of January, 1827, Mr. Northhouse introduced Mr. Low to him, as a person who had formerly lived as secretary to Mr. Hume, M. P., and had a 500*l.* share in a paper about to be established, and to be called the London Free Press. Mr. Northhouse added, that to oblige him Mr. Low would let him have a part of his share if he wished it. Mrs. Baldey was present, and in reply said, “Pray, who are the persons at the head of the concern?” Mr. Northhouse answered that Mr. Hume, M. P., had a 500*l.* share, and also a 100*l.* share in the name of his secretary, Mr. Miller, and that colonel Jones had a 500*l.* share, and was also treasurer. Mr. Low confirmed this, and added, “We already have, 1,500*l.* in hand.” Witness said, he was a young man in business, and he hoped what they stated was true. Mr. Northhouse replied, and assured him it was true, and, upon this assurance, he consented to take a 100*l.* share, for which he then gave two bills of 50*l.* each. One of these bills he had since taken up. He was a great loser by the transaction. After witness had agreed to take a 100*l.* share, Mrs. Baldey expressed a desire to have a 50*l.* share as her own venture, and Mr. Low consented to accommodate her, and a check for 40*l.* was immediately paid over to the defendants, with 5*l.* in money, for this share. The papers produced, purporting to be transfers of the shares, were drawn by Low at the dictation of Northhouse.



They ran as follows, with the exception of the alteration in the amount, and the description of the mode of payment:—

“Mr. William Baldey has this day paid me, in two bills of exchange, one hundred pounds, as a payment of one-fifth of one-third share of the property, proceeds, and profits of the London Free Press newspaper, and which is the full and only sum to be paid, and no further claim to be made.

(Signed) Wm. Low,

London, Jan. 31, 1827.

3, Red Lion-court, Fleet-street.”

The conversation lasted an hour. Mr. Northhouse said that he had been sent for from Glasgow to vindicate Mr. Hume from the attacks then being made on him in the Times newspaper for his conduct in respect of the Greek loan: that Mr. Hume, to whom he was previously known, had sent for him, and that the articles on the subject, which had appeared in the Morning Chronicle, were of his writing. Upon one occasion Northhouse told witness, that Mr. Hume had got the names of fifteen gentlemen in his black pocket-book for shares of 100*l.* each. Witness believed what he said. He was present when Mr. Northhouse gave evidence in a case in the King's Bench, in which colonel Jones sought to recover 50*l.* from witness on one of the acceptances he had given in part payment for his share, and heard Northhouse swear that neither Mr. Hume nor colonel Jones were shareholders at the time he made his purchase. Up to that time he believed the contrary, and had subpoenaed Mr. Northhouse as his witness on that ground, thinking that by Mr. Northhouse's testimony he should secure a verdict. On finding he

had been deceived, he immediately commenced proceedings against Mr. Northhouse and Mr. Low for a conspiracy and fraud. Witness was induced to part with his money by the representation that Mr. Hume and colonel Jones were partners in the concern. He was further impressed with a belief that this was the truth, from the fact that colonel Jones often called at his (witness's) house to see Mr. Northhouse.

On the day he gave the bills, Mr. Low promised they should be renewed, if it were inconvenient for him to pay them when they became due. After the paper stopped, he was called on as one of the sureties for Mr. Low at the Stamp-office, to pay the arrears of advertisement duties. In consequence he wrote to Mr. Hume and colonel Jones, and the other persons whom he considered to be shareholders, and requested them to meet at his house. Colonel Jones came, but, on being told the nature of the business, immediately went away. Mr. Hume did not attend, but witness was led to believe that he was keeping himself in the back-ground. Witness was compelled to pay 30*l.* odd, as his moiety of the duties. His co-surety, Dr. Sutherland, he believes, paid the other half.

Mrs. Baldey confirmed the previous evidence as to the buying of the shares, and added, that soon after a Mr. Barnard, a friend, came in, to whom she mentioned what had been done. He asked to see the transfer papers, and, in consequence of what he said, she requested Mr. Northhouse, who had retired to his own room, to step down again, which he did. Mr. Barnard told him the transfers were not worth a farthing. To

which Mr. Northhouse replied, that they intended to have a regular deed prepared, but in the mean time she (witness) need not be afraid, for the concern was so very good a one, she would never wish to sell out. Mr. Northhouse then repeated all he had previously said about the shares taken by Mr. Hume and colonel Jones, and said, that he would never have urged her to take a share, if Hr. Hume had not paid his money, and all were not sure.

Mr. Barnard confirmed the evidence of the last witness.

Joseph Hume, Esq., examined.—He is member for Aberdeen. He knew a paper called the London Free Press. On the 31st of January, 1827, he was neither a partner nor a shareholder in that paper. He never mentioned that colonel Jones was a shareholder: he knew to the contrary.

Cross-examined. He first became acquainted with Mr. Northhouse in September, 1824. He then knew him in his capacity of editor of the Glasgow Free Press, in which paper he was advocating opinions on the combination laws similar to those witness held, and it was in consequence of that he addressed a note to him. He only then knew him as editor of the paper in question. He afterwards addressed several letters to him. They all related to business. He considered that the exertions of Mr. Northhouse had mainly tended to prevent an affray between the masters and the men on the subject of those laws; and, as witness had been partly instrumental in procuring their repeal, he felt as a public man grateful to Mr. Northhouse for the support he rendered. He afterwards saw Mr. Northhouse on an occasion when some

plate was proposed to be presented to witness, which had been subscribed for by a body of mechanics as an acknowledgment of his services in procuring the repeal of the combination laws. In consequence of what Mr. Northhouse told him, and his own observations on the conduct of the workmen, he determined on refusing the present, as he afterwards did several similar ones. Mr. Northhouse's services were such that he thanked him for them.

By Mr. Dunn.—Did you reward him for those services?

Witness.—No person ever receives reward from Mr. Hume. (A moderately loud and long laugh followed this reply from various parts of the court, not excepting the bench.) On its subsiding, Mr. Hume added, "I never reward any one, because I do that work myself which others pay to have done." He had understood from Mr. Northhouse, that his income, as editor of the Glasgow Free Press, was about 400*l.* per annum. The last time witness saw Mr. Northhouse at Glasgow, he intimated his intention of coming to London. He, in September, 1827, called on witness in London, and stated, that he proposed establishing a newspaper there, and that he should reside in London to conduct it, but should keep up his connexion with the Glasgow paper. Witness offered to assist in forwarding his views, but said that, as a public man, he could not consent to take a share. He had reason to know Mr. Northhouse had no money of his own. Mr. Northhouse sent him some of the prospectuses of the proposed paper, which witness approved of, and exerted himself among his friends, recommending them to patronize

the paper on its appearance. On public grounds he did not leave a stone unturned to advance the paper. He did not know his nephew ever corresponded with Mr. Northhouse: if he did, it was not with his authority. After the prospectuses had been sent to witness, Mr. Northhouse again called on him, and witness then voluntarily made a proposition to him, of connecting the newspaper with a club then proposed to be established, of advocates of economy and retrenchment. The club was to consist of members of parliament and others. Witness thought they ought to secure a newspaper to advocate their views. With this view he wrote to Mr. Marshall, the member for Yorkshire, and offered, if Mr. Marshall would subscribe 300*l.*, to subscribe 100*l.* Mr. Marshall declined having any thing to do with it, as did most others to whom witness wrote or spoke. In consequence he strongly dissuaded Mr. Northhouse from attempting to carry his project into effect, and told him of the bad success that had attended his efforts. This was some time before the newspaper, bearing the proposed title, appeared. After the failure of his efforts with the club, witness had nothing to do with it. Witness knew Mr. Low. He had formerly been employed as a clerk by witness out of charity, and afterwards, by his recommendation, passed into the service of Mr. Buckingham, of the Oriental Herald. Witness suggested to Mr. Northhouse that Mr. Low might be of service to him, as he was employed to collect advertisements by Mr. Buckingham. He did not recommend him as a man of property; on the contrary, on being told he had taken shares in the concern, he expressed

his surprise whence the means had been obtained. When the newspaper was at its last ebb, witness advanced 25*l.* to Mr. Northhouse, purely as a loan made to him personally.

Colonel Jones deposed that he was not a partner or shareholder in the London Free Press on the 31st of January, 1827.

Cross-examined by Mr. Dunn. —He did his best to support it, as he considered it to be a downright, bold, radical paper. He saw the prospectus, and suggested alterations in it. Originally it was proposed to him that he should become a trustee for the shareholders, together with colonel Leicester Stanhope and a Mr. Place; but, on learning that Mr. Place declined having any thing to do with it, he did the same. He was often at the office of publication. He attended a meeting convened by Mr. Baldey at his own house. Mr. Baldey was a taciturn person; but a lawyer said a great deal, and told witness he was a shareholder. On hearing this, witness said, "Gentlemen, you are mistaken," and put on his hat and walked away. The jury found the defendants *Guilty*.

JOINT STOCK COMPANIES.—*Guildhall, December 2.*—*De Lisle v. Kay, bart. and Teague.*—This was an action brought to recover 525*l.* the amount of certain sums which he had paid to the directors of the Cornwall and Devon Mining Company, upon a consideration which he alleged had failed. The defendant, sir William Kay, was the eminent banker of that name, the other, captain Teague, was a person of some skill in the working of mines, and had been employed by the Directors of the company in question. The specu-

lation itself had been one of those chimerical and fraudulent schemes which did so much mischief a few years before, and had been got up by an attorney, Mr. John Wilks, who afterwards became member of parliament for Sudbury. The action was brought to recover deposits on shares bought by the plaintiff. It was clearly proved, that the scheme had been a fraudulent one from the beginning. At the original formation of the company it was determined that it should consist of ten thousand shares, of 50*l.* each; and a resolution at the same time was passed, that no director should himself hold more than two hundred shares, and that all the remaining shares should be brought fairly into market to be purchased by the public—a system of the most perfect fairness being determined on. Within a very short time afterwards, however (the 13th of April, 1825), the directors assembled, and passed two resolutions among themselves, by the first of which it was determined that two thousand seven hundred and fifty shares should be reserved for the different persons connected with the management of the company in the following proportions, — for the twenty-one directors, one hundred shares each; for the two solicitors, one hundred shares each; for a person named Sim, one hundred shares; for the three auditors, fifty shares each; for the secretary, one hundred shares; and for a captain Richards and Mr. Rowland Wilks, fifty shares each. The whole of these shares, amounting in number to two thousand seven hundred and fifty, were ordered to be locked up in a tin box, in order to be kept securely. The second resolution explained the intention

of the first, for it directed, “that no director or officer should be required to pay money on the shares allotted to them unless in case of absolute necessity.”—These shares were reserved for the officers of the company, in order that they might make use of them for their own benefit, but at the same time might be free from any liability to the company. Accordingly they had each actually paid only on the ten shares on which it was absolutely necessary for them to advance money, in order to render themselves qualified. Among the persons who were present at that meeting was the defendant Teague. Another resolution passed by the directors was, that Messrs. Marjoribanks and Co., who were well known as highly respectable brokers, should be employed to go into the market and purchase one thousand shares, and that the money for the purchase should be paid by the directors from the funds of the company. The object of thus employing respectable brokers was, that a purchase made by them to such an extent might create a sensation in the market in favour of the company. It was proved that the persons, of whom the shares were purchased, or pretended to be purchased, by and for the company, were those who were actually appointed by the directors to examine and report upon the very mines which they themselves had just disposed of to the company. These persons, as might have been expected, made a flattering report of the value of the mines, some of which had since turned out to be almost worthless. Mr. J. Wilks, jun., for instance, had given 400*l.* for one of the mines; but this mine was valued, and sold to the company for a sum of 11,000*l.*

or 12,000*l.*, being stated to be one of great value, which, if worked with proper spirit, would amply remunerate the company for the money they might lay out upon it. The whole of the subscriptions which were raised upon the shares were handed over to Mr. John Wilks, and were disposed of in the most improvident, not to say fraudulent, manner, that could be well imagined. Such a state of affairs of course could not long exist; an examination was called for by the persons who had advanced their money, when the fraud became apparent, and in the familiar language of the day, "the bubble burst." But, though the rascality of those who managed the speculation was clear, there was no evidence that the defendants either knew of, or were participant in, the fraud, or were any thing else than fellow-sufferers with the plaintiff. Mr. Wood, the secretary of the company, proved, that there were debts still outstanding against the company, and sir Wm. Kay had paid one of those debts, which was the salary of Mr. Rowland Wilks, who was one of the country directors. He believed that several of the directors knew that John Wilks, jun. was to receive much more money for the mines than he had himself given for them. It was not known to all the directors until 1826. Sir Wm. Kay did not accept the one hundred shares set aside for him as a director. He paid up his scrip upon thirty-five shares, all of which, with the exception of the ten qualification shares, he had purchased in the market. Sir John Perring was one of the directors, and had taken his qualification shares, but he never acted. John Wilks, jun.

had given rise to other companies besides the Cornwall and Devon. The following had been set on foot by him:—"The British Annuity, the Medway Lime and Coal, the Welsh Slate, the Kentish Rail-road, and the Norfolk, and Suffolk Rail-road companies. Sir Wm. Kay was the private banker of Wilks, and of one of the companies he had enumerated, but he (the witness) did not know that he was the banker to any other company. It also appeared by the evidence of this gentleman, that sir Wm. Kay had not attended any of the meetings of the directors until the 29th of June, and that he and lord Palmerston, who was also one of the directors, had paid up all the calls upon their shares, and had even advanced other money.

One witness proved that Teague, having contracted a debt with the British United Mining company, was by them paid a sum of 400*l.*, upon condition that he should take a mine, known by the name of the Wheal Fanny, off their hands. This mine was one of those which had been sold to the company.

Another witness produced an office-copy of a bill which had been filed in the court of Chancery by Wilks against the directors of the company to enforce payment of the whole of the purchase-money of the mines, with a copy of a demurrer put in by the defendants to that bill.

Witnesses were then called, who stated, that the mines, which had been sold by Wilks to the company for 121,000*l.*, were in fact worth little more than the value of the materials with which they were furnished, having been in almost every instance totally exhausted.

The jury, without hesitation,

returned a verdict for the defendants.

**ARGUING AGAINST TIME.**—At the Middlesex Sessions, held on December 2nd in a case of perjury, a question arose, whether parole evidence of the contents of a deposition on which the perjury was assigned, was admissible. The defendant's counsel maintained it was inadmissible: the prosecutor's counsel, Mr. Prendergast, maintained the contrary, and the chairman decided against him. Mr. Prendergast, however, refused to acquiesce, repeated his arguments, and the chairman again decided against him, when the following scene took place.

Mr. Prendergast.—Then am I to understand that is your judgment, sir?—The Chairman: It is. Mr. Prendergast.—You cannot, sir, have so decided?—The Chairman: But I have, sir, so decided. Mr. Prendergast.—You cannot have understood the question, or you would not so have decided? The Chairman, who had hitherto replied to Mr. Prendergast with his mildness and suavity of manner, now rose, and with some energy said, "I tell you, yes; it is my decision." Mr. Prendergast.—Then, sir, before you decide, I beg to be allowed to repeat my observations.—The Chairman attempted to stop Mr. Prendergast, but his voice was completely drowned by that of the learned counsel, and the Chairman stood for more than a minute with his arm outstretched, and in an attitude to speak, but without a possibility of being heard from the vehemence of Mr. Prendergast's manner. Mr. Rawlinson loudly called to Mr. Prendergast, and demanded of him, whether he would not permit the Chairman to be

heard? Mr. Prendergast paused, but in the mean time the Chairman had thrown himself back into his seat. Mr. Prendergast resumed, and continued speaking some minutes.—The Chairman, on his concluding again, repeated his former opinion. Mr. Prendergast, however, still declined acquiescing in the decision, and the discussion was kept up, till a clerk, who had been despatched for the deposition, had arrived in the court with it.

Mr. Prendergast now claimed to give the deposition in evidence.

The Chairman appeared astonished.—"More unfair conduct," he said, "I never witnessed, I can now account for that which before I could not account for with decency."

Mr. Prendergast (turning to the bench) said, "If a gentleman of my own station attacks me, I know how to defend myself; but against the Chairman of the court I can have no reply."

The Chairman.—Yes, you can, by explaining your conduct.

Mr. Prendergast.—If I am allowed to reply, I must say my conduct is not unfair.

**EXTRAORDINARY CASE OF SOMNAMBULISM.**—From the *Essex Herald*, Dec. 6.—Last Saturday, a female servant in Chelmsford surprised the family at four o'clock in the morning, by walking down a flight of stairs in her sleep, and rapping at the bed-room door of her master, who inquired what she wanted, when, in her usual tone of voice, she requested some cotton, saying that she had torn her work, but hoped that her mistress would forgive her, at the same time bursting into tears. Her fellow-servant, with whom she had been conversing for some time, had observed her get out of bed, and quickly fol-

lowed her, but not before she had related the pitiful story; she then returned to her room, and, a light having been procured, she was found groping about to find her cotton-box: she was offered an empty-reel, but she refused it; and, taking up the gown, she pointed to the two holes which she was anxious to mend. In order to quiet her, her fellow-servant threaded a needle with black cotton, which she angrily rejected, mentioning the colour, and adding, that it was of no use. Another person went to her, when perceiving a difference in the voice, she called out, "That is a different voice, that is my mistress," which was not the case—thus clearly showing, that in this instance she did not see the object before her, although her eyes were wide open. Upon inquiry as to what was the matter, she said she only wanted some cotton; but that her fellow-servant had been to her master and mistress making a fuss about it. It was now thought prudent that she should be allowed to remain quiet for a short time, and she was permitted to lie down with her fellow-servant until the usual hour of rising, thinking that she might then awake in her accustomed manner. This failing in effect, her mistress went up to her room, and rather angrily desired her to get up, and go to her work, as it was now six o'clock; this she refused, telling her mistress that, if she did not please her, she might look out for another servant, at the same time saying that she would not rise up at two o'clock (pointing to the window) to injure her health for any one. For the sake of a joke, she was told to pack up her things, and start off immediately, but to this she made no reply.

She rebuked her fellow-servant for not remaining longer in bed, and shortly after this became quiet. She was afterwards shaken violently, and awoke; she then arose, and seeing the cotton-box disturbed, demanded to know why it had been meddled with, not knowing that she alone was the cause of it.

8. EXECUTION. — Joseph Hunton, the Quaker, convicted of uttering in forged bills, was executed this morning, along with James Abbott, John James, and Joseph Mahoney. On no previous occasion had a larger multitude been assembled to witness a similar spectacle. Ere day-break, persons of all classes began to hurry to the spot, and many, as happened at the execution of Fauntleroy, took their places at windows, and upon the roofs of houses, which they had previously engaged and paid for, whilst the immense space in the Old Bailey surrounding the scaffold was crowded to suffocation, the mob extending, in a solid mass, from the barrier at the end of Fleet-lane, opposite the felon's side, to the end of the Old Bailey on Ludgate-hill. On the north side of the scaffold the populace was, if possible, more dense, and reached as far as Cock-lane, at the end of Giltspur-street, which was lined on each side by waggons and carts, to which the curious were admitted at a given sum. Hunton had composed his mind to meet his fate. He had been visited, on Sunday, by several ladies and gentlemen of the society of Friends, who were accommodated with an apartment, in which they remained in their peculiar devotions for several hours. At night he was attended by two elders of the congregation, who sat up with him in the press-room all night. During that time he com-

posed a very long prayer, appropriate to his situation and approaching death. He copied it out, and directed it to "his dearly-beloved wife." At about half-past seven o'clock the two elders left him, after they had "kissed." When they were brought into the press-room, James, who had fixed his eyes upon Hunton, left his seat, and placing himself at the table, looked steadfastly upon the unhappy man, who, upon observing his vacant stare, said to him, "Well, friend, hast thou been up all night?" "No," said James, "I slept a little." "Ah," (with a sigh) replied Hunton, "I have sat up all night: place thy trust in Christ, and thou wilt be as happy as I am."—"I do, most sincerely," said James, "I hope it is all for the best."—"I hope so too," replied Hunton, feebly. When the officer was in the act of tying his wrists, he said, "Oh dear, is there any necessity to tie the cord so fast?" The officer made no reply, upon which Hunton said, "Well, well, thou knowest best." He again complained of the cord being too tight about his arms, and it was slackened a little. After he had been thus secured, he said, "Wilt thou allow me to wear my gloves?" and with some difficulty he put them on, and still kept the prayer addressed to his wife in his hand. James ascended the platform first, and walked to the railings, where he said, in a loud voice, "Good people, I acknowledge what I am brought here to die for. My sentence is just, and may God forgive me! Take warning by my dreadful death in the prime of my life—and God bless you all—farewell." He then submitted himself to the hangman. Mahoney next followed, and then Abbott. Hunton was

now summoned by the officers. He turned round, and delivering the prayer to a friend, who attended him, even on the scaffold, each shook the other's hand, and kissed lips, Hunton observing "You may say I am quite happy and comfortable. fare thee well." He then ascended the steps with firmness and deliberation, took his station under the beam, and requested that a blue handkerchief, to which he seemed fondly attached, might be fastened over his eyes, which was accordingly done. The signal was almost instantly given, and all the four died without a struggle.

ANSON.—*Hertford Assizes, Dec.*  
9.—Joseph Wood was charged with unlawfully, maliciously, and feloniously setting fire to a stack of clover hay, the property of Mr. Alfred Rix, at the parish of Great Hadham.

Mr. Rix examined.—In the month of November last, witness was one of the overseers of Great Hadham. On the 5th of that month, Wood and another man named Uncle, applied at the general vestry, at which witness was present, for relief. Wood was working on a ticket at four shillings per week. The vestry refused doing any thing more for him. He appeared to be much dissatisfied at the decision, and he burst into a loud laugh—a laugh of contempt. Uncle applied for a pair of shoes, which was refused him. They went away together. On the Friday following, Wood and Uncle again applied to witness, who told them that they had been refused at the general vestry, and he could do nothing for them. Witness told Wood in particular that his conduct had been so bad at the vestry, that he certainly would get nothing: they went away together.



In about half an hour after, he saw a blaze in one of his fields, which arose from one of his clover stacks being on fire. The stack was distant from any buildings. It was impossible to save it, as there was no water near. On looking about, he saw Wood and Uncle among the crowd. He went up to them, when they appeared confused and hung down their heads. The value of the stack was about 48*l*.

David Uncle deposed, that, on the 7th November, he went with the prisoner to the workhouse to apply for relief. They were both refused, and went away from the workhouse together. It was then about seven o'clock in the evening. They proceeded in company to the prosecutor's house. The prisoner went in, and witness waited outside. The prisoner remained inside about ten minutes, and then came out with a lighted pipe and some matches, and proposed that they should go together and set fire to Mr. Rix's barley-stack. Witness refused to accompany him, and told him he should not do it. He then said, he would set fire to the clover-stack. Witness consented to accompany him. Witness blew the pipe, while the prisoner lighted the matches and thrust them into the stack. After the stack was on fire, they went away, but returned again. The reason why the prisoner proposed setting fire to the stack was, because the parish would give them no relief. It was the prisoner who first suggested setting fire to the stack.

The prisoner, in defence, said, that the witness Uncle was the party who first suggested the crime, in which he (the prisoner) joined at his entreaty.

Mr. Justice Burrough told the

jury, that the case rested wholly on the evidence of the approver, and, after the answers he had given denying any motive for the participation in the act, it would be for them to say what credit they could place in his testimony. It was competent for a jury to convict a prisoner on the unsupported evidence of an accomplice, but it was the general practice of the judges to advise a contrary course.

The jury, after a short consultation, found the prisoner, *guilty*, and sentence of death was pronounced.

9. SINGULAR ROBBERY. — On Tuesday the 9th, lord Spencer's agent and his clerk went down to Wandsworth, for the purpose of receiving the rents of his lordship's tenants in that neighbourhood. The rents were collected at the Spread Eagle inn, in that town, and money to the amount of between 600*l*. and 700*l*., besides a great number of checks on bankers in town, were deposited in a strong box, used on former occasions, and which was double locked. The business of the day having concluded, the individuals who received the money had some refreshment at the inn, and while partaking of it, one of the stages drew up to the door, upon which the clerk carried the box, containing the treasure, and placed it inside the vehicle, intending to take it to town. Having occasion to return into the inn, on subsequently stepping into the coach, he observed the box, to all appearance, that he previously placed there, and, on his arrival in town, conveyed it to his residence, not for a moment suspecting that it was any other than the box which contained lord Spencer's money. The following morning, having occasion to open the box,

he found nothing inside of it, but a bundle of rags: and, on close examination of the box, it was then discovered that it had been substituted for the real one, and bore so close an appearance to it in shape, make, and colour, that the difference between the two was scarcely distinguishable. The following evening a woman left a box at the Spread Eagle-inn, Gracechurch-street, addressed to the proprietor of the Spread Eagle at Wandsworth, and, on examination, it was discovered to be the one which had contained the money. The lock was broken, and the inside contained the checks, the thieves not having presented any of them for payment, and returned them in the above manner, rather than run the risk of detection.

10. OLD BAILEY SESSIONS.—At the close of the sessions, sentence of death was pronounced on twenty-four convicts; viz. seven, for housebreaking; one, for uttering base coin, having been previously convicted; three, for stealing in dwelling houses; two, for horse-stealing; two, for sheep-stealing; three, for burglary; one, for returning from transportation; three, for robbery; one, for high-treason (connected with the coin); one, for forgery. When the last, a young man named Matthew Reilly, was asked the usual question, whether he had any thing to say why sentence of death should not pass, he placed his arms a-kimbo, and answered, “My lord, what is the reason of that question being put to me? Is it merely *pro forma*, or that your lordship expects me to give an answer to it?”

Mr. Shelton.—It is put to you for the purpose of your stating any objection you may think proper.

Prisoner.—I certainly have an

objection, and were you in my place, sir, you would.

Recorder.—Allow me to entreat you to consider the awful and melancholy situation in which you stand. You must receive sentence of death. You are not to dispute the law; but if you can show just cause why it should not be enforced, the court will be very glad to hear you.

Prisoner.—The Judges, who tried me, neglected to point out to the jury the different times on which I was stated to be insane. My friends came forward and showed that I was insane, and the inference might have been, that I was so at the time the offence was committed.

Recorder.—I did not try you, but I have no doubt but that your case underwent mature consideration, and that the jury, after a deliberate consultation, decided that you were sane when you committed the offence, or, in other words, that you knew whether you were doing right or wrong.

Prisoner.—Then my lord, I wish that my observations may reach a higher court.

ROBBERY.—*Chelmsford Assizes, Dec. 12.*—Michael Cashon, aged twenty-five, and John Brien, aged twenty-six, were indicted for feloniously assaulting Mr. William Greenhill, and forcibly taking from his person a gold watch and a hat. The prisoners, on being arraigned, pleaded guilty; and they persisted in that plea, although repeatedly told by Mr. Baron Vaughan that it could avail them nothing in mitigation of punishment.

The judge, notwithstanding, decided on hearing the evidence, and Mr. Greenhill was accordingly sent for from a room adjoining to the court, where he was waiting. He

appeared with his head enveloped in bandages. Being sworn, he deposed that he lived at East Ham. On the 5th of November, about half-past five o'clock in the evening, it being then dusk, he was going across his own grounds towards his residence. On passing the side of a hedge, he thought he saw a man's head, and on looking over he saw the two prisoners lying stretched in a ditch, one on each side of a gap in the hedge. He called to them, and said, "You rascals, or scoundrels (he did not know which), what are you doing there; do you want to rob and murder me?" Before witness had well got the words out, the prisoners had jumped up, and commenced throwing stones and brickbats at him, and, instantly after, they rushed through the gap and laid hold of him. Witness is not sure whether he laid hold of one of them, or they of him first. He shouted out "murder," but they had him down in a minute. He was nearly knocked down by one of the stones thrown. They had collected a large heap of stones and brickbats near the spot. One of them, after he was down, struck him with a bludgeon. After they left him, he found the bludgeon lying under his coat, and covered with his own blood and grey hairs. While he was down on the ground, and they striking at him, he begged of them not to murder him. The scalp of his head was cut in so dreadful a manner that it hung down and covered his eyes, and he was obliged to raise it on both sides with his hand. He thought he should have bled to death before he could get home. As he was lying on the ground, stretched in a cart-rut, one of them sat on his head, while the other drew his watch from his fob.

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They took his hat also, and left him stretched on the ground for dead. He never lost his recollection. The prisoners had worked for him about five weeks, and he had that very evening given them directions to enter upon a fresh job. He had no reason previously to apprehend mischief from them. He had no words with them previously. He employed about sixty men, who worked in the same grounds with the prisoners. The present day was the first on which he had been out since the outrage. Two surgeons had been in constant attendance upon him ever since.

At this stage of the proceedings Mr. Baron Vaughan again addressed the prisoners, and urged them to retract their plea. They persisted, however, in pleading "guilty", and Cashon said, "It is my first offence, my lord; but I know I am guilty, and I will not die with a lie in my mouth."

The prosecutor, in continuation, said, that, in the cart-rut in which he lay, upwards of a pint of congealed blood was found the next morning. He knew the men perfectly, and he had no doubt that the prisoners were the same.

Thomas Roach.—Is a labourer, residing at East Ham. On the morning after the outrage he found a waistcoat belonging to one of the prisoners, near the spot where the outrage was committed. It was covered with blood. He had seen the prisoners near the same spot three nights before, and overheard them converse together in Irish. He could understand what they said. He heard Cashon say to Brien that he would have the price of his labour out of the old b—, and that he would have his watch before the last of his potatoes were taken up. Brien twice or thrice

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declined having any thing to do with the affair. He said he had never been guilty of any such thing, and he would have nothing to do with it. Witness was in a situation to see them, but they could not see him. He kept himself concealed till they had passed out of sight. He did not hear any name mentioned, but he thought Mr. Greenhill was meant. He did not communicate the conversation till after the outrage. He did not think it necessary: besides he had his own business to attend to, and he could not suppose that any of Mr. Greenhill's workmen would be guilty of such a thing. The prisoners were not seen in the neighbourhood after the night of the robbery.

Mr. Baron Vaughan immediately pronounced sentence of death upon the prisoners, telling them that it would most certainly be carried into execution.

14. About nine o'clock in the morning, a considerable alarm was created in the town of Leicester, and particularly in the neighbourhood of the county-gaol. In consequence of the violent ringing of the alarm-bell attached to that prison, a number of individuals immediately flocked to the spot to learn the cause; the gates were instantly opened, and the persons surrounding the front of the prison admitted, when it appeared that eleven prisoners, confined on capital charges, had made a most desperate effort to obtain their liberty. Mr. Musson, the son of the governor of the prison, a few minutes before nine, accompanied by the turnkey, repaired, according to weekly custom, to the yard in which the prisoners are confined on capital charges, for the purpose of distributing to the felons a change of

linen. They had no sooner entered the yard, than the prisoners immediately seized them, and violently wrested the keys of the various yards and apartments from the turnkey, who, in making a resistance, received a severe contusion from a blow inflicted by one of the felons with the ponderous bunch of keys. The prisoners then contrived to keep Mr. Musson and the turnkey secured, until the whole party passed through into the large yard: they then closed the door upon them, which fastens with spring-locks, opening only on the outside. On reaching the large yard, the felons proceeded to unlock the doors of the apartments in which other prisoners were confined, whom they invited to join them in their attempt to escape. These prisoners, however, refused to have any thing to do with the affair. The refractory felons were then about to proceed towards the principal gate, but the turnkey, having discovered what was going forward, commenced ringing the alarm-bell, which in a very short period summoned a considerable number of individuals to the prison, who succeeded in retaking the keys. The apartments appropriated to the prisoners confined for debt were instantly opened, and the debtors, with the assistance of Mr. Musson, sen. the governor of the gaol, and other individuals, overpowered the felons without bloodshed, and lodged them in separate cells.

15. FUNERAL OF THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL.—On Monday the 15th, the remains of this much-lamented nobleman were removed from his late residence at Combe Wood, to the family vault at Hawkesbury, in Gloucestershire. The funeral train was arranged

with that unostentatious propriety, which was one of the features of his excellent character. A mourning hearse, drawn by six horses, preceded by mutes, bearing the coronet and the armorial distinctions of the deceased, was followed by three mourning coaches and six, containing the domestics of his lordship's establishment; then came his lordship's own carriage, followed by those of his brother, and the marquis of Bristol, and that of his royal highness the duke of Clarence, who unsolicited paid this mark of respect to his deceased neighbour. The carriages of viscount Sidmouth and C. N. Palmer, Esq., M.P., closed the procession. The inhabitants of Kingston could not be prevented from paying their last tribute of gratitude to one who had been to them a father and friend, by the strongest exhibitions of private feeling. At the Alms-houses, the inhabitants of which had always partaken of his lordship's bounty, the funeral was met by a long train of the heads of families, to whom for many years past his lordship had annually given a liberal reward for good conduct, and which he had perpetuated by his will. To these followed the corporation of Kingston, of which his lordship was high steward, in full mourning. Upon the new bridge lately erected at Kingston, principally under his lordship's sanction and assistance, were stationed the children of the large public school of that town, of which he was the principal founder and support.

19. EMBEZZLEMENT.—*Maidstone Assizes*.—Thomas Austin was arraigned on an indictment, which charged, that, on the 15th October, 1827, at Greenwich, he

then being employed as a clerk or servant to sir Thomas Boulden Thompson, Bart, to wit, holding the office of deputy Treasurer of Greenwich-Hospital, did embezzle the sum of 1,000*l.*, which he had received by virtue of the office he held under his said master and employer.

In a second count he was charged with embezzling a further sum of 2,000*l.*, on the 16th of November.

And in a third count, he was charged with embezzling a further sum of 250*l.*, on the 14th of December.

John Dyer, Esq.—Is now first clerk of the Admiralty, but was formerly Secretary of Greenwich-Hospital. Sir Thomas Boulden Thompson was Treasurer of that institution, and appointed Mr. Austin his deputy. Witness was an attesting party to the power of attorney conferring the appointment.

Mr. W. Knowlden.—Is a clerk in the treasury-department of the hospital. Mr. Austin was deputy-treasurer and also chief clerk of the treasury. It was his duty to render a monthly account of the receipts and disbursements of the hospital. His salary, as chief clerk, was 500*l.* per annum, besides which he was a clerk of the prizes, for which he received 200*l.* a-year more. (The monthly accounts were then put in.) The accounts were rendered to a Board of Directors and Governors, sitting sometimes at the Admiralty, and sometimes at Greenwich Hospital.

The accounts for October, November, and December, 1827, those months in which the embezzlements had taken place, were put in, and also the general account

from the 1st of January to the 31st of March, 1828.

Witness.—Mr. Austin continued to hold his appointments till June, 1828, but he rendered no general account after March in that year. All the items in the monthly accounts ought to appear in the general account. Witness produced the rough draughts from which the accounts of October, and November, and December, 1827, were made up. Those of November and December are in the handwriting of Mr. Austin; That of October is merely endorsed by Mr. Austin.

Cross-examined.—Has been clerk in the Treasurer's-office twenty-four years. The Treasurer appoints his deputy, and the Board of Directors confirm the appointment. In point of fact, it would be no appointment at all, if the Board of Directors refused to confirm it. Mr. Austin could receive no money as clerk, but only in his capacity of deputy-treasurer. It was Mr. Austin's duty to pay the amount he received into the Bank of England to the account there standing in the name of the treasurer, with the exception of such money as might be required for current disbursements. The money thus required was kept in a strong room called the "chest." The demands on the chest are innumerable.

By Mr. Adolphus.—The treasurer gives security to the hospital, and the deputy to the treasurer. Mr. Austin ceased to be deputy-treasurer on the 31st of May. After he had been dismissed, he came backward and forward, and assisted in balancing and explaining the accounts.

Re-examined by Mr. Bolland.—The prisoner came backward and

forward to rectify errors discovered in his accounts. Errors were detected on the day after the accounts were delivered to the new deputy-treasurer, Mr. Paine. These errors were examined into in the presence of Mr. Austin, who paid the money required to rectify them. Other errors were afterwards discovered, on which Mr. Austin paid a further sum of money. A third set of errors were discovered, but Mr. Austin paid no money on account of them. Shortly after this discovery Mr. Austin left the neighbourhood. The checks were signed by Mr. Austin, as deputy-treasurer, by procuration of the treasurer of the hospital.

Re-examined by Mr. Adolphus.

—He did not know that mistakes had been discovered in the accounts of other of the hospital officers. He believed none were discovered. Some of the mistakes were in favour of Mr. Austin, to the amount of some thousands of pounds. During the seventeen years Mr. Austin held the appointment, from 10,000,000*l.* to 11,000,000*l.* of money passed through his hands, the balance of which sum was constantly carried forward in the general accounts. Mr. Austin was a negligent and unskilful accountant.

Mr. W. Slack.—Was a clerk in the Bank of England, and produced the Bank-books for 1827. In October of that year there was an account in the name of sir Thomas Boulden Thompson, bart., as treasurer of Greenwich Hospital. A pass-book was kept for that account, and money both paid in and drawn out. The pass-book was made up monthly, and the vouchers returned. They were generally put in the pocket of the pass-book.

Mr. John Austin.—Was a clerk

in the Treasurer's-office of Greenwich Hospital. He used generally to fetch the pass-book for Mr. Austin from the Bank. He mostly gave the book to Mr. Austin, but if Mr. Austin was not in the way, he placed the book in the hands of Mr. Knowlden. He might have so placed it a dozen times.

Mr. Knowlden re-called.—Witness, when he received the book, always locked it up in the strong-room, till he had an opportunity of giving it to Mr. Austin.

Cross-examined. — All papers and documents left by Mr. Austin in the strong-room have been transferred to his successor.

Mr. Walter.—Was a stock-broker, and knew Mr. Austin, for whom he had done business since 1823. His first introduction to Mr. Austin, was owing to his being employed to buy and sell stock on account of the Hospital. He afterwards did business for Mr. Austin on his private account. He made trifling purchases of shares and securities for him. He could not say what kind of securities. He did business for Mr. Austin generally. Had received money from Mr. Austin in payment for such shares. Witness had no account made by himself of the state of the money transactions between himself and Mr. Austin. In October, 1827, he received from Mr. Austin a check on the Bank of England for 1,000*l*. Witness paid it to his bankers, Spooner and Attwood, who gave him credit for it. Witness afterwards lent that money on his own account and not on account of Mr. Austin. He borrowed it of Mr. Austin for the purpose of lending it. He did not repay the money till two or three months afterwards. In No-

vember of the same year, he received another check from Mr. Austin for 2,000*l*. in the same manner, and for the same purpose. It was a loan to witness, for him to employ. It was to be employed for Mr. Austin's benefit. On the 14th of December, witness received another check from Mr. Austin, for 250*l*., but whether that sum was to be lent out, or whether it was for "general disbursements," he could not say.

Witness repaid the money by direct payments into the Bank of England, to the credit of the account there standing in the name of the treasurer of Greenwich Hospital. He repaid 1,800*l*. in Bank notes on the 31st of January, and a further sum of 2050*l*. on the 21st of February. There had been other and larger dealings between him and Mr. Austin. In the various transactions he had with Mr. Austin, the money was always advanced by Mr. Austin, in a check drawn upon the Bank of England, and signed in his official capacity of deputy treasurer.

Mr. Justice Burrough here observed, that, from the evidence of the last witness, it appeared the money had been returned; consequently, there could have been no felonious application of it.

Mr. Bolland.—There has been a fraudulent application of it.

Mr. Justice Burrough.—Yes, but before that was discovered, the money had been paid back. He considered that this was not an embezzling of the money within the meaning of the act. The prisoner must be acquitted. Whether he might not be indicted under some other clause in the act is another question.

The prisoner was *acquitted* accordingly; but he was immediate-

ly again arraigned on an indictment, charging that he, being a clerk and servant to sir Thomas Boulden Thompson, did feloniously embezzle forty-one notes of 5*l*. each, two sovereigns, and eight silver shillings. In a second count he was described to be the servant of the commissioners of Greenwich Hospital. It appeared that, on the 18th of April, 1827, the prisoner received the money in question from Mr. Clifford, of the Navy Pay-office at Chatham, on account of the Hospital: that he afterwards wrote to the secretary, admitting the receipt of the money, and that, on examining his accounts, it was found he had never carried it to the credit of the Hospital.

After hearing arguments of counsel, however, the judge decided, that the deputy-treasurer of Greenwich Hospital was not a clerk and servant within the meaning of the statute, and consequently that the indictment could not hold good.

The rest of the indictments, having all the same defect, were not proceeded with, and the prisoner was discharged upon finding four sureties in 50*l*. each, to become bound for his appearing to answer any fresh charges that might be preferred against him at the ensuing assizes.

20. FEVER AT GIBRALTAR.—The following are the daily reports made of the epidemic fever since the 1st of December:—

	New Cases.	Died.	Funerals.
Dec. 2	12	1	4
3	14	4	6
4	5	2	8
5	6	1	5
6	7	2	3
7	10	1	1
8	6	1	6
9	8	2	5
10	18	1	3

11	12	7	7
12	10	2	7
13	5	1	3
14	1	2	2
15	4	2	6
16	8	1	3
17	9	2	3
18	4	1	1
19	5	3	1
20	6	0	4

23. QUEEN-SQUARE. — An Irishman, who gave his name Michael Lawless, presented himself before the magistrate, Mr. Marriott, to apply for a summons against Andrew Jones.

The applicant said, he had made out his complaint in writing, and handed a paper up to the magistrate, stating that he was ready to swear to the truth of every word.

The following is a copy:

“May it please your Worships,—I, Michael Lawless, have laid a bill before Andrew Jones, which he refuses to pay. The circumstances are peculiar, and as follow:—

To 11 weeks' washing and lodging .....£1 2 0  
For illicit connexion with my wife during the time he lodged with me, and represented himself as her brother, during which period they abused my rights as a man, for which damage I charge ..... 0 11 0

£1 13 0

This testimony I can make good on oath,  
MICHAEL LAWLESS.

No sooner had Mr. Marriott read the above bill, than, he ordered the applicant out of the office. The fellow at first attempted to reason with him on the moderation of his charge, and was ejected only by force.

THEFT BY DRUGGED LIQUORS.—*Edinburgh Dec. 1822.*—David Wilson, William Wilson, and



Charles Parker, were brought to trial on a charge of having feloniously administered a quantity of laudanum, or other narcotic and deleterious substance, to Francis Bannochie, spirit dealer, Hawthorn Ville, near Newhaven, and Jean Carnegie, or Bannochie, his wife, by mixing it with a quantity of rum or other liquid, which they prevailed upon the said Francis Bannochie and his wife to take, in order to produce stupefaction, that they might be enabled, while these individuals were in a state of insensibility, theftuously to carry away their property. Bannochie and his wife having drank of this mixture, became stupified, and, while they were in this state, from 9*l.* to 10*l.* was stolen. The panels all pleaded not guilty.

Francis Bannochie was acquainted with the panels prior to April. On a day between the 10th and 15th April, the prisoners came to his shop about ten o'clock in the evening. He had got nearly seven pound in notes and silver, from Mr. Brown, a gardener. This money was in his pocket,—there were besides in the drawers up stairs 3*l.* 18*s.* The prisoner, D. Wilson, who had taken a room by the name of Johnston, and who was known by that name, took witness aside, and said he had a bargain of rum to sell, which he had purchased from a Mr. Nimmo. He produced a sample in a pint bottle from his pocket, but, on a glass being poured out, witness examined it and taking off half a glass, declared that it was not spirits. His wife having been desired to mull a bottle of ale, he was asked to take a part, and he did so, and went into another room to wipe a table, but felt himself become heavy, and he recollected

no more that took place that night. The first thing he recollected next morning, was a Mr. Cuthbertson coming in, who induced him to drink a quantity of warm water which acted as an emetic. The vomiting continued so violently, that he was unable to retain any thing on his stomach for the day. When he got up stairs he found his wife sick, who had also been vomiting. By the evening she was able to make a search, when the money, which had been in his pocket, was found to be gone, and also the notes that were in the drawers.

Mrs. Bannochie corroborated the evidence of her husband as to the manner in which the prisoners entered the house; to their having offered rum, and to the quantity offered to and drank by him. William Wilson desired her to mull a bottle of porter herself, and to bring two tumblers. When she brought the porter, about a small tea-cupful was put into a tumbler of porter, which she lifted, and looking at W. Wilson said, 'I do not know what you are; but if you binna better than the rest, you're no great things.' While she was putting the porter to her mouth, W. Wilson held back the tumbler, and poured the drop of rum left in the glass by her husband, saying, if she would not take it cold, to take it warm, for she would be the better of it going to her bed—it would make her sleep. Johnstone asked her to mull a bottle of ale, and make it good. She mulled the ale; on her return found the tumbler in the same state as when she left it. Her husband was still there, and she was not sensible of his having left the room. She fell a sleep in a moment. She recollected becoming sick, and that W. Wilson desired her to go to bed.

She asked for Frank, and they replied that he was up stairs before her. The two Wilsons then helped her up stairs; Parker taking the candle. They left her in a different room from that in which she slept, but there was a bed in it. To get to this bed, she had to go through a parlour, and when she reached it, she observed Parker standing, laughing at the drawers, on which he placed the candle. She fell down, and heard a noise as of the strings of her pocket being cut with a knife. That was the last thing she recollected. In her pocket there were 2*l.* in notes, and 10*s.* 6*d.* in silver. When she awoke next morning, she found herself in her own bed. She could not describe her feelings next morning. She and her husband were attended by Dr. Latta. Her husband's face, when he came into the room next morning, 'was all spotted, blue and yellow, with a red ring around the mouth—his eyes was sunk, and his face no muckle booket.' They were both perfectly sober that night.

Several other witnesses were examined, and the jury returned a verdict, finding the panels guilty of administering laudanum, or some other narcotic drug as libelled, but the theft not proven. They were sentenced to transportation for seven years.

**OPPRESSION BY OFFICERS OF THE LAW.** — *Glasgow Assizes, Dec. 22.*—Alex. Waddell, senior, Alex. Waddell, junior, messengers in Airdrie, and James Strathern, sheriff officer there, were charged with violence and oppression, in so far as, on 10th October, they did invade Henry Galloway, weaver, a person of weak and infirm mind, and threatened him with violence, pretending that they had

a warrant against him, and that he was their prisoner, and further, that they searched his person, and afterwards dragged him along the public road, to Airdrie; and assaulted and struck him, and they incarcerated him in the lock-up-house of that town, stripping him of every part of his dress, except his shirt. The prisoners pleaded not guilty. The facts of this case were clearly proved to be as expressed in the indictment. Galloway, as described by one of the witnesses, in whose house he resided, was a silly-minded harmless creature, and had only a few months prior to the assault been in the Lunatic Asylum. The prisoners, on the day libelled, happened to go into the house to shun a shower, and learning that Galloway was a weak person, took him from the shop where he was working, into the kitchen, on pretence that they were going to share half a mutchkin of whisky with him. Waddell, sen., asked the master of the house what money he thought Galloway had got? He replied that he had either 13*l.* or 14*l.* in notes, and 30*s.* in silver; on which Waddell replied that would do. The prisoners afterwards began to search Galloway, and held him fast in a chair. One of them stated that he had a warrant against Galloway in his pocket. The whole affair was considered by the people of the house to be a mere jest, till the prisoners actually forced the man out of the door, and dragged him on the road to Airdrie, for the purpose of putting him in jail. Waddell, jun., and Strathern, held him by the arms, and Waddell, sen. went behind, pushing him with his stick. After they had gone a short way on the road, old Waddell said, they would allow Galloway to go

away, if he would give them 5s. or 6s. He afterwards struck him a violent blow on the head with his stick, and produced a large lump. When they arrived in Airdrie, Galloway was incarcerated in jail, having been previously stripped of every article of his dress, except his shirt. In this stage of the business, it appears the prisoners pretended that they had apprehended Galloway, as being a suspicious character. After remaining all night in jail, he was liberated by an order from two of the prisoners. The jailor, who was examined in the case, received an admonition from Lord Gillies, to beware how he incarcerated any person in jail in future, without a warrant from a magistrate. It was well for him, he remarked, that, instead of being placed at the bar, he was admitted as a witness in the case.

The jury returned a verdict, finding the prisoners *guilty*. The case, on account of its novelty, was certified to the high court of justiciary, as to the punishment to be inflicted, and ended in two of the panels being transported for seven years, and the other imprisoned for twelve months.

25. **TRICYCLES.**—Christmas-day was rendered memorable to the Parisians by the starting of this new species of carriage for public accommodation. The tricycle is a kind of coach, mounted on three wheels; it is drawn by two horses only. It moves very lightly, although there is an appearance of weight about it. One wheel is placed exactly as the leading wheel of the steam-coach: it is capable of containing twenty persons, whom it conveys distances of at least three miles for five sous each.

27. Mr. Rowland Stephenson, member of parliament for

Leominster, and a partner in the banking house of Remington, Stephenson, and Co., left the house in St. Bartholomew's Hospital, in which he resided as treasurer of that charity, at four o'clock on the morning, and, for some days was not heard of. It seems that the unusual circumstance of his leaving home thus early came to the knowledge of the gentlemen who were securities for the faithful discharge of his trust as treasurer to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and created in their minds so strong a suspicion, that they waited on the president, sir James Shaw, and, acquainting him with what they had heard, earnestly pressed him to withdraw a part of the balance held for the hospital by the banking-house, so as to lessen the danger of the situation in which they conceived themselves to be placed. After some discussion, although the alderman was far from imagining that their suspicions were well founded, the prudence of the suggestion was admitted; a check for 5,000*l.* was drawn, presented at the banking-house at eleven o'clock, and paid: at half-past one the house stopped. Stephenson was accompanied in his flight by a clerk of the house, named Lloyd. A reward of £1,000 was offered for the apprehension of the former; and £300, for that of the latter. They carried off a large part of the assets of the house. Mr. Cope, the City Marshal, and two police officers, traced Stephenson and his clerk Lloyd to Clovelly, where the culprits remained three days. They ascertained, that, on the 2nd of January, 1829, Stephenson and his companion took a skiff and arrived at Milford Haven, whence they went into Angle Bay (an inlet on the

south side of Milford), next day. On Sunday the 4th of January, they embarked on board the Brig, Kingston, and sailed the next day for Savannah. At a meeting of the creditors a paper was exhibited, containing a rough sketch of the state of the company's affairs. The amount of assets was about 344,385*l.*; the debts, 425,551*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.* The estate was liable for property abstracted by Stephenson to nearly 70,000*l.*, which would increase the company's liabilities to about 500,000*l.* The deficiencies in Rowland Stephenson's private accounts had no reference to the general accounts of the estate.

**LOSS OF THE SHEFFIELD STEAMER.**—The Sheffield, one of the Dublin company's finest steamboats, sailed from Liverpool on Monday, at half-past three o'clock, with a valuable cargo, and seventeen steerage and four cabin passengers, besides the crew of the vessel. She made a rapid passage, in consequence of the wind being favourable. About five o'clock on Tuesday morning the vessel struck with her bows on a sunken rock; and in a few minutes, the rudder, wheel, &c., were shattered to pieces. At this time it was quite dark and foggy. The captain was not exactly aware on what part of the coast they were; a circumstance which, of course, added to the general consternation. The vessel continued to hang on by the head, with a heavy surf breaking over her, till a little past eight, when it was found they had struck on the Scull-Martin Rocks, of Ballywalter, about a mile and a half from land. Immediately on the accident occurring, blue lights were hoisted, so that the people on shore were prepared to put off

to their relief at day-break. About half-past eight the coast-guard boat, and others belonging to the shore, appeared off the rock on which the Sheffield was now firmly wedged. The cockswain of the water-guard, in a gallant manner, flung himself into the boiling surf, swam to the rocks, and clambered over the rugged surface, till he reached the vessel. Other boats had also arrived from Ballywalter, and arrangements were speedily made for getting the passengers ashore. A spar was rigged so as to reach from the vessel to the rock; and hawsers were carried out and passed over the numerous gullies, the sea dashing frightfully through the ravines which intersected its surface. The females were buckled on the backs of the men, and each passenger swung himself by the rope, and thus struggled through gulley after gulley, till all reached the boats. The captain and part of the crew remained on board, till the boats returned from landing all the passengers.

**MURDERS IN FRANCE.**—Francis Lebaron, the occupier of a small farm near St. Lo, was about twenty-two years of age, and had been married for a few years to a pretty woman a few months younger than himself. They did not live happily together; and the woman was often heard to express the most deadly hatred towards her husband. She had complained to the police, several months before, of having been severely beaten by him, and exhibited bruises and wounds, which, she said, he had inflicted; but she confessed, on being strictly examined, that she had produced them herself for the purpose of getting rid of her husband. A few days ago the dead body of Lebaron was found

in his own stable ; he was clothed, and his hat was on the ground near him : it was obvious that he had been murdered ; his clothes were neither torn nor stained with blood, but, on taking them off, upwards of forty wounds, which had been recently inflicted, were found on various parts of the body, and especially one on the back part of the head, which had fractured the skull, and probably occasioned immediate death. The wife, on hearing of the death of her husband, uttered the most violent screams and lamentations, and was not pacified without great difficulty. Suspicion, however, fell upon her, and a man of the name of Vauttier, who bore a very bad character. He was arrested, and some spots of blood were found on his clothes ; being severely questioned, he became embarrassed, and at last confessed that he and the wife of the deceased had committed the murder. She at first denied the charge, but afterwards admitted its truth. According to their confessions, it appeared, that, about ten o'clock on the night of the murder, Vauttier called at the house of Lebaron, who was then in bed and asleep, and he there saw the female prisoner, who urged him to kill her husband, and promised him a large sum of money for so doing. Vauttier, armed with a heavy hammer, then struck Lebaron on the head, who, on rising from the bed, received a second blow on the head, which killed him. The wife cut his throat, and inflicted a great number of wounds on the body with a knife. When the body was on the ground, she jumped on it, and mutilated it in a most horrible and revolting manner. The wretches then drank a bottle of brandy ; after which they clothed

the body and conveyed it to the stable, for the purpose of making it appear that the crime had been committed by strangers, and then endeavoured to erase all marks of blood from the chamber. The woman afterwards went to bed, and slept till late in the morning. On one of the labourers inquiring for his master, she observed, " that, after having fed the horses, she supposed he had gone to his father's, as she had not seen him." The body was shortly afterwards discovered by this man in the stable. Vauttier asserted, that, while drinking the brandy, and while the body of her murdered husband was before her, she remarked " the only thing that embarrassed her was, how she should be able to assume an appearance of grief on the morrow, and shed tears."

At the Assizes at Rouen, Maria Madeleine Delamere, aged forty-three, was tried for the murder of her husband. According to the evidence of the first witness, the brother of the deceased, as he was returning from his work at noon, on the 3rd of April last, heard the prisoner scream, and instantly went to his brother's house. He saw the deceased in bed, with his throat cut, and bleeding profusely. Witness asked his brother who had done it, but he made no answer or sign, and immediately afterwards died. Deceased appeared always to have lived very happily with the prisoner. He had been ill for a long time, and witness imputed his death to his own hand, as he had been in great distress at not being able to attend to his work. The razor, with which the deceased's throat had been cut, was not found until the next day, when the police discovered it be-

hind a cupboard, a few feet from the bed of the deceased. The prisoner did not appear much affected on hearing of the death of her husband. Other witnesses confirmed this testimony, and stated that the prisoner and deceased appeared to live very happily together, and some of them thought that Delamere had cut his own throat. The Juge de Paix deposed to his finding the razor; and, on his questioning the prisoner, she said, "Oh, Sir, do you wish to ruin me?" Several medical men were examined. The first, M. Despee, deposed, that he had seen the deceased previous to his death, and that he was then delirious. He thought that the wound had been inflicted by the hand of the deceased, and that, after having cut his throat, he had been able by a convulsive motion, to throw the razor to the situation in which it was found. Dr. Correa, a physician, who saw the body the next day, stated that there were three distinct wounds in the neck. The

two first had been but of a slight nature, but the last wound was very deep, and had occasioned death. The wounds had been inflicted laterally on the neck, and one of the vertebræ had been cut in two places, in one place upwards of an inch in depth. He said that it was hardly credible that the deceased could have inflicted these wounds, but he would not declare that the deceased had been murdered. It would require great strength to inflict such wounds; he had tried to make parallel cuts in the neck of the dead body, but had not been able. Other medical gentlemen delivered similar opinions. In her defence, the prisoner said that she had been out of the room for five minutes, and, on her return, found her husband with his throat cut. She had screamed out, but she did not remember what followed, as she had fainted. The jury, after deliberating for a short time, acquitted the prisoner.

## APPENDIX TO CHRONICLE.

## LISTS

## OF THE KING'S MINISTERS IN 1828.

## JANUARY.

Viscount Goderich .....	<i>First Lord of the Treasury.</i>
Right hon. John Charles Herries ....	<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer.</i>
Lord Lyndhurst .....	<i>Lord Chancellor.</i>
Duke of Portland .....	<i>President of the Council.</i>
Earl of Carlisle .....	<i>Lord Privy Seal.</i>
Marquess of Lansdowne .....	<i>Secretary of State for the Home Depart.</i>
Earl Dudley .....	<i>Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.</i>
Right hon. William Huskisson .....	<i>Secretary of State for the Colonies.</i>
Right hon. William Sturges Bourne ..	<i>First Commissioner of Land Revenue.</i>
Right hon. George Tierney .....	<i>Master of the Mint.</i>
Right hon. Charles William Wynn ....	<i>President of the Board of Control.</i>
Lord Bexley .....	<i>Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.</i>
Right hon. Charles Grant .....	<i>{ Treasurer of the Navy, and President</i>
	<i>of the Board of Trade.</i>
Viscount Palmerston .....	<i>Secretary at War.</i>

*The above form the CABINET.*

Duke of Clarence .....	<i>Lord High Admiral.</i>
Marquess of Anglesey .....	<i>Master-general of the Ordnance.</i>
Duke of Devonshire .....	<i>Lord Chamberlain.</i>
Marquess of Conyngham .....	<i>Lord Steward.</i>
Duke of Leeds .....	<i>Master of the Horse.</i>
Right hon. W. V. Fitzgerald .....	<i>Paymaster of the Forces.</i>
	<i>Vice President of the Board of Trade.</i>
Duke of Manchester .....	<i>Postmaster-general.</i>
Sir Edward W. C. R. Owen .....	<i>Lieut.-general of the Ordnance.</i>
Sir James Scarlett, knt. ....	<i>Attorney-General.</i>
Sir Nicholas C. Tindall, knt. ....	<i>Solicitor-General.</i>

## IRELAND.

Marquess Wellesley .....	<i>Lord Lieutenant.</i>
Right hon. sir Anthony Hart, knt. ....	<i>Lord Chancellor.</i>
Right hon. sir George Murray .....	<i>Commander of the Forces.</i>
Right hon. William Lamb .....	<i>Chief Secretary.</i>
Right hon. sir G. Fitzgerald Hill, bart.	<i>Vice Treasurer.</i>
Henry Joy, esq. ....	<i>Attorney-General.</i>
John O'Doherty, esq. ....	<i>Solicitor-General.</i>

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## FEBRUARY.

Duke of Wellington .....	<i>First Lord of the Treasury.</i>
Right hon. Henry Goulburn .....	<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer.</i>
Lord Lyndhurst .....	<i>Lord Chancellor.</i>
Earl Bathurst .....	<i>President of the Council.</i>
Lord Ellenborough .....	<i>Lord Privy Seal.</i>
Right hon. Robert Peel .....	<i>Secretary of State for the Home Depart.</i>
Earl of Dudley .....	<i>Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.</i>
Right hon. William Huskisson .....	<i>Secretary of State for the Colonies.</i>
Right hon. John Charles Herries .....	<i>Master of the Mint.</i>
Viscount Melville .....	<i>President of the Board of Control.</i>
Earl of Aberdeen .....	<i>Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.</i>
Right hon. Charles Grant .....	<i>{ Treasurer of the Navy, and President</i>
Viscount Palmerston .....	<i>{ of the Board of Trade.</i>
	<i>Secretary at War.</i>

*The above form the CABINET.*

Duke of Clarence .....	<i>Lord High Admiral.</i>
Viscount Beresford .....	<i>Master General of the Ordnance.</i>
Duke of Montrose .....	<i>Lord Chamberlain.</i>
Marquis Conyngham .....	<i>Lord Steward.</i>
Duke of Leeds .....	<i>Master of the Horse.</i>
Marquess of Winchester .....	<i>Groom of the Stole.</i>
Right hon. W. V. Fitzgerald .....	<i>Paymaster of the Forces.</i>
Right hon. Charles Arbuthnot .....	<i>First Commissioner of Land Revenue.</i>
Right hon. Thos. Frankland Lewis .....	<i>Vice President of the Board of Trade.</i>
Duke of Manchester .....	<i>Postmaster General.</i>
Sir William Henry Clinton .....	<i>Lieutenant General of the Ordnance.</i>
Sir Charles Wetherell .....	<i>Attorney General.</i>
Sir Nicolas C. Tindall, kn. ....	<i>Solicitor General.</i>

## IRELAND.

Marquis of Anglesey .....	<i>Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.</i>
Right hon. sir Anthony Hart, kn. ....	<i>Lord Chancellor.</i>
Right hon. sir George Murray .....	<i>Commander of the Forces.</i>
Right hon. William Lamb .....	<i>Chief Secretary.</i>
Right hon. sir G. Fitzgerald Hill, bart.	<i>Vice Treasurer.</i>
Right hon. Henry Joy .....	<i>Attorney General.</i>
John O'Doherty, esq. ....	<i>Solicitor General.</i>



## JUNE.\*

Duke of Wellington .....	<i>First Lord of the Treasury.</i>
Right hon. Henry Goulbourn .....	<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer.</i>
Lord Lyndhurst .....	<i>Lord Chancellor.</i>
Earl Bathurst .....	<i>President of the Council.</i>
Lord Ellenborough .....	<i>Lord Privy Seal.</i>
Right hon. Robert Peel .....	<i>Secretary of State for the Home Depart.</i>
Earl of Aberdeen .....	<i>Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.</i>
Right hon. sir George Murray .....	<i>Secretary of State for the Colonies.</i>
Right hon. John Charles Herries.....	<i>Master of the Mint.</i>
Lord Melville .....	<i>President of the Board of Control.</i>
Right hon. W. V. Fitzgerald .....	<i>{ Treasurer of the Navy, and President</i> <i>of the Board of Trade.</i>

*The above form the CABINET.*

Duke of Clarence .....	<i>Lord High Admiral.</i>
Right hon. sir Henry Hardinge .....	<i>Secretary at War.</i>
Viscount Beresford .....	<i>Master-General of the Ordnance.</i>
Duke of Montrose .....	<i>Lord Chamberlain.</i>
Marquis of Conyngham .....	<i>Lord Steward.</i>
Duke of Leeds .....	<i>Master of the Horse.</i>
Marquess of Winchester .....	<i>Groom of the Stole.</i>
Right hon. Charles Arbuthnot .....	<i>Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.</i>
Right hon. John Calcraft .....	<i>Paymaster of the Forces.</i>
Viscount Lowther .....	<i>First Commissioner of Land Revenue.</i>
Thomas P. Courtenay, esq. ....	<i>Vice President of the Board of Trade.</i>
Duke of Manchester .....	<i>Postmaster-general.</i>
Sir William Henry Clinton .....	<i>Lieutenant-general of the Ordnance.</i>
Sir C. Wetherell, knt. ....	<i>Attorney-General.</i>
Sir Nicholas C. Tindall, knt.....	<i>Solicitor-General.</i>

## IRELAND.

Marquis of Anglesey .....	<i>Lord Lieutenant.</i>
Right hon. sir Anthony Hart, knt. ....	<i>Lord Chancellor.</i>
Lieut.-gen. sir John Byng .....	<i>Commander of the Forces.</i>
Lord Francis Leveson Gower .....	<i>Chief Secretary.</i>
Right hon. sir G. Fitzgerald Hill, bart..	<i>Vice Treasurer.</i>
Right hon. Henry Joy .....	<i>Attorney-General.</i>
John O'Doherty, esq. ....	<i>Solicitor-General.</i>

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\* This Ministry continued without change, throughout the remainder of the year, except that the duke of Clarence resigned the office of lord high admiral, when lord Melville became again first lord of the admiralty, and a cabinet minister, and lord Ellenborough succeeded him as president of the board of controul.

## SHERIFFS FOR THE YEAR 1828.

<i>Bedfordshire</i> .....	G. Musgrave, of Shitlington, esq.
<i>Berkshire</i> .....	T. Bowles, of Milton Hill, esq.
<i>Buckinghamshire</i> .....	R. Harvey, of Langley Park, esq.
<i>Cambridge and Huntingdonshire</i> .....	John Peter Allix, of Swaffham Prior, esq.
<i>Cheshire</i> .....	Richard Massey, of Moston, esq.
<i>Cornwall</i> .....	J. W. Buller, of Shillingham, esq.
<i>Cumberland</i> .....	Thomas Parker, of Warrick Hall, esq.
<i>Derbyshire</i> .....	Sir G. Sitwell, of Renishaw, bart.
<i>Devonshire</i> .....	William Langmead, of Elford-Leigh, esq.
<i>Dorsetshire</i> .....	W. Gill Paxson, of Coombe-Almer, esq.
<i>Essex</i> .....	Sir C. J. Smith, of Suttons, bart.
<i>Gloucestershire</i> .....	F. Trotman, of Siston Court, esq.
<i>Herefordshire</i> .....	Edm. Higginson, of Saltmarsh, esq.
<i>Hertfordshire</i> .....	Sir C. Smith, of Bedwell Park, bart.
<i>Kent</i> .....	Sir T. M. Wilson, of Charlton, bart.
<i>Leicestershire</i> .....	G. Pochin, of Barkby, esq.
<i>Lincolnshire</i> .....	C. Winn, of Appleby, esq.
<i>Monmouthshire</i> .....	W. Morgan, of Panty Goytre, esq.
<i>Norfolk</i> .....	Sir W. J. H. B. Folkes, of Hillington, esq.
<i>Northamptonshire</i> .....	H. H. H. Hungerford, of Maidwell, esq.
<i>Northumberland</i> .....	C. Bosanquet, of Rock, esq.
<i>Nottinghamshire</i> .....	John E. Wescombe, of Thrumpton, esq.
<i>Oxfordshire</i> .....	Charles C. Dormer, of Rousham, esq.
<i>Rutlandshire</i> .....	T. Walker, of Liddington, esq.
<i>Shropshire</i> .....	W. L. Childe, of Kinlet Hall, esq.
<i>Somersetshire</i> .....	J. H. S. Pygott, of Brockley, esq.
<i>Staffordshire</i> .....	John Atkinson, of Maple Hayes, esq.
<i>County of Southampton</i> ..	W. S. Stanley, of Paultons, esq.
<i>Suffolk</i> .....	H. Logan, of Kentwell Hall, esq.
<i>Surrey</i> .....	T. Hope, of Deepdene, esq.
<i>Sussex</i> .....	R. Aldridge, of New Lodge, esq.
<i>Warwickshire</i> .....	Sir G. Chetwynd, of Grendon Hall, bart.
<i>Wiltshire</i> .....	G. W. Wroughton, of Wilcot House, esq.
<i>Worcestershire</i> .....	George Meredith, of Berington, esq.
<i>Yorkshire</i> .....	Sir T. Sykes, of Sledmere, bart.

## SOUTH WALES.

<i>Breconsaire</i> .....	F. Price, of Tyn-y-coed, esq.
<i>Cardiganshire</i> .....	J. Griffiths, of Llwyndurries, esq.
<i>Carmarthenshire</i> .....	William Chambers, of Llanelly, esq.
<i>Glamorganshire</i> .....	R. F. Jenner, of Wenvoe Castle, esq.
<i>Pembrokeshire</i> .....	T. Meyrick, of Bush, esq.
<i>Radnorshire</i> .....	David Thomas, of Wellfield House, esq.

## NORTH WALES.

<i>Anglesey</i> .....	J. Panton, of Llanddyfnan, esq.
<i>Carnarvonshire</i> .....	R. W. Price, of Bronygader, esq.
<i>Denbighshire</i> .....	L. H. B. Hesketh, of Gwyrch Castle, esq.
<i>Flintshire</i> .....	G. W. Kenrick, of Mertyn, esq.
<i>Merionethshire</i> .....	T. Casson, of Blaenddul, esq.
<i>Montgomeryshire</i> .....	J. J. Turner, of Pentrehellin, esq.

BIRTHS.

JANUARY.

2. At the East India College, the wife of capt. Mitchel, a son.
5. At Torquay, viscountess Sandon, a son and heir.
6. At Clifton, wife of major Elberton, of the Madras army, a son.  
— Lady of the rev. Dr. Taylor, chancellor of Hereford, a daughter.
10. At Danby Hall, seat of S. T. Scroope, esq. the lady of Anth. George Wright, esq. of Walton Hall, Cambridge-shire, a daughter.
11. At Killerton, the lady of sir Thos. Acland, bart. M.P. a son.
12. In Tavistock-place, the wife of N. H. Nicolas, esq. a daughter.
19. At Mount Melville, Fifeshire, the right hon. lady Cath. White Melville, a daughter.
20. The wife of Dr. Holland, of Lower Brook-street, a son.  
— At Rattenstall, county of Lancaster, Mrs. Cnmliffe, of three boys and two girls at one birth! They were all born alive, but died in a few hours afterwards.
21. At Goldsborough Hall, lady Louisa Lascelles, a son.
22. At Upper Grosvenor-street, the hon. Mrs. Fermor, a daughter.  
— In Cavendish-square, the lady of D. Barclay, esq. M.P. a son.
24. At Stapleton, the wife of H. C Harford, esq. a daughter.
27. At the Ryes Lodge, near Sudbury, the wife of Nashe Clarke Barnardiston, esq. a daughter.
28. On Clapham-common, Surrey, the wife of Wm. Hughes Hughes, esq. barrister-at-law, of Belle-Vue House, Ryde, a daughter.
29. The wife of Harry E. Waller, esq. of Farmington Lodge, a son and heir.
- Lately.* At Gloucester-place, the lady of Sir John Powlett Orde, bart. a daughter.

FEBRUARY.

2. At Cholmondeley House, Piccadilly, lady Henry Cholmondeley, a daughter.
7. At Rennes, the lady of capt. sir W. G. Parker, bart. a daughter.  
— At West Ham Abbey, the wife of

- J. Barclay, esq. of Devonshire-place, a daughter.
11. At Woodlands, Chigwell, Essex, the lady of sir J. Urmston, a son.  
— Lady Georgiana Agar Ellis, a daughter.
13. In Berkeley-square, lady Gordon Cumming, a daughter.  
— At Rome, the wife of Fras. Dugdale Astley, esq. a son.
14. At Ryde, Isle of Wight, the wife of H. Goode, esq. barrister-at-law, a daughter.  
— In Upper Seymour-street, the wife of major Pollock, a daughter.
16. Lady Ellenborough, a son.
19. At Old Windsor, the hon. Mrs. Neville Reid, a daughter.
24. At Florence, the lady of sir J. Huddart, a son.  
— At the Admiralty, Mrs. Keith Douglas, a daughter.
27. The lady of sir Sandford Graham, bart. a son.  
— At Duncroft House, Staines, the lady of col. Carmichael, a son.

MARCH.

5. At Hall-place, Kent, the lady of col. M'Creagh, a son.  
— The lady of Dr. Seymour, George-street, Hanover-square, a son.
7. In Great Ormond-street, the wife of Robert Belt, esq. a daughter.
10. In Seymour-place, Euston-square, Mrs. J. J. Wilkinson, a son.
12. In York-street, Portman-square, the wife of Stacey Grimaldi, esq. a son.  
— The wife of Matthew Flower, esq. of Torrington-square, a daughter.
13. The wife of Dr. H. Davies, Conduit-street, a son.  
— At Vauxhall, Mrs. Chas. L. Francis, a son.
15. In Marlborough-buildings, Bath, the wife of T. Clutterbuck, esq. of Har-nish House, Wilts, a son.
16. At Newick Lodge, Sussex, the wife of F. W. Frankland, esq. a son.
20. At Berlin, her Royal Highness, the consort of Prince Charles of Prussia, a son.
23. In Berkeley-square, the countess of Jersey, a daughter.
30. At Cecil Lodge, Cheshunt, Herts, the lady of col. Osborne, a daughter.
- Lately.* At Naples, the lady of John Mitchell, esq. late M.P. for Hull, a daughter.

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## BIRTHS.

### APRIL.

6. At Ewhurst Park, Hants, the lady of lieut. col. sir D. Hill, a daughter.
7. At Clapham-rise, the lady of Mr. Alderman Farebrother, a daughter.
8. At Lyncombe, near Bath, lady Sarah Murray, a daughter.
10. In George-street, Hanover-square, the wife of Geo. Banks, esq. M.P. a son,  
— In Upper Wimpole-street, the wife of G. Arbuthnot, esq. a daughter.  
— At Weymouth, the wife of col. Mansel, C.B. a son.
12. At Brighton, the wife of W. Ryves, esq. of Ryves Castle, a son and heir.
13. In Berkeley-square, Mrs. Henry Baring, a son.
15. Lady Lyndhurst, a daughter.
18. In Wimpole-street, the lady of J. Ridge, esq. a son.
23. At Armitage Park, Stafford, the right hon. lady Ribblesdale, a son and heir.
29. At Ely Lodge, the marchioness of Ely, a daughter.
30. At Brockenhurst House, Hants, lady Caroline Morant, a son.

### MAY.

1. At the Lodgings, at Christ Church, the lady of the right rev. the Bishop of Oxford, a daughter.
11. At Amsterdam, the wife of Wm. Haigh, esq. late of Grainsby House, Lincolnshire, a son and heir.
13. The wife of the right. hon. Stratford Canning, a daughter.
20. At Pitfour, the hon. Mrs. Ferguson, a daughter.
21. Lady Charlotte Sturt, a daughter.  
— In Cavendish-square, the wife of R. Franklin, esq. M.P. a daughter.
24. At Bartley Lodge, Southampton, the hon. Mrs. Blagmire, a daughter.
25. At Dunotter House, N.B. lady Kennedy, a son.
27. At Rookwood, Surrey, lady Spencer Churchill, a son.
28. In Cavendish-square, viscountess Duncannon, a son.
29. At Southampton, the lady of lieut. col. Henderson, a son.  
— At Wytham Abbey, the right hon. lady Caroline Hamilton, a son.  
— In Portman-square, the duchess of Richmond, a daughter.

### JUNE.

2. At Wemyss Castle, lady Emma Wemyss, a daughter.
6. The lady of major gen. the hon. P. Stuart, a daughter.
7. At Wadley House, Berks, the countess of Kintore, a son.
8. The right hon. lady Byron, a son.
13. At Edinburgh, the lady of col. Mayne, a son.
14. In the Belvidere, the wife of col. Allen, of Inchmartine, a son.
15. At Beech-hill, Berks, the wife of Whinfield Round, esq. barrister-at-law, a son.
18. In Queen Anne-street, the wife of C. Pepys, esq. a daughter.
26. The lady of col. Gwynne, of Glanbrann Park, Carmarthenshire, a son.  
— At Burton Constable, the wife of George Clifford, esq. a daughter.
27. At Woodcot, Oxfordshire, the wife of E. L. Bulwer, esq. a daughter.
30. At Brighton, the wife of sir T. Clifford, Constable, bart. of Burton Constable, a son and heir.

### JULY.

1. The hon. Mrs. Kennedy Erskine, a son and heir.  
— At Kensington, the countess of Glasgow, a daughter.
2. The lady of the right hon. H. W. Williams Wynn, envoy extraordinary at Copenhagen, a daughter.
6. At Welford House, near Nottingham, lady Lucy Smith, a daughter.
7. In Grosvenor-place, the hon. Mrs. G. Dawson, a daughter.  
— At Taplow Court, viscountess Kirkwall, a son.
8. At Melville House, the countess of Levin and Melville, a daughter.
9. At Jersey, the lady of lieut. col. Vicq, a daughter.
10. In Portland-place, lady Jane Peel, of twins.  
— At Court Herbert, Neath, the wife of the Rev. Thos. Gronow, a daughter.
11. At Florence, the lady of capt. G. J. Hope Johnstone, R.N. a daughter.
20. Viscountess Bangor, a son.
23. At Putney, the lady of sir Robt. Graham, bart. a son.
25. At East Sheen, the hon. Mrs. Colquhoun, of Killermont, a son.  
— In Bloomsbury-square, the wife of Dr. R. Bright, a daughter.  
— In Bedford-square, the wife of the rev. H. Clissold, a daughter.

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## BIRTHS.

25. At Florence, the lady of lieutenant. col. Shuldham, a son.

27. At Culverthorpe, Lincolnshire, the hon. Mrs. Handley, a daughter.

29. At Newlands, the lady of Fred. Middleton West, M.P. a son and heir.

30. At Ditchley, the seat of her father viscount Dillon, the hon. Mrs. Stanley, a daughter.

— At the Beacon, Exmouth, the lady of lieutenant. gen. Boyle, a son.

## AUGUST.

1. In Gower-street, the wife of H. T. Curtis, esq. a son.

3. At Golenbeck, in Mecklenburg Schwerin, the lady of Geo. Fortescue Turville, esq. of Husband's-Bosworth-hall, Leicestershire, a daughter.

5. At Brentry House, the seat of J. Cave, esq. the lady of W. Cave, jun. esq. a daughter.

10. At Acklam Hill, Yorkshire, the lady of Thos. Hustler, esq. a son.

13. At Braddon's-hill, Torquay, the lady of major Gammell, a son and heir.

31. At the seat of lord Sherborne, lady Eliz. Dutton, a son and heir.

— At Oakley Hall, Wilts, the lady of lieutenant. col. Hicks Beach, a daughter.

— At Standish House, Somersetshire, lady Emma Pennant, a daughter.

— At Smeeth, Kent, the lady of Wyndham Knatchbull, D.D. Laudian Professor of Arabic, Oxford, a daughter.

## SEPTEMBER.

7. At Copse Hill, Surrey, the right hon. lady Durham, a son.

8. At Shrewsbury, the lady of Rich. Jenkins, esq. of Bicton Hall, a son and heir.

12. At the archbishop of Canterbury's, Addington Park, the lady of sir Geo. H. W. Beaumont, bart, a son and heir.

13. At Waterstock, the lady of W. H. Ashhurst, esq. M. P., a son.

19. The wife of Peter Hunter, esq. a daughter.

21. At Camfield Place, Herts, the lady of the hon. baron Dimsdale, a son.

27. At Cooper's Hill, Englefield Green, the lady of James Stuart, esq. M. P. a daughter.

— In Lincoln's Inn-Fields, the lady of the hon. Thos. Erskine, a son.

## OCTOBER.

1. In Dorset Place, the wife of Arthur Wallinger, esq. barrister-at-law, a son.

— The wife of Kenyon S. Parker, esq. barrister-at-law, Upper Gower street, a son.

3. In Grosvenor Square, the lady of John Abel Smith, esq. a son.

6. At Arundel, the lady of the hon. and rev. E. J. Turnour, a daughter, her fourteenth child.

13. At Florence, the lady of sir Hedworth Williamson, bart. a son.

19. At Howth Castle, near Dublin, the right hon. the Marchioness of Clanricarde, a daughter.

## NOVEMBER.

8. At Newby Park, near Thirsk, the hon. Mrs. Ramsden, a daughter.

9. The hon. Mrs. Heathcote, a son and heir.

— At Earl's-terrace, Kensington, the wife of sir Gregory A. Lewins, a daughter.

10. Lady Harriet Baring, a son and heir.

— At Clifton, lady Stuart, a son.

11. At Brighton, lady Charlotte Calthorpe, a daughter.

— At Hastingleigh Rectory, near Canterbury, the wife of the rev. A. H. Dushie, a son.

18. In Great Russel-street, the wife of Mr. Serjeant Jones, a daughter.

28. At Houghton, the lady of the hon. C. Langdale, a daughter.

— At Ruperra House, Glamorganshire, the lady of C. Morgan, esq. eldest son of sir C. Morgan, bart, a son and heir.

## DECEMBER.

2. The lady of capt. W. Childers, 42nd, Royal-highlanders, a son.

6. At Cholderston Lodge, Wilts, the lady of major Gardiner, a daughter.

11. The lady of Thos. Duffield, esq. of Moreham Park, Berks, a daughter.

— At Adlington House, Berks, the lady of the rev. H. E. Graham, a daughter.

19. The Countess of Gower, a son.  
— At the duke of Beaufort's, Badminton, lady Georgiana Granville Ryder, a son.

20. In Upper Wimpole-street, the

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### MARRIAGES.

right hon. lady Amelia Sophia Boyce, a daughter.

21. At Beaufort Castle, Inverness-shire, the hon. Mrs. Frazer, of Lovat, a son and heir.

28. The lady of John Bonham Carter, esq. M. P. a daughter.

### MARRIAGES.

#### JANUARY.

1. At Foston, Nath. Hibbert, esq. eldest son of George Hibbert, esq. of Portland-place, to Emily, youngest daughter, of the rev. Sidney Smith, rector of Foston.

— At Kingston, Oxfordshire, the rev. A. Hammond, rector of Whitchurch, Oxfordshire, to Maria, eldest daughter of the late Thos. Brown, esq.

2. At the Hague, the rev. William Tierney Elton, rector of White Staunton, Somerset, third son of Isaac Elton, esq. of Stapleton-house, to Lucy Caroline, third daughter of Chas. A. Elton, esq. and grand-daughter of sir Abraham Elton, bart. of Clevedon Court.

7. M. Honan, esq. to Caroline Louise, youngest daughter of the marquis de la Belinaye, of Upper Harley-street.

8. At Blithfield, Staffordshire, John Newton Lane, esq. of King's Bromley, to the right hon. Agnes Bagot, second daughter of the right hon. lord Bagot.

— At Windsor, J. P. Kennard, esq. of Hunter-street, Brunswick-square, to Sophia eldest daughter of sir John Chapman.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, John Twysden, esq. youngest son of sir Wm. Twysden, bart. of Roydon Hall, Kent, to Cecilia, daughter of Louis Bazalgette, esq. of Eastwicke Park, Surrey.

— Robert Dalzell, esq. barrister-at-law, to Margaret, sister of T. Legh, esq. M. P. of Lyme Hall, Cheshire.

10. John Patch, esq. barrister-at-law, to Hope, eldest daughter of W. Collett, esq. E. I. C.

14. Thos. Legh, esq. of Lyme Hall, Cheshire, M. P. for Newton, to Miss Turner, the heiress of Shrigley Park, whose abduction was brought before the house of lords, last session of parliament.

15. W. Douglas, esq. youngest son of the late rev. Canon Douglas of Salisbury Cathedral, to Selina Eliz. eldest

daughter of col. Rooke, of Martins-herne, Berks.

15. John Welch, esq. of Gray's Inn, to Sarah Mary, daughter of the rev. J. Armetriding, rector of Steeple Aston.

16. At Cheltenham, major Edward Watkins, to Eliza, third daughter of the late vice adm. Lechmere, of Steeple Aston.

17. At Twickenham, Boyd Alexander, esq. to Sophia, daughter of sir B. Hobhouse, bart.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, capt. H. W. Barnard, gren. guards, to Isabella Letitia, second daughter of the late brig.-gen. Catlin Craufurd.

— At Christ Church, Mary-le-bone, Geo. Geoffrey Wyatville, only son of Jeffrey Wyatville, esq. of Windsor, to Ann Sisum, daughter of the late Peter Phillips, esq. of Barbadoes.

22. The rev. Edw. Woodhouse, to Cath. Ann, only daughter of ald. Christ. Smith, M. P. of Starborough Castle, Surrey.

23. Thos. Harrison Burder, M. D. of Brunswick-square, to Eliz. youngest daughter of the late W. Burder, esq. of Islington.

— At Paris, Edw. Sherlock Gooch, esq. eldest son of sir T. S. Gooch, bart. M. P. of Benacre Hall, Suffolk, to Louisa, second daughter of sir George Beeston Prescott, bart. of Theobalds Park, Herts.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, J. W. Scott, of Rotherfield Park, Hants, to Lucy, daughter of the rev. sir Sam. Clarke Jervoise, bart. of Idsworth Park.

25. At Staplehurst, Kent, Thos. Lloyd, esq. 4th light drag. to Maria, eldest daughter of W. R. James, esq. of Staplehurst.

28. At Broom Hall, R. A. Dundas, esq. M. P. for Ipswich, to lady Mary Bruce, eldest daughter of the earl of Elgin.

— The rev. T. Halford, M. A. of Piccadilly, London, and Downing College, Cambridge, to Mary, only daughter of J. B. Creswell, esq. of New Court, and Hawksland, in the county of Devon.

29. At Puriton, near Bridgewater, Jervis Cooke, esq. of Portchester, Hants, son of rear-adm. Cooke, to Harriet, daughter of the late John Bignall, esq. of Rawleigh House, near Barnstaple.

— At Great Baddow, Essex, Rich. J. Jenney, esq. barrister at-law, to Sarah, only daughter of the late Latham Brickwood, esq. of Bury St. Edmund's.

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## FEBRUARY.

### MARRIAGES.

6. At St. Marylebone church, capt. Molesworth, R. N. brother of visc. Molesworth, to Louisa, daughter of the late rev. Dr. Tomkyns, of Buckenhill Park, county of Hereford.

— At Fetcham, W. Holme Sumner, esq. to Mary Barnard, daughter of J. B. Hankey, esq. of Fetcham Park, Surrey.

7. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Edw. Bolton King, esq. of Umberside, county of Warwick, to Georgiana, youngest daughter of Robert Knight, esq. M. P. of Barrells.

15. At St. George's, Hanover-square, the rev. Rich. Leonard Adams, of Grosvenor-place, to the hon. Eliza. Atherton Powys, fourth daughter of the late lord Lilford.

18. At Kensington, Prince Hohenlohe of Laugenburg to the Princess Feodore, eldest daughter of the duchess of Kent; the Princess is in her twentieth year, the Prince, in his thirty-second year.

— At Cirencester, H. E. Rutherford, esq. of the Cape of Good Hope, to Emma, third daughter of John Masters, esq. of Cirencester.

12. W. Markham, esq. of Becca Hall, Yorkshire, grandson of the late Dr. Markham, archbishop of York, to Lucy Ann, second daughter of Wm. Holbeck, esq.

13. Eyre Coote, esq. of West Park, Hants, to Eliza Rosetta, third daughter of J. H. Massey Dawson, esq. M. P.

18. The rev. S. T. Townsend to Catherine Louisa, daughter of the late Anthony Butler St. Leger.

— At Florence, the marquis Doneto Guadagni, to Louisa, only daughter of col. F. G. G. Lee.

19. At Breda, the rev. J. S. Hewett, D. D. to Mariaane eldest daughter of the rev. Selby Hele, and grand-daughter of the late rev. Dr. Geo Horne, bishop of Norwich.

20. H. Rodney Elliott, E. I. C., to Mary daughter, of T. Simpson, esq. consul of the king of the Netherlands, at Stockton.

26. At Portsea, the rev. sir H. Thompson, bart. to Hannah Jean, third daughter of the hon. sir Geo. Grey, bart.

28. At St. George's, J. A. Arnold, esq. of Lutterworth, Leicestershire, to Anne Otway Cave, second daughter of the late H. Otway, esq. of Stanford-hall and Castle Otway, in Ireland.

28. At Brighton, W. Bensley Anderson, esq. E. I. C. to Eliz. Lucy, second daughter of R. H. Crew, esq. of Bath.

— At St. Marylebone Church, capt. A. P. Hamilton, R. N. to Caroline, only child of the late lieut.-col. Cook.

— At Ashburnham, Sussex, H. Revely Mitford, of Exbury, Hants, esq. to lady Georgiana, daughter of the earl of Ashburnham.

*Lately.* At Kilmagan, lady Mary, only child of the earl of Annesley, to Wm. John M'Guire, esq. of Rostown, co. Down.

— At Farnham Church, the rev. Chas. Edw. Twyford, rector of Trotton, Sussex, to Georgiana, youngest daughter of the late George Purvis, esq. of Blackwood-house, Hants.

### MARCH.

1. At St. George's, Hanover-square, lieut.-col. R. M. Oakes, to Sophia Charl. daughter of Edw. Fletcher, esq. of Park-street.

4. W. Gillison Bell, esq. son of G. W. Bell, esq. of Melling-hall, Lancashire, to Harriet, only surviving daughter of the rev. R. Worsley, rector of Finchley.

— At Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Joseph Simmonds, esq. of the Old Parks, to Ann, only daughter of Wm. Woodward, esq. of Southwood.

— M. G. Thoyts, esq. of Sulhamstead-house, Berks, to Emma, third daughter of Thos. Bacon, esq.

5. At Cheltenham, Wm. St. George, to Charlotte, daughter of P. Lovell, esq. of Cole Park, Wilts.

6. At All Souls, Langham-place, sir Glynne Earle Welby, bart. of Denton-hall, co. Lincoln, to Frances, youngest daughter of sir Montagu Cholmeley, bart. of Easton-house.

— At St. George's Hanover-square, John Kirkland, esq. of White-hall, to Louisa, fourth daughter of the late Chas. Bishop, esq. his majesty's procurator-general.

10. At the residence of the countess dowager of Howth, visc. Dungarvan, eldest son of the earl of Cork and Ossory, to the lady Cath. St. Lawrence, sister to the earl of Howth.

11. Robert Hudson, esq. of Tadworth Court, Surrey, to Marianne, eldest daughter of the late Walter Spencer Stanhope, esq. of Cannon-hall in Yorkshire.

— At St. Mary's Lambeth, Chas. C,

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## MARRIAGES.

Craven, esq. 72nd Highlanders, only son of major-gen. Craven, to Augusta, youngest daughter of the late George Dacre, esq. of Marwell, Hants.

12. At St. George's Bloomsbury, W. Tawzia, youngest son of the late colonel W. J. Tawzia Savary, to Frances Eliza, only daughter of the late William Hall Durham, esq. barrister-at-law, of the island of St. Vincent.

13. At Clapham, Robt. Phillips, esq. capt. R. A. to Harriette, widow of the rev. Francis Tattersall, late of Ledsham, Yorkshire.

— At St. George's Hanover-square, lieut.-col. Salwey, of the Coldstream Guards, to Eliza Philippa, daughter and heiress of John H. Holder, esq. of Stanton Lacey.

— At Edinburgh, Onesiphorus, second son of the late Thomas Tyndall, esq., to Margaret Stuart, daughter of the late col. Bruce, co. Fife.

14. W. H. Roger Palmer, esq. eldest son of sir W. H. Palmer, bart. of castle Lackin, co. Mayo, to Ellen, daughter of the late J. Matthews, esq. of Plasbostock, and coheir of the late T. Matthews, esq. of Eyarth, co. Denbigh.

15. At St. Marylebone Church, Geo. second son of sir J. D. Paul, bart. to Louisa, daughter of H. Bevan, esq.

— At Lanishen, Glamorganshire, H. Charles, eldest son of colonel Vernon Graham, of Hilton-park, Staffordshire, to Catharine, daughter of the late Rich. Rice Williams, esq. of Gwernlwyn, and niece of Wyndham Lewis, esq. M. P.

— At All Souls, St. Marylebone, the rev. John Delafield, to lady Cecil Jane Pery, fifth daughter of the earl of Limerick.

— At St. George's Bloomsbury, sir George Prevost, bart. to Jane, the only daughter of Isaac Lloyd Williams, esq. of Southampton-street.

— At Marylebone, the rev. R. W. Newbolt, son of the late sir John Newbolt, chief justice of Madras, to Ann Frances, daughter of Magens Dorien Magens, esq. of Hammerwood-lodge, Sussex.

21. At Llanegrin, Merionethshire, R. Owen Powell, esq. brother of W. E. Powell, esq. of Nanteos, lord lieut. and M. P. for Cardigan, to Harriet Anne, third daughter of William Wynne, esq. of Peniarth, co. Merioneth.

25. Capt. Campbell, Madras cavalry, eldest son of Robert Campbell, esq., director E. I. C., to Grace Eliza, second

daughter of T. Bainbridge, esq. of Queen-square, and of Croydon.

27. Charles Bowyer, esq. to Eliza, second daughter of Thomas Clarke, esq. Upper Bedford-place.

— At Edinburgh, Robert Marsham, esq. warden of Merton College, Oxford, eldest son of the hon. and rev. Dr. Marsham, to lady Carmichael Anstruther, relict of sir John Carmichael Anstruther.

29. At Edmonton, capt. Tim. Curtis, R.N. to Rebecca Mary, daughter of sir Wm. Curtis, bart. of Culland-grove, Southgate.

— At Brighton, Edw. Rich. Northey, esq. of Woodcote, near Epsom, to Charl. Isabella, second daughter of lieut.-gen. sir Geo. Anson, M. P.

— At Melksham, col. C. S. Fagan, C.B. of the Bengal army, to Eliz. Jane, third daughter of Geo. Moule, esq. of Melksham.

— At Warblington, sir Geo. Garrett, of Gatcombe-house, near Portsmouth, to Mrs. Pearce, widow of T. Pearce, esq. East India Company.

At Bath, capt. Jackson, to Fanny, daughter of lieut.-col. Geo. Muttiebury, C. B.

— At Edinburgh, James Anstruther, esq. younger son of col. Anstruther, to Marian, only daughter of the late right hon. sir John Anstruther, bart. of Ellie-house, Fife.

— At Goodnestone, Kent, the rev. Western Plumtre, rector of Eastwood, Notts, to Eleanor, daughter of Sir Brook Wm. Bridges, bart. of Goodnestone Park.

## APRIL.

3. Lord Sussex Lennox, to Mary, daughter of lord Cloncurry.

7. At All-Souls, Langham-place, lieut.-col. Marlay, C. B. only son of Mr. and lady Cath. Marlay, grandson of the late earl of Lanesborough, and nephew of the earl of Belvidere, to Miss Tisdall, only daughter of the countess of Charleville and the late James Tisdall, esq.

8. At Badminton, Gloucestershire, the seat of the duke of Beaufort, Thos. H. Kingscote, esq. of Kingscote, to lady Isabella Somerset, sixth daughter of the duke of Beaufort.

— Lieut.-col. Taylor, 9th Infantry, to Sophia, second daughter of J. Barton, esq. of Swinton.

10. At St. Pancras, lieut. Charles



## MARRIAGES.

Inglis, R. N. eldest son of Comm. Chas. Inglis, R. N. to Joanna Harriet, second daughter of the late John Chas. Lucena, esq. consul-gea. from Portugal.

10. At Bartlow, lieutenant-col. Francis Le Blanc, to Eliz. Harriet, second daughter of the late Thos. Porter, esq. of Rockbeare House, Devon.

12. At St. James's the hon. major Massy, brother of lord Massy, to Eliz. youngest daughter of the late Edward Homewood, esq. of Maidstone, justice of the peace for the county.

— At Mynpourie, Frances Jane Maria, eldest daughter of lieutenant-colonel S. P. Bishop, E. I. C. to Dr. Alexander Chalmers, M. D.

— At St. Mary's Marylebone, col. Brown, of Amwell Bury, Herts, to Mrs. Beville, of King-st. Portman-sq.

— At Linton, Kent, Chas. Wykeham Martin, esq. eldest son of Fienes W. Martin, esq. of Leeds Castle, Kent, to lady Jemima Isabella Mann, only daughter of the earl of Cornwallis.

— Geo. Mar, esq. of Bedford-place, to Martha, widow of the late lieutenant-col. Arthur Johnston.

15. At St. George's, J. W. Patten, esq. of Bank Hall, Lancashire, to Anna Maria, daughter of the late col. Patten Bold, of Bold.

— At Southwick, the rev. S. Butler, to Mary Ann, third daughter of Thos. Thistlethwayte, esq. of Southwick Park.

19. At Allesley, W. Robertson, esq. eldest son of col. Robertson Macdonald, of Kinlochmoidart, Inverness, to Sarah Adams, eldest daughter of James Beck, esq. of Allesley-park, Warwick.

21. At Hastings, the rev. Philip Wynter, D. D. president of St. John's, Oxford, to Harriette Anne, second daughter of H. B. Deane, esq. late of Hurst Grove, Berks.

24. At St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Geo. Rennie, esq. of Whitehall-place, to Margaret Anne, only surviving daughter of the late sir John Jackson, bart.

— The Marquis of Carmarthen, to lady Hervey.

— John Dorrien Magens, only son of M. D. Magens, esq. of Hammerwood Lodge, Sussex, to Mary Stephana, of Lympsfeld-bower, Surrey, daughter and heiress of the late lieutenant col. Rudsdell, governor of Sheerness.

29. At Edinburgh, Arch. Douglas, esq. to Harriett, second daughter of lieutenant gen. Hay, lieutenant-governor of Edinburgh Castle.

29. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Francis George Hare, esq. to Anne Frances, eldest daughter of sir John Dean Paul, bart.

30. At Edinburgh, W. J. Fraser, esq. son of lieutenant gen. sir John Fraser, to Mary Anne, only daughter of the late Robert Cumming, esq. of Logie.

— At Hampton Court Palace, capt. Geo. Pitt Rose, M. P. 15th King's Hussars, eldest son of the right hon. sir George H. Rose, G. C. H. to Phoebe Susannah, fifth daughter of the late major general John Agmondesham Vesey.

— At All Saints, Southampton, Capt. H. G. Boldero, late royal Eng. to Mary Eliz. daughter of Joseph Neeld, esq. of Rockstone House, Hants.

— At Dublin, Edward Houston Caulfield, esq. eldest son of col. James Caulfield, of Loy House, county Tyrone, to Charlotte, second daughter of Piers Geale, esq. of Mountjoy-square.

— At Salcombe Regis, the rev. H. Dudley Ryder, eldest son of the bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and nephew to the earl of Harrowby, to Cornelia Sarah, youngest daughter of George Cornish, esq. of Salcombe-hill, Devon.

— At Stroud, Gloucestershire, the rev. W. Astley, Cave, second son of sir W. B. Cave, bart. of Stretton Hall, Derbyshire, to Eliza Martha, second daughter of the late S. Wathen, esq. of Newhouse.

## MAY.

5. At St. George's, Hanover-square, P. F. Robinson, esq. of Brook-street, Grosvenor-square, to Julia Ponsonby, daughter of the rev. Dr. Wall.

6. At Blair Vadoek, county Dumbarton, W. Wootton Abney, of Measham Hall, count of Derby, esq. to Helen J. Sinclair Buchanan, eldest daughter of Mr. and lady Janet Buchanan, and niece of the earl of Caithness.

— At Bath, Edward Cludde, esq. to Cath. Harriett, only daughter of lieutenant gen. sir W. Cockburn, bart.

— At Long Compton, county of Warwick, Thos. Bright Ikin, esq. to Ann Mary Crosse, daughter of the late Rich. Leigh, esq. of Addington-park, county of Chester.

7. At All Souls, Marylebone, capt. sir Bentinck C. Doyle, R. N. to Eliz. eldest daughter of the late John Vivian, esq. of Claverton, Somersetshire.

8. Wm. John, only son of the late

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### MARRIAGES.

hon. Wm. col. Monson, to Eliza, youngest daughter of Edmund Larken, esq. of Bedford-square.

8. At St. Marylebone Church, the hon. Nath. H. C. Massey, second son of the late lord Clarina, to Emily, youngest daughter of the late David Lyon, esq.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, Francis, son of the hon. Robert Walpole, to Eliz. daughter of Thomas Andrew Knight, esq. of Downton Castle, county of Hereford.

12. At St. Mary-le-bone New Church, Thos. Chas. Hornyold, esq. of Blackmore-park, Worcestershire, to Lucy Mary, eldest daughter of Wm. Saunders, esq. of Worcester, and grand-niece of the late earl of Mountmorris.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, lieut. col. Edward P. Buckley, grenadier guards, eldest son of Edward P. Buckley, esq. and Lady Georgiana Buckley, of Minestead, Hants, to lady Catherine Bouverie, eldest daughter of the earl of Radnor.

15. At Garnons, William Leigh, esq. of Roby Hall, county of Lancaster, to Caroline, fifth daughter of sir John Geers Cotterel, bart. M.P.

— At Rocester, James Molony, esq. of Killanon, county of Clare, Ireland, to Lucy, second daughter of sir Trevor Wheler, bart. of Woodseat, Staffordshire.

17. At St. James's, Piccadilly, William Russell, esq., eldest son of lord William Russell, and nephew to his grace the duke of Bedford, to Miss Campbell, daughter of lady Charlotte Bury, and niece of the duke of Argyle.

— At St. Mary-le-bone Church, H. C. Moreton Dyer, to Cath. Eliz. fourth daughter of the dowager lady Knatchbull, of Welbeck-street.

19. At Paris, the viscount de Cussy, capt. 6th roy. guards, to Barbara Clara, daughter of Wm. Middleton, esq. of Middleton Lodge, Yorkshire.

20. At Sandown-place, Escher, Arch. Hamilton, esq. to the right hon. lady Jane Montgomerie, eldest daughter of the late earl of Eglinton.

21. At St. Margaret's, Westminster, the rev. Dr. Lipscombe, lord bishop of Jamaica, to Mary, daughter of the late Dr. Page, formerly master of Westminster-school.

27. At Hornsey, Count Alex. Chas. Joseph Van der Bosch, Chamberlain to the King of the Netherlands, to Eliz. Cooper, daughter of W. D. Cooper Cooper, esq. of Park House, Highgate.

27. At St. George's, Hanover-square, R. Williams Bulkeley, esq. of Baronhill, Anglesey, eldest son of sir Robert Williams, bart. M.P. to Charlotte Mary, eldest daughter of col. Hughes, of Kimmel Park, county of Denbigh, M.P.

29. At Clifton, vice-admiral sir Thos. Williams, of Burwood House, Surrey, to Mary Anne, eldest daughter of the late Robert Harvey Mallory, esq. of Woodcote, Warwickshire.

— At Lavington, Sussex, Samuel Wilberforce, esq. third son of W. Wilberforce, esq. to Miss Emily Sargent.

### JUNE.

3. At the earl of Coventry's Villa, at Streatham, lady Jane Coventry, to James Goding, esq.

4. At Warblington, Hants, captain Short, of the coldstream guards, to Emily Sophia Montray, eldest daughter of the late Richard Barwell, esq. of Stanssted Park, Sussex.

6. John William, eldest son of J. Bowden, esq. of Grosevor-place, to Eliza, youngest daughter of sir John Edward Swinburne, bart. of Capheaton, Northumberland.

7. The rev. Noel Thomas Ellison, rector of Huntspill, Somerset, to Maria Jane, eldest daughter of sir J. Trevelyan, bart. of Nettlecombe Court, Somerset.

— The hon. Henry Walker, eldest son of viscount Ashbrook, to Frances, daughter of the rev. sir J. Robinson, bart.

11. At Cheltenham, W. Christmas, esq. of Whitfield, county of Waterford, to Octavia, daughter of the late Thomas Whinyates, esq. col. E. I. C. and niece to the present sir Thomas Frankland, bart. of Thirkleby Park, Yorkshire.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, capt. Hallowell, R.N. eldest son of vice-admiral sir Benjamin Hallowell, of Beddington, county of Surrey, to Mary Murray, daughter of sir M. Maxwell.

— The rev. Edward Bouverie, second son of the late hon. Philip Pusey, to Maria Catharina, youngest daughter of the deceased John Raymond Barker, esq. of Fayford Park, Gloucestershire.

14. At St. James's, capt. Charles Ramsden, son of sir John Ramsden, bart. of Byram, Yorkshire, to Harriet Frances, daughter of lieut. gen. sir John Byng.

— At St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Edmund Currey, esq. to Louise Lawrence, daughter of Sir James Scarlett, M.P.

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## MARRIAGES.

16. At St. George's, Hanover-square, the hon. E. Stafford Jerningham, second son of the right hon. lord Stafford, to Miss Mary Anne Smythe, niece to Mrs. Fitzherbert.

— At Trinity Church, Marylebone, William Marshall, esq. M.P. to Georgiana Christiana, daughter of George Hibbert, esq. of Portland-place.

19. Sir Henry Edwards, bart. of Meole Brace, Salop, to Louisa Mary Ann, only daughter of John Thomas Hope, esq. of Netley.

— James Hay Langham, esq. eldest son of sir James Langham, bart., to the hon. Margaret Emma Kenyon, eldest daughter of lord Kenyon.

24. At Alveston, county of Warwick, H. C. Wise, esq. to Harriet, third daughter of sir Grey Skipwith, bart.

— At Tottenham, Henry Willoughby, esq. of Lancaster-place, to Maria Anna, eldest daughter of Lawrence Gwynne, esq. LL.D. of Teignmouth, Devon.

25. At St. George's, Hanover-square, the hon. Aug. Fred. Ellis, M.P. second son of lord Seaford, to Mary Frances Thurlow Cunynghame, eldest daughter of sir David Cunynghame, of Milncraig, bart.

— At Christ Church, Marylebone, George Musgrave, esq. son of the late sir John Chardin Musgrave, bart. of Eden Hall, Cumberland, to Charlotte, daughter of the late sir James Graham, bart. of Netherby.

## JULY.

1. At St. George's, lieut. col. Wilson, C.B. to Eliza Frances, eldest daughter of Edward Ind, esq. of Eastbury Lodge, Essex.

— At Edmonton, the rev. Thomas Bissland, to Emma, only daughter of the late Thomas Borton, esq.

2. At Worcester, Charles Lloyd Harford, of Ebbw Vale, Monmouthshire, to Martha, youngest daughter of Edm. Barrett, esq. of Worcester.

3. At Halifax, Yorkshire, captain Wellesley Ashe, 93d Highland regiment, grandson of the late sir Thomas Ashe, to Miss M. W. Haigh, only daughter of George Haigh, esq. of the Mount, Halifax.

5. At St. George's, capt. Rawdon, of the Coldstream guards, to the right hon. lady Cremorne.

— At Trinity Church, St. Marylebone, sir Astley Cooper, bart. to Catherine,

daughter of the late John Jones, esq. of Dery Ormond, Cardiganshire.

9. At St. Mary-le-bone Church, G. C. Mostyn, esq. of Kiddington, to Caroline, eldest daughter of Arthur Vansittart, esq. of Shottesbrooke, and niece of Lord Auckland and Lord Bexley.

10. At Westerham, Alex. David Inglis, esq. to Cecilia Wolsley, eldest daughter; and John Jones, esq. of Portland-place, to Charlotte Eliz. second daughter of Thos. Jesson, esq. of Hill Park, Westerham, Kent.

12. At St. James's, capt. R. F. Rowley, R. N. third son of adm. sir Charles Rowley, to Eliz. Julia, youngest daughter of John Angerstein, esq.

15. At St. George's, capt. Edward Saurin, R. N. son of the right hon. W. and lady Mary Saurin, to lady Mary Ryder, second daughter of the earl of Harrowby.

— At St. Mary's, Charles Brownlow, esq. M. P. of Lurgan, county Armagh, to Jane, daughter of the late Robert Mackneil, esq. of Barra, Inverness-shire.

16. At St. George's, the right hon. Henry lord Teynham, to Sarah, youngest daughter of the late sir Ant. Brabazon, bart. of Brabazon-park, county Mayo.

— At All Souls, Mary-le-bone, Robt. Ward, esq. of Chesham Woburn Hall, Bucks, and formerly M. P. for Haslemere, to Mrs. Plumer Lewin, of Gilston Park, Herts, and Cheston Hall, Suffolk.

17. At St. George's, Hanover-square, earl Brownlow, to the lady Emma Edgcumbe, daughter of the earl of Mount Edgcumbe.

21. At St. George's, capt. Henry Hope, R. N. to Jane Sophia, youngest daughter of adm. sir Herb. Sawyer, K. C. B. of Dalby Old Hall, Leicestershire.

22. At St. George's, Thos. Mills Goodlake, esq. of Wadley House, Berks, to Emilia Maria, daughter of the late, and sister to the present sir Edward Baker, bart. of Ranston, Dorset, and niece to the duke of Leinster.

24. At St. Mary's, Marylebone, the hon. and rev. Edw. Southwell Keppel, third son of the earl of Albemarle, to lady Maria Clements, eldest daughter of the earl of Leitrim.

28. At the marquis of Tweeddale's, J. C. Hobhouse, esq. M. P. for Westminster, to the lady Julia Hay, youngest daughter of the marquis of Tweeddale.

— At Swinnerton Park, Staffordshire, Francis Fitzherbert, esq. to Maria

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### MARRIAGES.

Teresa, daughter of the late John Vincent Gandolfi, esq. of East Sheen, Surrey.

28. At Kew, J. Seed, esq. of Lancaster, to Eliz. Sarah Ann, daughter of the late lieutenant-col. Middleton, R. M.; and great grand-daughter of the celebrated navigator, capt. Middleton, R. N.

29. At Grey Stoke, near Penrith, capt. Temple, son of sir Grenville Temple, bart. to Jane Dorothea, third daughter of John Marshall, esq. M. P. for Yorkshire.

31. At Beeston, the rev. Jeremiah Burroughes, of Lingwood Lodge, Norfolk, to Pleasance, third daughter of the late sir Thos. Preston, bart.

### AUGUST.

2. W. A. Broadhead, esq. fourth son of the late T. H. B. Broadhead, M. P. to Louisa second daughter of the hon. sir Charles Paget, K. C. B.

4. At Calder house, Wm. Ramsay Ramsay, esq. of Banton, to the hon. Mary Sandilands, only daughter of lord Torpichan.

— Daniel de Lisle, esq. to Anne third daughter of the late sir P. D. Havilland, of Guernsey.

5. At Hadlow, Kent, J. Rutledge Majendie, esq. youngest son of the lord bishop of Bangor, to Harriet Mary, second daughter of the late Geo. Derling, esq. of Bramham Court.

— At Trinity Church, Marylebone, R. J. Palk, esq. second son of the late sir Lawrence Palk, bart. to Harriette, youngest daughter of Geo. Hibbert, esq. of Portland-place.

6. At Guernsey lieutenant-col. De Havilland, to Miss Harriet Gore, niece of sir Ralph Gore, bart.

7. Digby Neave, esq. eldest son of sir Thos. Neave, bart. to the hon. Mary Arundell, youngest daughter of the late James ninth lord Arundell, of Wardour.

12. The rev. W. Douglas Veitch, to Miss Raitt, second daughter of col. Raitt, D. A. G. Corfu, and grand-daughter of W. Jolliffe, esq. M. P. for Petersfield.

— At Glynde, J. H. Cotterell, esq. eldest son of sir Geers Cotterell, of Garnons, to Miss Pyne Jessy Brand, daughter of hon. gen. Trevor.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, Brampton Gurdon, esq. to Henrietta, eldest daughter of N. W. Ridley Col-

borne, esq. M. P. of West Harling, Norfolk.

14. At Keynsham, the rev. J. Barker, to Jane, youngest daughter of the late col. Swinburn.

— At the house of C. Collins, esq. of Cadogan-place, the hon. James Shoolbred, of Tottenham House, to Harriet, daughter of the late sir H. Loud, bart. of Worthing, Sussex.

— At Brighton, N. Brackenbury Felix Fred. Bean, esq. of Clapham House, near Seaford, to Frances, eldest daughter of Joshua Walker, M. P. of Clifton, Yorkshire.

18. At St. Mary's, Bryanston-square, the earl of Chichester to lady Mary Brudenell, fourth daughter of the earl of Cardigan.

19. At St. George's, Hanover-square, lieutenant-col. Dumaresq, to Ells. Sophia, daughter of the hon. Augustus Butler Danvers, of Swithland-Hall, Leicestershire.

21. At Trinity Church, the rev W. J. E. Bennett, of Laleham, student of Christ Church, Oxford, to Mary, eldest daughter of sir Wm. Franklin, of Charlotte-street, Portland-place.

22. At St. Martin's in the Fields, D. Mackellar, esq. of Ely-place, to Maria, youngest daughter of Count Menegotopulo, of Zante, and widow of the late Chas. Dupont, esq.

26. At Southampton, sir Rich. Williams, K. C. B. and col. R. M., to Mrs. Bingham, relict of the rev. Peregrine Bingham, late rector of Berwick St. John, Wilts.

28. S. Cartwright, esq. to Mrs. Parr, widow of the late Dr. Parr, M. D.

### SEPTEMBER.

4. At St. George's, Hanover-square, the rev. Augustus P. Clayton, son of sir W. Clayton, bart. of Harleyford, Bucks, to Georgiana Eliz. daughter of the late Dean of Salisbury and the lady Eliz. Talbot, and niece to the duke of Beaufort.

5. At Starston, Norfolk, the rev. Alfred Ollivant, to Alicia Olivia, daughter of lieutenant-gen. Spencer, of Bramley.

9. At Hastings, the hon. Gustavus Fred. Hamilton, only son of lord visc. Boyne, to Emma Maria, daughter of the late Matthew Russell, esq. of Brancepeth Castle, Durham.

— At Battle, Sussex, the right hon. lord Clarina, of Elm Park, Limerick, to

## MARRIAGES.

Susan Eliz. youngest daughter of Hugh Barton, esq. of Battle Abbey.

16. At Thames Ditton, James Simcoe Saunders, esq. barrister-at-law, only son of the hon. John Saunders, chief justice of the province of New Brunswick, to Eliz. Sophia, eldest daughter of the rev. Geo. Henry Storis.

17. At Poulton-in-the-Fylde, Lancashire, Thos. J. Knowlys, esq. to Ann M. Martha, only daughter of the late Robert Hesketh, esq. of Rossall Hall.

— At Elmley Lovett, Worcestershire, capt. J. Marshall, C.B.R.N. to Augusta Eliza, youngest daughter of John Wynne, esq. of Garthmeillo, Denbighshire, and grand-daughter of the late rev. Dr. Parr.

23. At Florence, Count Gustave Blucher de Wahlstatt, grandson of the late Marshal Blucher, to Madeline, second daughter of the late lord chief justice Dallas.

25. At Stoke-upon-Trent, capt. Stamer, 4th Dragoon Guards, eldest son of sir William Stamer, bart. to Caroline, only daughter of John Tomlinson, esq. of Cliffville.

## OCTOBER.

2. W. Wrangham Collins, esq. of Manchester-square, and son of the late gen. Collins, to Henrietta, eldest daughter of the rev. C. W. Shuckburgh, of the Moot, Downton, Wilts.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, major J. Neave Wells, R. E. son of the late adm. Wells, to Marianne, daughter and co-heiress of the late Benjamin Wade, esq. of New Grange, county of York.

— At St. George's, Bloomsbury-square, T. Coventry, esq. barrister-at-law, to Eliz. only daughter of Mr. Justice Littledale.

4. At Horsham, lieutenant-col. R. Beauchamp, son of the late sir Tho. Beauchamp Proctor, bart. of Langley Park, Norfolk, to Sophia, daughter of the late Benj. Ball, esq. of Dublin.

— At St. Thomas's, Dublin, sir C. Dillon, bart. of Lismullin, county Meath, to Sarah, widow of the late rev. J. C. Miller, D. D.

6. At Munich, Yeats Brown, esq. to the hon. Steuarta, fifth daughter of lord Erskine, Minister plen. to the king of Bavaria.

8. At Bangor, col. H. White, M.P. to Eleanor, eldest daughter of W. S.

Dempster, esq. of Skibo, county of Sutherland.

10. At Clifton, W. Rowland Alder, esq. to Miss M. A. Hanson, ci-devant countess of Portsmouth.

14. At Mapledurham, rev. J. Adair Colpoys, son of vice adm. Griffith Colpoys, and rector of North Waltham, Hants, to Ann, eldest daughter of the lord bishop of Chester.

16. At Hereford, the rev. H. Allen to Anne Caroline Fitzroy, sister of lord Southampton.

21. At Leadenham, near Grantham, lieutenant-col. Chaplin, Coldstream Guards, M.P. to Millicent, only surviving daughter of the late Wm. Reeve, esq.

21. At Heighington, the rev. Cha. Pasley Vivian, of Wellingtonborough, Northamptonshire, to Grace Anna, second daughter of lieutenant-gen. Aylmer, of Walworth Castle, county of Durham.

23. Henry T. Jones, esq. of Chatham, to Caroline Munster, youngest daughter of maj. gen. Wolff R. A. and widow of the late sir Richard Hardinge, bart.

24. John Broadhurst, esq. of Foster Hall, Derbyshire, to the hon. Henrietta Mabel, daughter of lord Henry Fitzgerald and baroness de Ross.

— At Florence, the earl of Dartmouth to the hon. Frances Barrington second daughter of visct. Barrington.

## NOVEMBER.

5. At Great Stanmore, capt. Franklin, R.N. to Jane, second daughter of John Griffin, esq. of Bedford-place.

— At Northwood, Isle of Wight, John Leigh Beckford, esq. commander R. N. to Harriet, fourth daughter of Geo. Ward, esq. of Northwood Park.

7. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Chas. John, second son of W. Manning, esq. M.P. of Combe Bank, Kent, to Cath. Sophia, eldest daughter of major-gen. sir Rich. Downes Jackson, K. C. B. and niece to the countess Mulgrave.

8. At All Souls, Marylebone, Chas. Aug. lord Howard de Walden, to Lady Lucy Cavendish Bentinck, third daughter of the duke of Portland.

— Lord Visc. Ingestrie to lady Sarah Beresford.

10. The hon. W. Pole Tilney Long Wellesley, to Mrs. Helena Bligh, third daughter of col. Thos. Paterson, of Upper Seymour-street.

11. At Somerton, John James Smith, esq. eldest son of sir John Wyldbore

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### PROMOTIONS.

Smith, of Down House, Dorset, bart. to Frances, eldest daughter of John Fred. Pinney, esq. of Somerton House, Somerset.

13. At St. Marylebone church, Cobbett Derby, jun. to Caroline Louisa, youngest daughter of sir Samuel Fludyer, bart.

17. At Northwood, Robert Davis, esq. R. N. of Cowes, Isle of Wight, to the right hon. dowager lady Kirkcudbright, of Raeberry Lodge, Southampton.

18. At Bridekirk, Cumberland, John, second son of John Marshall, esq. M. P. for the county of York, to Mary, eldest daughter of Joseph Dykes Ballantine Dykes, esq. of Daventry Hall.

26. At Durham, Thomas Bilcliffe Fyler, esq. M. P. of Dover-street, and Teddington, Middlesex, to Dorothea Lucretia, eldest daughter of col. A. W. Light.

— Lately at North Aston, county of Oxford, John Harrison Slater, esq. to the lady Louisa Augusta Scott, second daughter of the Earl of Clonmell.

### DECEMBER.

4. At Manchester, Wm. J. Lysley, esq. barrister-at-law, to Caroline, youngest daughter of the late John Marshall, esq. of Ardwick.

6. At Florence, Stewart C. Bruce esq. son of the late sir Hervey Bruce, bart. of Down-hill, county Londonderry, to Helen Bailie, daughter of Wm. Alves, esq. of Enham-place, Hants.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square the right hon. Cha. Manners Sutton, Speaker of the House of Commons, to Mrs. Home Purves, widow of the late John Purves, esq. of Purves, N. B.

9. At Kirby Knowle, Yorkshire, John Wood, esq. M. P. to Eliz. second daughter of the rev. James Serjeantson, rector of Kirby Knowle.

10. The rev. Philip, youngest son of the right hon. sir Geo. Hewett, bart. G. C. B. of Freemantle, Hants, to Anne, youngest daughter of gen. sir James Duff, of Funtington, Sussex.

— At Stratfield-saye, Berks, John Forbes, esq. M. P. eldest son of sir Cha. Forbes, bart. M. P. to Mary Jane, eldest daughter of Henry Lannoy Hunter, esq. of Beach-hill.

13. At St. Margaret's, Westminster, lieut.-col. Eltrington, of the 3rd Guards,

to Anne Margaret, second daughter of John Elliot, esq. of Pimlico lodge.

20. At Cheltenham, the rev. Dr. Hawkins, provost of Oriel College, Oxford, to Mary Anne, daughter of the late Richard Buckle, esq. of Clifton.

— At Salisbury, John Wickey Stable, esq. of Welbeck-street, to Louisa, only daughter of Robert Jessett, esq.

22. At Leeds, Kent, William, eldest son of Joseph Blake, esq. of Wimpole-street, to Joan, third daughter of Fiennes Wykeham Martin, esq. of Leeds Castle.

— At Richmond, Bulkeley J. M. Praed, esq. second son of Mr. Serjeant Praed, to Emma, fourth daughter of M. Dick, esq. of Richmond-hill.

— Lately the rev. John Bell, of Woolsington, to Isabella Elizabeth, daughter of sir Charles Loraine, of Kirkharle, bart.

— At Paris, lord Visc. Perceval, only son of the earl of Egmont, to Louise Marie, youngest daughter of count D'Orselet.

— At Brotherton, lord Muncaster, of Warter, in Yorkshire, to Frances Cath. youngest daughter of sir J. Ramsden, bart. of Byram.

### PROMOTIONS.

#### JANUARY.

#### GAZETTE PROMOTIONS.

4. Lord Erskine to be minister plen. at the Court of Bavaria; and E. C. Disbrowe, esq. at the Court of Wirtemberg.

8. Right hon. R. Gordon, to be minister plen. at Madrid.

— 3rd Foot Guards, Lieut.-col. W. T. Knollys, to be capt and lieut.-col.

9. Lieut.-gen. the hon. sir Galbraith Lowry Cole, to be governor of the Cape of Good Hope; and lieut.-gen. the hon. sir Chas. Colville, to be governor of the island of Mauritius.

10. James Baker, esq. to be consul for the States of East and West Florida and Alabama.

11. Tho. Thomson, esq. advocate, to be one of the six ordinary clerks of session in Scotland.

17. The widow of the right hon. Geo. Canning to be viscountess Canning, of Kilbraban, in Kilkenny:—Sir Henry

PROMOTIONS.

Wellesley, to be baron Cowley of Wellesley, in Somersetshire; sir Chas. Stuart, to be baron Stuart de Rothessay, of the Isle of Bute; sir Wm. A'Court, to be baron Heytesbury, of Heytesbury, in Wiltshire; the earl of Rosebery, to be baron Rosebery, of Rosebery, county of Edinburgh; the earl of Clanwilliam, to be baron Clanwilliam, of Clanwilliam, county of Tipperary; John George Lambton, esq. to be baron Durham, of the city of Durham, and of Lambton Castle, county of Durham; Edw. Bootle Wilbraham, esq. to be baron Skelmersdale, of Skelmersdale, in Lancashire.

25. The right hon. Thomas Wallace, to be baron Wallace, of Knaresdale, county of Northumberland.

25. *New Ministry.*—To be lords commissioners of the treasury—duke of Wellington, right hon. Henry Goulburn, lord G. C. H. Somerset, earl of Mount Charles, lord Eliot, Edmund A. M'Naghten, esq. To be chancellor of the exchequer—right hon. Henry Goulburn. To be advocate-general—right hon. sir John Beckett, bart. To be master of the Mint—right hon. J. C. Herries. To be chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster—the earl of Aberdeen. Earl Bathurst, to be president of the council; lord Ellenborough, to be privy seal; and Mr. Peel to be secretary for the home department.

25. *Foreign Office.*—Mr. J. W. May, to be consul-gen. in Great Britain for the king of the Netherlands.

FEBRUARY.

GAZETTE PROMOTIONS.

4. 29th Foot, lieut.-gen. sir J. Byng, 2nd W. I. reg. to be colonel.—2d W. I. reg.-gen. Francis Fuller to be colonel.

5. Duke of Gordon, G. C. B. to be keeper of the great seal of Scotland; visc. Melville, right hon. R. Peel, the earl of Dudley, right hon. W. Huskisson, the duke of Wellington, right hon. H. Goulburn, right hon. J. Sullivan, lord Ashley, right hon. baron Wallace, the marquis of Graham, and Lawrence Peel, esq. to be commissioners for the affairs of India; also vice-admirals sir W. J. Hope and sir G. Cockburn, sir Geo. Clerk, bart. and the earl of Brecknock, to be members of the council of his R. H. the lord high admiral; and col. sir Henry Hardinge, K. C. B. to be clerk of the ordnance.

12. Lord Ponsonby to be envoy extraordinary to the emperor of Brazil.—W. Chad, esq. to be envoy extraordinary to the Republic of Colombia.—W. Mich. Ward, esq. to be minister plenip. to the king of Saxony.—H. S. Fox, esq. to be secretary to the Embassy at Vienna.—The hon. W. T. Horner Fox Strangways to be sec. to the Legation at Naples.—Lord Albert Conyngham to be sec. to the Legation at Florence.—Geo. Jackson, esq. to be commissary Judge to the several mixed commissions established at Sierra Leone for the prevention of illegal traffic in slaves.

14. Royal art. major-gen. Wiltshire Wilson to be col. comm.

14. Dr. Herbet Jenner to be advocate-general, *vice* Robinson, promoted.

15. Gen. lord Hill to be on the staff of his majesty's army, and all matters respecting the military service to pass through his hands.

15. H. U. Addington, esq. to be minister plen. to the diet at Frankfort.

18. The duke of Montrose to be lord chamberlain of his majesty's household.

— To be baronets:—F. Freeling, of the General Post-office; Joseph de Courcy Laffan, of Cobham, Kent, M.D.; Patrick Macgregor, of Saville-row, Middlesex, esq. serjeant-surgeon to his majesty.

— Sir Christopher Robinson, knt. to be judge of the high court of admiralty.

27. The marquis of Anglesea, to be lord lieutenant of Ireland; and lord Visc. Forbes, to be comptroller of his household.

— Gen. sir Colin Campbell, to be governor of Tobago.

MEMBERS RETURNED TO PARLIAMENT.

*Armagh.*—Right hon. H. Goulburn.

*Ashburton.*—Hon. Wm. Sturges Bourne.

*Bath.*—The earl of Brecknock.

*Cambridge (Town).*—Right hon. James Graham.

*Carlisle.*—J. L. Lushington, esq.

*Corfe Castle.*—N. W. Peach, esq.

*Cork (County).*—Hon. John Boyle.

*Dover.*—W. H. Trant, esq. *vice* E. B. Wilbraham, esq. now baron Skelmersdale.

*Durham (County).*—William Russell, of Brancepeth Castle, esq. *vice* J. G. Lambton, now baron Durham.

*Durham (City).*—Sir H. Hardinge, K. C. B.

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### PROMOTIONS.

*Edinburghsh.*—Sir Geo. Clerk, bt.  
*Ennis.*—Right hon. T. F. Lewis.  
*Enniskillen.*—Hon. A. H. Cole.  
*Harwich.*—Right hon. J. C. Herries.  
*Haslemere.*—Right hon. sir John Beckett.  
*Kerry.*—Right hon. M. Fitzgerald.  
*King's Lynn.*—Lord Geo. Bentinck.  
*Knaresborough.*—Rt. hon. G. Tierney.  
*Liverpool.*—Right hon. Wm. Huskisson.  
*Lynton.*—Thos. Divett, esq.  
*Milborne Port.*—J. N. North, esq.  
*Monmouth (County).*—Lord G. C. H. Somerset.  
*Newport (Hants).*—Hon. W. H. J. Scott.  
*New Sarum.*—Hon. D. P. Bouverie.  
*Oxford University.*—Right hon. R. Peel.  
*Plympton Earle.*—Sir Charles Wetherell.  
*Richmond.*—Hon. sir R. Lawrence Dundas.  
*Ripon.*—Sir R. H. Inglis, bart.  
*Seaford.*—Hon. A. T. Ellis.  
*Woodstock.*—Lord Ashley.  
*Weymouth and Melcomb Regis.*—C. B. Sugden, esq. vice right hon. T. Wallace, now baron Wallace.  
*Yarmouth (Hants).*—Thos. Wallace, esq.

### ECCLESIASTICAL PREFERMENTS.

Rev. R. Ponsonby to be bp. of Kilaloe.  
 Rev. Mr. Dawson, dean of St. Patrick's.

### MARCH.

#### GAZETTE PROMOTIONS.

6. The earls of Warwick and Roden, to be lords of the bed-chamber.  
 — H. Hayne, esq. to be commissary judge; and Alex. Cunningham, esq. to be commissioner of arbitration to the mixed British and Brazilian commission, at Rio de Janeiro.  
 — Wm. Smith, esq. to be commissioner of arbitration, and Joseph Reffell, esq. to be secretary or registrar to the mixed British and Brazilian commission at Sierra Leone.  
 7. Right hon. sir Christopher Robinson, to be of the privy-council.  
 11. Right hon. Thomas Frankland Lewis, to be president of the board of trade, in the absence of Mr. Grant.

18. Major-gen. sir J. Lyon, to be governor of Barbadoes; vice-adm. the right hon. sir G. Cockburn, sir G. Clerk, bart., the earl of Brecknock, and rear-admiral sir E. W. C. R. Owen, to be members of the council of the lord high admiral.

— Right hon. Rowland lord Hill to be of the privy council.

— Sir W. Johnstone Hope, to be treasurer of Greenwich hospital.

19. The duke of Devonshire, K. G. to wear the imperial Russian order of St. Andrew.

20. 58th foot, lieut.-gen. Kenneth Mackenzie, to be col.—Lieut.-gen. sir Chas. Colville, to be governor and commander-in-chief of the Mauritius.—Gen. sir Herbert Taylor, to be surveyor-gen. of the ordnance of Great Britain and Ireland.

25. The hon. F. R. Forbes, to be secretary to the embassy at Vienna.—J. H. Mandeville, esq. to be secretary to the embassy at Lisbon.

27. Lieut.-col. John Macra, K. C. H. knighted.—9th foot, lieut.-gen. sir Ronald Ferguson, K. C. B. to be col.

### MEMBERS RETURNED TO PARLIAMENT.

*Inverness (county).*—Right hon. C. Grant.

*Kilkenny.*—J. Doherty, esq.

*St. Ives.*—Right hon. Charles Arbuthnot, vice sir C. Hawkins, who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

*Sandwich.*—Admiral sir E. W. C. R. Owen.

*Sarum (New).*—Hon. Duncombe Pleydell Bouverie, vice Viscount Folkestone, now earl of Radnor.

### CIVIL PREFERMENTS.

The earl of Radnor to be recorder of Salisbury.

Rich. Benyon de Beauvoir, esq. of Englefield-house, to be high steward of Wallingford.

### ECCLESIASTICAL PREFERMENTS.

Rev. Dr. Philpotts, to be dean of Chester.

Right rev. Dr. Murray (bishop of Rochester) to be dean of Worcester.

Rev. Dr. Hollingsworth, archdeacon of Herts.



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## APRIL.

### GAZETTE PROMOTIONS.

1. Garrisons — Major-gen. sir Colin Campbell, K. C. B. to be lieutenant-governor of Portsmouth.

2. The right hon. James Ochoaear lord Forbes, to be high commiss. to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

14. Staff lieutenant-col. lord Chas. Fitzroy, to be inspecting field-officer of militia in the Ionian islands.

The earl of Morton elected a representative peer of Scotland, *vice* the earl of Kellie, deceased.

— Rear-adm. the hon. sir C. Paget, to be commander on the coast of Ireland, *vice* rear-adm. Plampin.

17. Major-gen. Nath. Blackwell, to be governor and commander-in-chief of Tobago.

18. Henry Stephen Fox, esq. (late sec. to his majesty's legation at Naples), to be minister plenip. to the United provinces of Rio de la Plata.

29. William Blamire, of Thackwood-Nook, esq. to be sheriff of the county of Cumberland, *vice* Thos. Parker, of Warwick-hall, esq. deceased.

### MEMBERS RETURNED TO PARLIAMENT.

*Anglesey* (county). — Henry Paget, esq. commonly called the earl of Uxbridge.

*Dumfries* (county). — Vice-Admiral sir W. Johnstone Hope.

*Old Sarum*. — The right hon. Stratford Canning, of Albemarle-street, *vice* Josias Du Pre Alexander, esq. who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

*Radnor* (county). — The right hon. Thos. Frankland Lewis, *vice* Walter Wilkins, esq. deceased.

### ECCLESIASTICAL PREFERMENTS.

Rev. — Bayly, to be dean of Lisimore, Ireland.

Rev. W. Canning, canon of Windsor.

## MAY.

### GAZETTE PROMOTIONS.

2. John Goodwin, esq. to be consul at the Cape de Verd islands.

26. Earl Talbot to be custos rotulorum of Staffordshire, *vice* marquis of Stafford, resigned.

## PROMOTIONS.

30. Lord Lowther, lieutenant-gen. sir Geo. Murray, sir Henry Hardinge, and Thos. Peregrine Courtenay, esq. to be members of the privy council; the earl of Aberdeen and lieutenant-gen. sir George Murray were sworn secretaries of state; right hon. Thos. Peregrine Courtenay, to be president of the council for trade and foreign plantations pro tempore.

### MEMBERS RETURNED TO PARLIAMENT.

*Ennis*. — William Smith O'Brien, esq. *vice* the right hon. Frankland Lewis, who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

*Sudbury*. — John Norman Macleod, of Dungevan-castle, county Inverness, esq. *vice* John Wilks, esq. who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

### ECCLESIASTICAL PREFERMENTS.

Rev. A. Morgan to be dean of Killaloe. Right rev. Dr. Murray, bp. of Rochester, Bromsgrove V. county Worcester.

## JUNE.

### GAZETTE PROMOTIONS.

2. The right hon. C. Arbuthnot, sworn chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.

9. The right hon. sir Henry Hardinge, to be secretary at war.

10. Henry Newman, esq. to be consul at Nantes. — Gaspard Adol. Fauch, esq. to be consul at Charleston. — Edward Wyndham Harrington Schenley, esq. to be consul at Puerto Cabello.

13. The right hon. W. Fitzgerald Vesey Fitzgerald, to be president of the council for trade and foreign plantations.

— Sir Andrew Barnard, to be equerry to his majesty.

16. The right hon. W. Fitzgerald Vesey Fitzgerald, to be treasurer to the navy.

17. The right hon. John Wilson Croker and the right hon. John Calcraft, to be of the privy council.

20. The right hon. John Calcraft, to be paymaster-general of the forces.

21. *Whitehall*. — Robert visc. Melville, right hon. Robert Peel, earl of Aberdeen, sir George Murray, to be principal secretaries of state. — Arthur duke of Wellington, to be first commissioner of his majesty's treasury. — Right hon. H. Goulburn, chancellor of the

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### PROMOTIONS.

exchequer.—Lord Wallace, right hon. John Sullivan, lord Ashley, marquess of Graham, Lawrence Peel, esq., and the right hon. T. P. Courtney, to be commissioners for the affairs of India.

27. Col. Thos. Armstrong, groom of his majesty's bed chamber.

—Thos. Godfrey Turner, esq. to be consul at Gibraltar for the free Hanseatic Republics of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck.

28. Dr. Herbert Jenner, his majesty's advocate, knighted.

Perceval, esq. clerk of the Ordnance, re-elected.

### ECCLIASTICAL PREFERMENTS.

Right rev. Dr. W. Howley, (bishop of London,) to be archbishop of Canterbury.

Right rev. Dr. C. J. Blomfield, bishop of Chester, to be bishop of London.

Rev. W. Lisle Bowles, canon res. in Salisbury Cathedral.

### CIVIL PREFERMENT.

Rev. R. Williamson, fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, head Master at Westminster School, *vice* Goodenough, resigned.

### AUGUST.

#### GAZETTE PROMOTIONS.

4. Spencer Perceval, esq. to be clerk of the Ordnance of Great Britain and Ireland.—lord F. L. Gower, to be Secretary of State in Ireland, and sir John Byng, commander of the forces.—sir A. Barnard, to be equerry to the king.—Fred. A. Barnard, esq. to be G.C.H.

9. The earl of Belmore, to be governor in chief of Jamaica, and its dependencies. — Major general Lewis Grant, to be governor of Trinidad.—Lord Granville C. H. Somerset, R. Gordon, esq. M.P., Lord R. Seymour, Lord Ashley, right hon. C. W. W. Wynn, sir H. Rose, hon. F. G. Calthorpe, William Ward, esq. M.P., F. Baring, esq. M.P., George Byng, esq. M.P., C. N. Palmer, esq. M.P., T. B. Lennard, esq. M.P., C. Ross, esq. M.P., sir G. F. Hampson, bart., the hon. B. Bouverie, col. J. Clitherow, Dr. T. Turner. Dr. J. Bright, Dr. H. H. Southey, Dr. T. Drever, and Dr. J. R. Hume, to be commissioners for licensing and visiting all houses within the cities of London and Westminster, and within seven miles thereof, and within the county of Middlesex, for the reception of lunatics.

10. George Magrath, M.D. to be physician extraordinary to the duke of Clarence.

11. The earl of Chesterfield, to be a lord of his Majesty's bedchamber.—sir Astley Paston Cooper, bart. to be sergt. surgeon to his Majesty.—Benj. Collins Brodie, esq. and James Wardrop, esq. to be surgeons to his Majesty.

### MEMBERS RETURNED TO PARLIAMENT.

*Clare* (county).—Daniel O'Connell, esq. *vice* the right hon. William Vesey Fitzgerald, who has accepted the office of president of the committee of council for the affairs of trade and foreign plantations.

*City of Durham*.—The right hon. sir Henry Hardinge, K.C.B.

*Perthshire*.—The right hon. lieut.-gen. sir George Murray.

*Plymouth*.—The right hon. sir Geo. Cockburn.

*St. Ives*.—The right hon. Charles Arbuthnot.

*Totness*.—The right hon Thos. Peregrine Courtenay.

*Woolby*.—Lord Henry Fred. Thynne.

*Wareham*.—Right hon. John Calcraft.

*Wenlock*.—The hon. Geo. Cecil Weld Forester, *vice* lord Forester.

*Westmorland*.—The right hon. Will. visc. Lowther.

### JULY.

#### GAZETTE PROMOTIONS, &c.

23. Right hon. Robert Adair, sworn of the privy council.

28. Viscount Garlies to be lieut. and sheriff principal of the shire of Wigton and stewartry of Kirkcudbright.—Dr. John Abercrombie to be first Physician to his majesty in Scotland.

### MEMBERS RETURNED TO PARLIAMENT.

*Bletchingly*.—William Ewart, of the Middle Temple, esq. *vice* the right hon. W. Lamb, who accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

*Lymington*.—George Burrard, esq. lieut. of the 8th foot, *vice* Thomas Divett, esq. deceased.

*Newport* (Southampton). — Spencer

PROMOTIONS.

14. Lieut. gen. sir James Kempt, G.C.B. to be governor in chief of Lower and Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Island of Prince Edward.—Major general sir Peregrine Maitland, K.C.B. to be lieut. governor of Nova Scotia, and its dependencies.—Major general sir John Colborne, K.C.B. to be lieutenant governor of Upper Canada.

21. The hon. Robert Cavendish Spencer, R.N. to be groom of the bed-chamber to the duke of Clarence.

25. Lieut general sir Herbert Taylor, to be adjutant general to his majesty's forces.

ECCLESIASTICAL PREFERMENTS.

Rev. J. B. Sumner, D.D. to be bishop of Chester.

Rev. W. Dealtry, chancellor of the diocese of Winchester.

SEPTEMBER.

GAZETTE PROMOTIONS.

1. 2d foot, Gen. sir W. Keppel, G.C.B. 67th foot, to be colonel.—67th ditto, major general John Macdonald, to be colonel.

8. Major general John Ross, to be lieut. governor of Guernsey.—Brevet major general sir Peregrine Maitland, K.C.B. to be lieut. general in North America.—Lord Arthur Marcus Cecil Hill, to wear the insignia of a knight commander of the royal Portuguese Military Order of the Tower and Sword.

17. Viscount Melville, sir George Cockburn, the hon. sir H. Hotham, sir George Clerk, bart. and the earl of Brecknock, to be lords commissioners of the Admiralty. Lord Ellenborough, right hon. R. Peel, earl of Aberdeen, sir George Murray, duke of Wellington, right hon. H. Goulburn, lord Wallace, right hon. J. Sullivan, lord Ashley, marquís of Graham, Lawrence Peel, esq. and right hon. Thomas Peregrine Courtenay, to be commissioners for the affairs of India.

25. Hon. John Townshend, to be groom of his Majesty's bedchamber.

CIVIL PREFERMENTS.

James Parke, esq. to be Judge of the King's Bench, vice Holroyd, resigned.

Henry Goulburn, esq. barrister-at-law, a Welsh Judge.

Adam Rolland, esq. to be one of the

six ordinary clerks of session in Scotland.

Rev. Edward Bouverie Pusey, to be Hebrew Professor in the University of Oxford, with the canonry of Christ Church thereunto annexed.

OCTOBER.

GAZETTE PROMOTIONS.

11. Nicholas Carlisle, of Somerset-place, esq. F.S.A. to be a gentleman of his majesty's privy chamber in ordinary.

21. J. H. Lance, esq. to be commissary judge; and C. J. Dalrymple, esq. to be commissioner of arbitration to the Mixed British and Netherland commission established at Surinam for the prevention of illegal traffic in slaves.

MEMBER RETURNED TO PARLIAMENT.

*Tralee*.—Sir Ed. Denny, of Tralee-castle, county of Kerry, bart.

ECCLESIASTICAL PREFERMENTS.

Hon. and rev. G. Pellew, to the deanery of Norwich.

Rev. W. G. Broughton, archd. of New South Wales.

NOVEMBER.

GAZETTE PROMOTIONS.

*Garrisons*.—Lieut.-gen. sir John Fraser, to be lieut.-governor of Chester; brevet lieut.-col. Alex. Cameron, 1st Greek light inf. to be deputy-Governor of St. Mawes; gen. Geo. Moncrieff to be governor of Carrickfergus.

Hon. Robert Cavendish Spencer, capt. R. N. to be K. C. of the royal Hanoverian Guelphic order.

26. Right hon. baron Rivers, of Sudeley castle, county of Gloucester, to take the surnames of Pitt-Rivers, instead of that of Beckford.

DECEMBER.

GAZETTE PROMOTIONS.

1. James Parke, esq. one of the justices of the court of King's Bench, knighted.

9. Barrington Reynolds, esq. to be deputy warden for Cornwall; John Ennis Vivian, esq. to be ditto. Jeffery Wyattville, esq. knighted.

12. Thos. Cartwright, esq. to be secretary to his majesty's embassy at the court of the Netherlands.—George

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Tierney, esq. to be secretary to his majesty's legation at Munich.

### DEATHS

1827.

April 13. At Sockatoo, in Africa, aged 40, capt. Hugh Clapperton, the celebrated traveller. He was born at Annan, in the year 1788. His father was a surgeon—married early—became a widower—married again, and had no fewer than twenty-one children. Of the fruits of the first marriage, six sons and one daughter grew to man and woman's estate, and the youngest of these was the justly celebrated African traveller. In his person he resembled his father, stood at least six feet high, had great breadth of chest and expansion of shoulders, nerves of steel, and sinews of iron, and was altogether a handsome, athletic, powerful man. He received no classical instruction, and could do little more than read and write, when he was placed under the care of Mr. Boyce Downie, a man of general information, though chiefly celebrated as a mathematician. Under him he acquired a knowledge of practical mathematics, including navigation and trigonometry. At the age of seventeen Clapperton was bound an apprentice to the sea, and became the cabin-boy of capt. Smith, of the Postlethwaite of Maryport, to whose notice he was recommended by the late Mr. Jonathan Nelson of Port-Annan. The Postlethwaite, a vessel of large burthen, trading between Liverpool and North America, and in her he repeatedly crossed the Atlantic, distinguished even when a youth for coolness, dexterity, and intrepidity. On one occasion, the ship, when at Liverpool, was partly laden with rock-salt, and, as that commodity was then dear, the mistress of a house which the crew frequented, enticed Clapperton to bring her a few pounds a shore in his handkerchief. After some entreaty the youth complied; and, being detected by a custom-house officer, was menaced with the terrors of trial and imprisonment, unless he consented to go on board the Tender. He chose the latter alternative, and, after being sent round to the Nore, was draughted on board the *Clorinde* frigate, commanded by captain Briggs. Here he was ranked as a man

before the mast; but, feeling a desire to better his situation, he addressed a letter, detailing his mishap and recent history, to Mr. Scott, banker, in Annan, who had always taken a warm interest in the family. Mr. Scott, applied to Mrs. General Dirom, of Mount Annan, who was related to captain Briggs; and, through the influence of that lady, combined with his own professional merit, Clapperton was speedily promoted to the rank of midshipman. Previous to 1813, our sailors, in boarding, used the cutlass after any fashion they pleased, and were trained to no particular method in the management of that formidable weapon. It was suggested, that this was a defect, and, with the a view of remedying it, Clapperton and a few other clever midshipmen, were ordered to repair to Portsmouth Dockyard, to be instructed by the celebrated swordsman Angelo, in what was called the improved cutlass exercise. When taught themselves, they were distributed as teachers over the fleet, and Clapperton's class-room was the deck of the *Asia* seventy-four—the flagship of vice admiral sir Alexander Cochrane, and since engaged at Navarino. The *Asia* was then lying at Spithead, and continued there till the end of January 1814; but her admiral had been intrusted with the command of our whole naval force on the coast of North America, and was making every thing ready to sail for his final destination. Clapperton's services as a drill sergeant were to be performed during the passage out to Bermuda; and he was afterwards to make the best of his way to the Canadian Lakes, which had then, or were just about to become the scene of important naval operations. While at Bermuda, and on the passage out, nothing could exceed Clapperton's diligence in discharging the duties of his new occupation. Officers as well as men received instruction from him in the cutlass exercise; and his manly form, and sailor-like appearance on the quarter-deck, tended to fix the attention of the crew. At his own as well as the other messes, he was the very soul and life of the party; sung a good song, told a merry tale, painted scenes for the ship's theatricals, sketched views, drew caricatures, and, in one word, was an exceedingly amusing and interesting person. Even the admiral became very fond of him, and invited him to remain on board the *Asia*, under the promise of

## DEATHS, 1827.

speedy promotion. But the active work going forward on the Lakes, had more attraction for his enterprising mind, and, having procured a passage in a vessel to Halifax, he bade adieu to the flag-ship, to the regret of every individual on board. From Halifax he proceeded to Upper Canada, and, shortly after his arrival, was made a lieutenant, and subsequently appointed to command the *Confiance* schooner. While she rode at anchor on the spacious shores of Lake Erie or Lake Huron, her enterprising commander occasionally repaired to the woods, and with his gun kept himself in fresh provisions. In these excursions he cultivated an acquaintance with the aborigines, and was so much charmed with a mode of life, full of romance, incident, and danger, that he at one time entertained thoughts of resigning his commission when the war was ended, and of becoming a denizen of the forest himself. At this time he occasionally dined on shore, and, as few men excelled him in swimming, he not unfrequently plunged into the water, and made for the schooner, without either undressing, or calling for a boat. In the year 1817, when our flotilla on the American lakes was dismantled, Lieut. Clapperton returned to England, to be placed, like many others, on half-pay, and ultimately retired to his grandfather's native burgh of Lochmaben. There he remained till 1820, amusing himself with rural sports, when he removed to Edinburgh, and, shortly after, became acquainted with Dr. Oudney. It was at Dr. Oudney's suggestion that he first turned his thoughts to African discovery; and, through all the varieties of untoward fortune—suffering and sorrow, sickness and death, clung to his friend with the constancy of a brother. After closing his eyes in a miserable hut, far from the decencies and comforts of Britain, he even assisted to dig his grave, and read over the lonely spot the burial service of the church of England. Captain Clapperton himself died on the 13th April, 1827 at Sockatoo, where he had been detained for five months, in consequence of the sultan Bello of Sockatoo not permitting him to proceed, on account of the war with Bornou. He had waited there in hopes of getting permission to go on to Timbuctoo, and lived in a small, circular, clay hut belonging to the sultan's brother, the size of which was about fifty yards each way. He was attacked with dysentery, and

his illness lasted thirty-two days; he latterly fell away rapidly, and became much emaciated. Two days before he died, he requested his servant to shave him, as he was too weak to sit up. On its completion he asked for a looking-glass, and remarked he was doing better, and should certainly get over it. The morning on which he died, he breathed loud and became restless, and shortly after expired in his servant's arms. He was buried by him at a small village (Jungali), five miles to the S. E. of Sockatoo, and was followed to his grave by his faithful attendant and five slaves. The corpse was carried by a camel, and the place of interment marked by a small square house of clay, erected by his servant, who then got permission from the sultan to return home. He accordingly journeyed to Badagry, which occupied him seven months, and was taken off the coast by capt. Laing, of the merchant brig *Maria*, of London, in January, 1828.

July 6. At Puttercoodah, near Gootz, of cholera morbus, after only two hours' illness, major-general sir Thomas Munro, bart. and K.C.B. governor of Madras. This distinguished public servant proceeded to India in the year 1778, as an infantry cadet, in the service of the East India Company. After attracting by his services the notice of government during lord Cornwallis's Mysore war, he was nominated by that nobleman to be one of the assistants to col. Read in settling and governing the provinces conquered from Tippoo. After the fall of Seringapatam, he was appointed, jointly with captain, now sir John Malcolm, secretary to the commissioners to whom were confided the adjustment of the affairs, and division of the territories, of Mysore, and the investment of the young Rajah with the government of that country. He was present at the fall of Seringapatam, in the month of May 1799, and, after that event, was selected by lord Wellesley, to whom he was personally unknown, to administer the government of Canara, to which the province of Malabar was afterwards annexed. He obtained the rank of lieutenant-colonel in 1804. In 1808 he returned to England. He was next sent to Madras, by the court of directors, on an important duty connected with the permanent settlement of the revenues of that presidency. In 1813 he attained the rank of colonel. In 1817 colonel Munro being in the neigh-

## DEATHS, 1827.

bourhood of Soondoor, where he had been sent as commissioner to take charge of the districts ceded to the East India Company by the perishwa, he was appointed by lieut.-gen. sir Thomas Hislop to undertake the reduction of the rebellious feudatory of Soondoor, and he shortly afterwards was entrusted with a separate command of the reserve, and was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general. The place was surrendered towards the end of October. He was next promoted to the high office of governor of Madras. Sir Thomas Munro took his seat as governor on the 10th of June 1820. He wished to have retired in the year 1823, but was induced to continue in his post at the particular request of the court of directors. On the extension of the order of the Bath to the service of the East India Company, this officer was appointed a commander; and in 1819 he received the dignity of a knight companion. As a further reward for his distinguished services, he was created a baronet, June 30, 1825.

Oct. 30. At a village between Cairo and Alexandria, Henry Salt, esq. F.R.S. British consul-general in Egypt. He was born at Lichfield, and received his education in the Grammar-school of that city. His love of travelling and taste for drawing, procured him the friendship of lord Valentia, whom he accompanied to the Levant, Egypt, Abyssinia, and the East Indies. The travels of that nobleman, published in 1809, 4to, derived great benefit from the graphic illustrations of Mr. Salt, who also published, about the same time, twenty four of his views in a folio size. In consequence of the knowledge of the East which Mr. Salt had thus acquired, he was employed by government as the bearer of presents to the emperor of Abyssinia, the result of which mission appeared before the public in 1814, in a work intitled "A Voyage to Abyssinia, and Travels into the Interior of that Country, executed under the orders of the British government, in the years 1809 and 1810, in which are included an Account of the Portuguese Settlements on the East Coast of Africa," &c. &c. Mr. Salt was said to have left a fortune of 200,000 talaris. His funeral was the most splendid that had been seen in Alexandria for many years.

Dec. 1. At Buckland, in Berkshire, aged 84, therev. Joseph Berington, priest

of the Roman Catholic Church. This gentleman was eminent as a writer of the "liberal" party, among his own communion; and especially as an antagonist of the late bishop Milner. Mr. Berington's first publication was a "Letter on Materialism, and Hartley's Theory of the Human Mind, 1776," 8vo. His next was "Immaterialism Delineated, or a View of the First Principles of Things, 1779," 8vo. In the same year he also published "A Letter to Dr. Fordyce, in answer to his Sermon on the delusive and persecuting Spirit of Popery." To this succeeded, "The State and Behaviour of English Catholics, from the Reformation, till 1780, with a view of their present wealth, number, character, &c." "Address to the Protestant Dissenters who have lately petitioned for a Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, 1786," 8vo. "History of the Lives of Abelard and Heloise, comprising a period of 84 years, from 1079 to 1163, with their genuine Letters, from the collection of Amboise, 1787," 4to. 2d edition, 1787, 8vo. "Reflections, with an Exposition of Roman Catholic Principles, in reference to God and the Country, 1787," 8vo. "Account of the present State of Roman Catholics in Great Britain, 1787," 8vo. "On the Depravity of the Nation; with a view to the promotion of Sunday Schools, 1788," 8vo. "The Rights of Dissenters from the Established Church; in relation, principally, to English Catholics, 1789," 8vo. "A History of the Reigns of Henry 2nd, and of Richard and John his Sons, with the events of this period from 1154 to 1216, in which the character of Thomas à Becket is vindicated from the attacks of George lord Lyttleton, 4to, 1790.—Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani, giving an account of his Agency in England in 1634, 5, and 6, from the Italian," 8vo. Besides the above and various controversial pamphlets, he published a History of the Literature of the Middle Ages, by which work he will be chiefly known.

26. At Bothwell Castle, Lanarkshire, in his 80th year, the right hon. Archibald Douglas, lord Douglas of Douglas in Lanarkshire, lord lieutenant and hereditary sheriff of the county of Forfar. He was born at Paris, July 10th, 1748, a twin, but only surviving son by his second marriage, of sir John Stewart, third baronet of Grandtully, in Perthshire, and grandfather of sir George, the present and fifth baronet. His

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lordship's descent from the family of Douglas was maternal; his mother having been Jane, only daughter of James, second marquis of Douglas, by his second wife, lady Mary Ker, daughter of Robert, first earl of Lothian. On the death of his uncle the third marquis and only duke of Douglas, Mr. Stewart was served nearest and lawful heir of entail and provision in general to his grace, and consequently succeeded to the real and personal property, and took the name of Douglas. In the following March a petition was presented in his name to his majesty, claiming the title and dignity of earl of Angus, in virtue of a charter of queen Anne, which was alleged to have regranted the dignity to the heirs of tailzie in the estate of Douglas and Angus. The claim was, however, met (or rather anticipated) by a counter petition in the names of the then duke of Hamilton, (a minor like his competitor), who, on the death of the duke of Douglas, had by male descent become chief of that princely house. Both petitions were referred to the House of Peers, where no decision appears to have been made on their merits, but the earldom of Angus, as well as the marquisate of Douglas, have ever since been attributed to the dukes of Hamilton. The family of Hamilton; however, carried their opposition to Mr. Douglas to a more serious extent, and, at the latter end of 1762, commenced a suit on the allegation of his not being the child of lady Jane Douglas; but a most voluminous proof was taken both in Britain and France, and the important "Douglas Cause" was finally determined in favour of Mr. Douglas by the House of Lords, Feb. 27th, 1771. In February 1782, Mr. Douglas was elected M.P. for the county of Forfar, on the vacancy occasioned by the death of the earl of Penmure; an objection was taken to his election, on the ground of his being a Peer, and evidence was laid before a committee of the House of Commons of his right to the earldom of Angus, but the objection was overruled. He was rechosen at the general election in 1784; but, on the dissolution of that parliament in 1790, was created a British Peer, by the title of baron Douglas of Douglas Castle. His lordship was constituted colonel of the Forfarshire militia in 1798. Lord Douglas was twice married; firstly at London, June 13, 1771, to lady Lucy

Graham, only daughter of William, second duke of Montrose, and sister to the present duke; by whom he had three sons and one daughter, viz. 1. Archibald, now lord Douglas, born in 1773, and yet unmarried; 2. Charles, also unmarried; 3. William, who died young; and 4. the right hon. Jane-Margaret, married in 1804 to lord Montagu of Boughton. Having lost his first wife in 1779, lord Douglas married secondly, May 13th, 1783, lady Frances Scott, daughter of Francis, earl of Dalkeith, and sister to Henry, third duke of Buccleuch, K. G.

28. At Cambridge, after an illness of four months, Robert Woodhouse, esq. M. A. F. R. S. Plumian Professor of Mathematics in that university. He was of Caius college, where he took his bachelor of arts' degree in 1795, and was the senior Wrangler and first Smith's prizeman of that year. He proceeded M.A. in 1798, and was elected a fellow of Caius. Several papers from his pen appear in the Philosophical Transactions, beginning from 1801; and, in 1802, he became a fellow of the royal society. In 1803 he printed, in 4to, "The Principles of Analytical Calculation;" in 1809, "A Treatise on Plane and Spherical Trigonometry," 8vo; in 1811, "A Treatise on Isoperimetrical Problems, and the Calculus of Variations," 8vo; and, in 1812, "An elementary Treatise on Plane Astronomy," 8vo. In 1820 Mr. Woodhouse was elected Lucasian professor of mathematics; and in 1822, on the death of professor Vince, he succeeded to the Plumian professorship. In 1824 he was appointed by the university to conduct the observatory, then newly erected.

Lately, At his seat, Cusworth, near Doncaster, William Wrightson, esq. M. P. for Aylesbury from 1784 to 1790, and high sheriff of Yorkshire in 1821. He was the only son of John Battie, of Warmsworth, esq., who in 1761 took the name of Wrightson, that being the name of his wife Isabel, sole surviving daughter and heiress of William Wrightson, of Cusworth, esq. who was M. P. for Newcastle from 1710 to 1722, and was in 1723 returned knight of the shire for Northumberland, but successfully opposed in his return by Mr. Jenison of Elwick. The gentleman now deceased was twice married; firstly, to Barbara, daughter of James Bland, of Hunworth, in Durham, esq.; and, that lady having died childless in 1783,

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secondly, to Henrietta, daughter and co-heiress of Richard Heber, of Marton, esq. By his second lady (who died in 1820) Mr. Wrightson had issue five sons and three daughters, viz. William Battie Wrightson, esq. who has succeeded to the estates, and is now M. P. for Retford; the rev. Arthur Bland, M. A. rector of Edlington and vicar of Campsall, York.

1828.

### JANUARY.

1. At Mowbray house, near Ripon, aged 87, Eliza, relict of John Dickins, senior registrar of the court of chancery.

— At Terling's Park, aged 72, Michael Hankie, esq.

— Aged 71, John Armitage, esq. of Woodhouse, near Raistrick.

— In the wreck of the Fanny sloop, on its passage from St. Maloes to Jersey (with twelve other passengers and two of the crew), aged nearly 28, the right hon. Edward lord Harley. He was the eldest son and heir apparent of Edward the present and fifth earl of Oxford, by his late countess, Jane Elizabeth, daughter of the rev. James Scott. The earl has one surviving son, Alfred, now lord Harley, born in 1809.

— Lost off Jersey in the same vessel with lord Harley, lieutenant William Star Fitzgerald, of Limerick, late of the 72nd regt., and his wife Frances, eldest daughter of the late major Lewis of the Northumberland militia. They had been married at Paris, only on the 8th of December preceding.

— At Brussels, major-gen. sir George Sackville Browne, K. C. B. of the East India service.

— In Charles-street, Berkeley-sq., aged 71, Mrs. Mary Keene, only daughter of a late bishop of Ely, and sister to B. Keene, esq. of Weston lodge, Cambridge.

— Aged 70, Wm. Hunter, esq. of Upper Grosvenor-street.

2. At William Danby's, esq. of Swindon Park, near Masham, aged 55, Miss Pidsdale, the celebrated dwarf.

— Aged 29, major Conroy, drowned by the upsetting of a boat on a lake near Ballyshannon.

6. In Upper George-st. Portman-sq., Mary, relict of sir Geo. Richardson, bt. of the E. I. C.'s service, and mother of the late sir George, and presentsir John Chas. Richardson. She was a daughter of David Cooper, esq.

— At his lodgings in Kentish Town

aged 68, Daniel Moore, esq. F.R.S. fellow of the Royal, Antiquarian, Linnean, Astronomical, Horticultural, and other learned and scientific societies. Mr. Moore was for many years a highly respectable solicitor in Lincoln's Inn, and had for his partners the late Messrs Beardsworth and Burley. Being a bachelor, he always resided in his chambers. Mr. Moore was for some years treasurer of the Royal Society's club, and the height of his ambition was to have been elected treasurer of that learned society. Of the Royal Institution Mr. Moore was a most valuable supporter, and, at a time of need, promptly lent the Institution the sum of 1000*l.*, without interest; and which he bequeathed to it by his will. Mr. Moore divided his fortune among his friends, of whom the rev. Dr. Maddy, W. H. Booth, esq., and T. Tompkins, esq. (who were his executors) had the largest share. Mr. Moore was a useful member of several charitable institutions. He acted as treasurer to the Public Dispensary, Carey-street, and to the Law Association, for relief of decayed members of that profession. He was a governor of Christ's, Bridewell, Bethlehem, Middlesex, and the French hospital.

7. Aged 73, James Scatcherd, esq. for many years a bookseller in Ave Maria-lane, Ludgate-street. Mr. Scatcherd was a native of Yorkshire, and served his apprenticeship to a bookseller in York. At the expiration of his time he came to London, and lived with Mr. John Walter, a well-known bookseller at Charing Cross. After being in this gentleman's service for several years, he was noticed by Mr. Edward Johnson, as a young man well qualified to succeed him, in conjunction with an old servant of the name of Whittaker. Mr. Johnson made the terms easy to them, by giving long credit for his stock and copyrights; and they not only were enabled to fulfil their engagements with him, but also to derive great advantage to themselves. Mr. Scatcherd was a member of the common council of the ward of Farringdon within for several years, but his inability from bad health to attend to the duties of the situation induced him to resign.

8. In Portland-place, aged 73, John Vivian, esq. of Claverton, near Bath.

— At Staxton, near Scarborough, aged 80, Mrs. Jacques, wife of the rev. Arthur Jacques, rector.

9. At his palace, at Clansford, of



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apoplexy, the right rev. Alexander Arbuthnot, D.D. lord bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora. This prelate was brother to major-general sir Thomas Arbuthnot, K.C.B. who commands a British brigade in Portugal, and to the rt. hon. Charles Arbuthnot. From the deanery of Cloyne he was appointed to succeed Dr. Mant, now bishop of Down, in the see of Killaloe in 1823.

12. Suddenly, Henry Drummond, esq. of Hanover-terrace, Regent-park. A coroner's inquest was held on the 14th, when Mr. White, surgeon, of Parliament-street, deposed, that the deceased was subject to epileptic fits, and he was clearly of opinion, that immediately after taking his usual portion of laudanum, he was seized with one of those fits, which was the cause of his death.

13. At Southampton, aged 21, the hon. Caroline, wife of sir Robert Gore Booth, the third and present baronet of Lissadell, county Sligo. She was the third daughter of Robert Edward, first and present viscount Lorton, by lady Frances Parsons, only daughter and heiress of Laurence, first earl of Rosse.

14. At Cheltenham, aged 28, W. P. Bent, esq. barrister-at-law.

— At Bridlington Quay, aged 59, Charlotte, wife of P. W. Mayo, M. D.

16. After a life of indefatigable literary labour, professor John Samuel Ersch, head librarian of the university at Halle. He was born at Gross Glogan, in Lower Silesia, June 23rd, 1766; and in 1785 entered the above-mentioned university, where it was intended that he should apply himself to theology; but philosophical and philological studies, particularly history and geography, were more congenial to him; and, in order that he might be better enabled to prosecute his researches, he taught himself several modern languages; French, English, Italian, Dutch, Swedish, and Danish. In conjunction with Fabri and Hammersdorff, he commenced, in 1787, the *Allgemeine Politische Zeitung*, and likewise translated about this period, many foreign works relating to geography. Shortly afterwards he became acquainted with Meurel, to whose *Gelerhtes Deutschland*, he contributed an Appendix. Another bibliographical work published by him in 1788, was his *Verzeichniss Aller Anonymischen Schriften*. To this work he a few years afterwards wrote a Supplement, the

result of his assiduous researches in the library at Gottingen, which city he visited in 1794. In the interim, however, he had connected himself with the editors of the *Allgemeine Repertorium*, to which his assistance was very valuable. Subsequently to the appearance of his 'Supplement,' he was employed to edit the *Neue Zeitung*, published at Hamburg, by Dr. Victor L. Klopstock; an undertaking for which he was pre-eminently qualified from his knowledge of languages, and encyclopedical learning. In 1800 he returned to Jena, where he was appointed librarian of the university and professor of philosophy. It was here that in 1803 he delivered his Lectures on Geography, and Modern Political History. In 1808 he was chosen chief librarian at Halle. After having conducted the *Allgemeine Repertorium*, from 1796 to 1805, he closed his editorial labours, and devoted himself chiefly to political science and modern history, and indeed employed himself for several years on an extensive statistical work, not yet published. Again, however, he resumed his bibliographical pursuits, and produced his valuable work entitled, *Handbuch der Deutschen Litteratur seit der Mitte, des 18n Jahrhunderts, 1812-14*; a work which displays extraordinary research and most extensive reading. He afterwards engaged in an undertaking of still greater magnitude, namely a general Encyclopædia of the Sciences, on a plan of uncommon magnitude. With Gruber for his co-editor, he devoted himself to its prosecution with an ardour to be equalled only by the intelligence and learning here manifested. Thus occupied with a work that would seem to demand the undivided labour of an entire life, he nevertheless found leisure, on Meurel's death, in 1820, to continue the *Gelerhte Deutschland*. In fact his literary application continued to the very last, and notwithstanding his unremitting literary industry, he possessed conversational talents that rarely fall to the lot of the student. His health, too, continued unimpaired, until the death of his son, John Gottfried, in 1824; after which his corporeal powers declined, and his temper became irritable. For industry, perseverance, and extensive information, there have been few scholars, with the exception of such literary phenomena as Magliabecchi, who have rivalled

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Ersch; and it is to him that Germany is indebted for many valuable improvements in bibliography.

17. From bruises received in escaping from the "Stirling" steam-boat, which was wrecked near Fort-William, the celebrated chieftain, Macdonell of Glengarry. The lives of his daughters, who were with him, were preserved.

— In Saville-row, very advanced in age, sir William Augustus Cunynghame, fourth baronet of Miln-craig, county of Ayr, cousin to the tenth and eleventh earls of Eglintoun, the seventh earl of Galloway, and the first lord Macdonald, and uncle to lord Wharnclyffe. Sir William was the eldest son of lieutenant-general David, the third baronet, by lady Mary Montgomerie, the only daughter by a second marriage (with Anne, daughter of George, first earl of Aberdeen), of Alexander, ninth earl of Eglintoun. He succeeded to the title of baronet on the death of his father, October 10, 1767. He was twice married, firstly, in 1768, to Frances, daughter and heiress of sir Robert Myrton, of Gogar, in Mid-Lothian, bart. by whom he had two sons: 1. David, who has succeeded to the title, and is the senior retired colonel of the British army; and 2. Robert. Sir William married secondly in 1785, Mary, only daughter and heiress of Robert Udney, of Udney, esq. and by her had issue: 3. William Augustus; 4. George Augustus Frederick; 5. Frederick Alexander; 6. James Stuart; and 7. Mary.

— At Ham, in his 90th year, general Gordon Forbes, for 30 years colonel of the 29th regiment. This veteran officer entered the army as ensign in the 33rd, 1756; was promoted lieutenant. 72nd, 1753; capt. 1765; major 9th foot, 1775; lieutenant-col. 102d, 1781; colonel, 1791; major-general. 1794; colonel 81st, 1797; of the 29th, in the same year; lieutenant-general, 1801; and general 1812. He served in the Havannah in the American war; in the East Indies for four years; and commanded, for two years, the troops in St. Domingo. In 1777, he raised the 74th regiment.

20. At her house in Gay-street, Bath, Miss Margaret Hay, the last surviving daughter of the late hon. Edward Hay, governor of Barbadoes.

22. At Dublin, aged 54, Dr. Marum, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory. He was educated first at Kilkenny, and afterwards at Salamanca, where he was

distinguished for his proficiency as a student, and, immediately on taking his degree of doctor of divinity, was appointed vice rector and professor. Having been recalled to his native country in 1798, he was shortly afterwards invited to the college of Carlow, and filled there successively the chairs of philosophy and divinity. In March, 1811, on the death of Dr. Lanigan, he was nominated to the vacant see of Ossory. He was the founder, and in a considerable degree the supporter, of the Female Orphan Asylum, which is conducted under the guidance of the ladies of the Presentation Convent.

23. At the Grove, Market Drayton, aged 95, Dame Sarah Markham, sister to the great lord Clive, and aunt to earl Powis. She was the 2d daughter of Richard Clive, of Styche, esq. by Rebecca, daughter and co-heiress of Nath. Gaskell, of Manchester, esq. and was married, August 29, 1755, to sir John James Markham, fifth bart. of Sedg-broke, Notts.

— At Nice, after a severe illness, aged 28, the right hon. lady Caroline Bentinck, second daughter of the duke of Portland.

— At Munich, aged 83, Joseph Quaglio, a celebrated architectural and scene painter. Of his four sons, who were all artists, Angelo the eldest died at the age of 37. Dominico, the second, has already obtained the appellation of the German Canaletti; Lorenz and Simon are also distinguished artists; the former in history, the latter in landscape painting.

24. At Naples, John Wright, esq. eldest son of John Wright, of Lenton, Notts, esq. most sincerely and deservedly lamented by all who had the happiness of knowing him.

26. At Whitehall, aged 42, the hon. lady Caroline Lamb. She was the only daughter of Frederick, present and third earl of Besborough, by his late countess Henrietta Frances, sister to the present earl Spencer.—She was named Caroline after her paternal grandmother, lady Caroline Cavendish; and was married to the hon. William Lamb, June 3, 1805. She had issue by him, a daughter who died in infancy, and an only son, George Augustus Frederick, a godson of his Majesty. Lady Caroline Lamb was a [woman of a masculine character, and made herself conspicuous some years since by per-

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sonally canvassing the householders of Westminster, when her brother-in-law, the hon. George Lamb, was a candidate to represent that city in Parliament. About three years ago she separated from her husband; afterwards she lived principally with her father-in-law at Brocket Hall. She published three novels, entitled, *Glenarvon*, *Graham Hamilton*, and *Ada Reis*.

29. At Vienna, Prince Alexander Ypsilanti, the person who may be considered as having been the first active and avowed stirrer in the Greek revolution. He was the son of an Hospodar of Wallachia, who assumed the government of that country in the year 1802. About three years after his installation as a prince, Ypsilanti's father received a summons from the Sultan to attend him at Constantinople. But, knowing that obedience to this summons would most probably cost him his head, he determined on retiring to Russia, with his family and suite. Here Alexander, his son, entered the Russian army; where, in several battles against the French, he obtained considerable distinction, and was at length promoted to the rank of major-general, and aide-camp to the emperor. Previously to this, however, he had received a wound which deprived him of his right hand. It was, no doubt, on account of his military talents and success, no less than his distinguished birth, that he was fixed upon as a competent person to commence the revolution in Wallachia and Moldavia. In his conduct of Greek affairs, he shewed neither talent nor patriotism. Instead of mixing with his army, and seeking to gain the personal favour of his soldiers, he always kept himself strictly apart from them. To so high a pitch did he carry this feeling, that, whenever he was stationed for any time on a particular spot, he used to cause to be marked out a precise point, which he called the sacred way, and beyond which no one was allowed to pass but himself and his own brothers.

31. At Carlisle, aged 76, general sir Paulus Æmilius Irving, of Woodhouse in Dumfriesshire, baronet. This eminent officer was born at Waterford, August 30, 1751, the only son of lieutenant-col. Paulus Æmilius Irving, governor of Upnor Castle in Kent, by Judith, daughter of capt. William Westfield, of Dover. The somewhat singular name of Æmilius

was derived from his grandmother, the hon. Emilia Rollo, eldest daughter of Andrew, third lord Rollo, who again was named after her maternal aunt, the hon. Emilia Balfour, who was the wife of sir John Malcolm of Innerteil. Sir Paulus was appointed lieutenant in the 47th foot in 1764, captain in 1768, and major in 1775. He served with that regiment in America, and was engaged in the battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill. He was at Boston during the blockade, and until the evacuation, when he accompanied the 47th to raise the siege of Quebec. He was at the affair of Trois Rivières, June, 1776, and pursued the rebels to Crown Point and Ticonderoga; and he served with gen. Burgoyne's army till the convention, when he was taken prisoner, and detained three years. He was raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in 1780; in 1781 he returned to England, and, on the 3rd of August, was appointed lieutenant-colonel in his former regiment. In 1790 he embarked for the Bahama Islands, where, having obtained the rank of colonel in 1791 and major-general in 1794, he remained till 1795. He then joined sir John Vaughan's army in the West Indies, and, on that officer's death, on the 21st of June, 1795, the chief command of the forces in the West Indies devolved upon him. In September, major-gen. Lee took the chief command, and major-gen. Irving went to assume the command of St. Vincent's. On the 2nd of October following he attacked the enemy in their works at the Vigie, and, after an obstinate resistance during the whole day, they drove them from their posts. Sir Paulus was promoted to be lieutenant-general Jan. 1st, 1801; colonel of the 6th veteran battalion, Dec. 25, 1802; and general, Jan. 1, 1812. He was created a baronet by patent dated Sept. 19th, 1809. Sir Paulus married, Feb. 4th, 1786, lady Elizabeth St. Lawrence, second daughter of Thomas, first earl of Howth, and niece of Edward, first earl of Kingston; and by that lady he had issue two sons and two daughters.

*Lately*, Lieutenant Francis Lave, colonel of the fifth battalion of Royal Artillery. He was, from 1783 until 1786, upon command at the Island of Jamaica, and afterwards joined the army under the duke of York at Dunkirk. In 1800 he was appointed to the command of the Royal Artillery in the

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windward and leeward West-India Islands, and was engaged in the expedition with the combined naval and military forces under the orders of admiral Duckworth, and the late gen. Trigge, upon which service he received the thanks of gen. Trigge, and was named in the Gazette. Having served the allotted time of his command in the West Indies, he was relieved, and returned to England. He was subsequently employed in the command of the Artillery in the northern district, and upon the staff as brigadier and major-general in North Britain. He attained the rank of colonel in 1804, of major-general, in 1810, and of lieutenant, in 1819.

*Lately.* At Ealing, advanced in years, the right hon. Henrietta Porter, dowager countess Grosvenor. She was daughter of Henry Vernon, of Hilton Park, in Staffordshire, by lady Henrietta Wentworth.

Com. John Price, R. N. formerly flag lieutenant to adm. sir Isaac Coffin, at Portsmouth.

At Southsea, aged 104, John Agnew, a pensioner of the 33rd reg. and which he had been since 1771.

At St. Petersburg, Paul Brookes, esq. an indefatigable traveller in the pursuit of objects of natural history. He had traversed, during the last thirty years, most parts of Europe, and has visited Africa and North and South America.

### FEBRUARY.

1. At Round Hill, Nevis, West Indies, in his 67th year, Thos. John Cottle, esq. This gentleman was for upwards of thirty years a member of his majesty's council; and for the greater part of that long period president of this Island.

— At Millfield-house, Edmonton, Robert Mushet, esq. of the Royal Mint, an ingenious active-minded man, and a most meritorious public servant. The statements, reasoning, and suggestions, respecting the currency and Mint regulations, contained in the report of his evidence before the cash-payment committee in 1819, are among the most important of the examinations. Though laboriously engaged on this new coinage for the last eight or ten years, he found leisure to prepare and publish several useful tracts on subjects connected with

the currency and the national debt. The last of these was an investigation of the causes of the panic in 1826, which from a long and careful deduction of facts, he was led to ascribe exclusively to the over-issue of Bank of England and country bank paper.

1. At the seat of her son-in-law, T. Ryder Pepper, esq. Loughton, county Tipperary, aged 88, Mrs. Bloomfield, mother of lord Bloomfield.

— At the Black Rock, Dundalk, aged 67, the honourable Anne wife of Thomas Craven, esq. of Drumcassel co. Louth, and aunt to visc. Boyne. She was the youngest daughter of Richard, the 5th viscount, by Georgiana, second daughter of W. Bury, esq. grandfather of the earl of Charleville.

— At the family seat, Churchtown, county Kerry, Rosanna, wife of sir Rob. Blennerhassett. She was only daughter of his uncle, Arthur Blennerhassett, esq. of Fortfield, county Kerry.

3. In Bryanston-square, after a short but severe illness, aged 67, sir Richard John Strachan, sixth baronet of Thornton, county of Kincardine, admiral of the blue, and G. C. B. Sir Richard was born in Devonshire, Oct. 7th, 1760, was the eldest son of Patrick Strachan, esq. lieutenant R.N. by a daughter of capt. Pitman of the same service. He succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of sir John Strachan, a post-captain, R. N. Dec. 28. 1777. On the commencement of the war with the French republic, he was appointed to la Concorde, of forty-two guns and two hundred and fifty-seven men, and he joined a squadron of frigates on the coast of France, under the orders of sir J. B. Warren. At daybreak on St. George's day, 1794, this squadron, consisting of the Flora, Arethusa, Concorde, Melampus, and Nympe, being to the westward of Guernsey, discovered four French ships standing out to sea, one of which was la Resolu. Comm. Warren, fearing that the enemy might escape into port, made the signal to engage as they came up, and by this means cut them off from their own shore. The battle was maintained on both sides with great resolution for three hours, when la Pomone and la Babet struck to the Flora and Arethusa. La Concorde continued to pursue the others, and at length got near enough to receive and return their fire. It was sir Richard Strachan's intentions to endeavour to disable the sternmost of

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the enemy's ships, leaving her to be picked up by the *Melampus* and *Nymphe*, which were also in pursuit, and to push on for the headmost; but this ship bore down, and closed to support her consort, at the same time raking *la Concorde* with great effect. Sir Richard Strachan continued to engage them both with much gallantry; but, finding that the day was far advanced, that there was little prospect of being assisted by the other British frigates, which rather dropped astern, and his main topmast being so badly wounded that he expected it would fall over the side, by which accident the enemy might have escaped, he came to the resolution to secure that ship which was the nearest to him, and, by a skilful manœuvre, having changed sides in the smoke, he prevented the other either from annoying him or giving assistance to his friend. They continued in close action from twelve till a quarter before two, when the Frenchman ceased firing, and hailed that he had surrendered. The prize proved to be *l'Engageante*, of thirty-eight guns and three hundred men, between thirty and forty of whom were killed, and twenty wounded. The other frigate, *la Resolu*, after firing a few shot, made sail and got off. In the evening, the masts of *l'Engageante* fell overboard, and it was with some difficulty, and great exertions, that those of *la Concorde* were prevented from sharing the same fate. Soon after this event, sir Richard Strachan obtained the command of the *Melampus*, of forty two guns. On the 9th of May, 1795, being at anchor in Gourville Bay, Jersey, he discovered thirteen sail of the enemy's vessels running along shore. The British squadron immediately weighed, and chased them under a small battery, which was soon silenced, and twelve of the vessels were abandoned by their crews, and taken possession of. The other escaped round Cape Carteret. They consisted of ten transports, laden with naval stores, escorted by an armed brig and lugger. On the 3rd July following, the *Melampus*, in company with the *Hebe*, also captured, off St. Maloes, six out of thirteen French vessels laden with military stores, conveyed by a ship of twenty-six guns, two brigs, and a lugger; one of the brigs, *la Vesuve*, of four twenty-four pounders and sixty men, was also taken. During the remainder of the war, he was constantly engaged in active service. During the temporary sus-

pension of hostilities that followed the treaty of Amiens, he commanded the *Donegal*, of eighty guns; and, on the renewal of the war, he was employed off Cadiz, watching the motions of the French ships in that port. On the 28th of November, 1804, he captured the *Amphitrite*, a Spanish frigate, of forty-four guns, bound from Cadiz to Tene-riffe. Having overtaken that vessel, after a chase of some hours, sir Richard acquainted the Spaniard that, in compliance with his admiral's orders, he must conduct his vessel back to Cadiz, and that he allowed him three minutes to comply without force. After double that time had elapsed, an engagement ensued, which lasted about eight minutes, when the *Amphitrite* struck her colours. The *Donegal*, about the same time, captured another Spanish ship, with a cargo worth about 200,000*l*. In March following, sir Richard's affairs requiring his presence in England, he exchanged into the *Renown*, which had been ordered home. In the spring of 1804 the deceased was nominated a colonel of Marines. About July, 1805, he was appointed to the *Cæsar*, of eighty guns, and intrusted with the command of a detached squadron. On the evening of the 2nd of November, being off Ferrol, he fell in with four French line-of-battle ships that had escaped from the battle of Trafalgar, but it was not before daylight on the 4th that the advanced frigates of sir Rich. Strachan's squadron could arrive within gun-shot. A little before noon, the French, finding an action unavoidable, began to take in their small sails and form in a line on the starboard tack. At noon the battle began, and continued till half past three, when the enemy's ships being no longer manageable, struck their colours. They proved to be the *Formidable*, of eighty guns, bearing the flag of rear admiral Dumanoir le Pelley, the *Duguay Trouin*, *Mont Blanc*, and *Scipion*, of seventy-four guns each. The British squadron consisted, besides the *Cæsar*, of the *Hero*, *Namur*, and *Courageux*, seventy-four guns, and the *Santa Margarita*, *Phoenix*, *Revolutionnaire*, *Æolus* frigates, the whole of whom came into action. The English had only twenty-four killed and one hundred and eleven wounded. Five days after this action, sir Richard Strachan was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral; and on the 29th of Janu-

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ary, 1806, was made a knight of the bath. He also received the thanks of both houses of Parliament. Soon after, he was detached with his flag on board the *Cæsar*, to the coast of America, in pursuit of a French squadron, commanded by adm. Villaumer, one of whose ships of seventy-four guns, foundered in a hurricane, and another of the same force was driven on shore and destroyed by the British. After his return, sir Richard was employed in the blockade of Rochefort until the summer of 1809, when he assumed the command of the naval part of the expedition destined for the occupation of Flushing, and the destruction of the French ships of war, arsenals, &c. in the Scheldt. This armament consisted of thirty-seven sail of the line, two ships of fifty guns, three of forty-four guns, twenty-four frigates, thirty-one sloops, and five bombs, besides gun-boats and other small craft, together with forty thousand troops, under the orders of the earl of Chatham. The unfortunate issue of the Walcheren expedition is well known. On the 3d of July, 1810, sir Richard Strachan was presented, by the Corporation of London, with a sword and the freedom of the city. He was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral on the 31st of the same month, and became a full admiral July 19th, 1821. He was also allowed a pension of 1000*l.* for his services. Sir Richard Strachan married, in 1812, Miss Louisa Dillon.

5. At Cowbridge, Glamorganshire, aged 75, William Nicholl, esq. mayor of that borough, recorder of Cardiff, and one of the senior benchers of the Middle Temple. Mr. N. was for some years the leading counsel on the Beacon circuit, and, after his retirement from the bar, he filled the office of chairman of the Glamorganshire quarter-sessions. His attainments as a scholar and mathematician were highly respectable, and he had a thorough knowledge of music.

— At the Deanery, Worcester, aged 55, the very rev. James Hook, D. C. L. dean of Worcester, archdeacon of Huntingdon, vicar of Bromsgrove and Stone, Worcestershire, master of St. Oswald's hospital, Worcester, F.R.S. and F.S.A. Dr. Hook was the eldest son of Mr. James Hook, the celebrated musical composer, and brother to Mr. Theodore Hook, the novelist and political writer. He was of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, M.A. 1799, B.C.L. 1804, D.C.L. 1806. Of a similar taste with his father and

brother, he was in his youth the author of an opera entitled, "*Jack of Newbury*," and a musical entertainment called, "*Diamond cut Diamond*." The dates of these productions are 1795 and 1797, but they were never published. Having been introduced to the society of his present majesty when prince of Wales, he was appointed his private chaplain, and a chaplain to the late king; and by his amiable manners and agreeable talents so ingratiated himself with his royal patron, that he is known to have been honoured with his particular personal regard. In May, 1797, being then vicar of Mickleton, in Gloucestershire (a crown living), and chaplain to the earl of Guilford, he was presented by the king to the rectory of Saddington, in Leicestershire; and, on the 1st of the following month, he was married, at St. James's Westminster, to Ann, the second daughter of the late sir Robert Farquhar, bart. M.D. In 1802 Mr. Hook resigned Saddington for the rectory of Epworth, a crown living, in Lincolnshire; and in the same year he published "*Anguis in herba*, a sketch of the true character of the church of England and her clergy, as a caveat against the misconstruction of artful and the misconception of weak men, on the subject of a bill about to be brought into parliament for the revival of certain statutes concerning Non-Residence, &c. &c." The object of this excellent pamphlet, inscribed by the author to "the sober sense of his country," was to expose the designs as well of the Methodist as of the enemy then more immediately dreaded, the Jacobin and Infidel. In 1807, Dr. Hook was appointed by bishop North to a prebend in the cathedral of Winchester. In 1812 he published in 8vo. "a Sermon preached at St. George's, Hanover-square; with a correspondence between Earl Grey and the author on the subject of it." The Earl had taken objection to some position advanced in the discourse with regard to concessions to the Roman Catholics; and had animadverted with some severity on the preacher; but the latter vindicated himself in a manner well becoming his profession and his reputation. In 1814 he was preferred, by bishop Tomline, to the archdeaconry of Huntingdon; and in 1816 he published in 4to. with an appendix and notes, his very able *Primary Charge*. In 1817 he was presented, by the king, to the rectory of Whippingham, in the Isle of Wight,

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and to the vicarage of Candover Preston, in Hampshire, by the dean and chapter of Winton. In 1818 he preached, at St. Paul's, the anniversary sermon for the charity children, and which was soon after published. In 1825, on the promotion of Dr. Jenkinson to the see of St. David's, he was appointed dean of Worcester; and in the same year he was presented to the two livings which he held at his decease, to the vicarage of Bromsgrove by the Chapter of Worcester, on the death of Dr. Wingfield, and to that of Stone by the King, on the death of Dr. Plumptre. The remains of Dr. Hook were interred on the 12th of February in a vault constructed in the south isle of Our Lady's Chapel, at Worcester. The lord bishop, the archdeacon, and several prebendaries, formed part of the funeral procession.

6. In Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, William Redmore Bigg, esq. R. A. The works of this artist are well known and duly registered from the earliest annals of the British school of painting, founded by his late majesty. The subjects of his pencil were mostly of a domestic nature. In these, benevolence, or the tender feelings, either of parental or rustic society, were forcibly portrayed. His "Shipwrecked Sailor Boy," "Youths relieving a Blind Man," "Black Monday," with many others equally interesting, have been engraved: and some have been copied by foreign artists. He was an intimate friend of sir Joshua Reynolds.

7. At Edinburgh, aged 80, Alexander Cameron, D. D.; bishop of Maximianopolis, and vicar apostolic of the Lowland district of Scotland. He went to the Scotch college in Rome in 1760, where he remained eight years, and carried away the first prizes awarded during that period. He returned to Scotland in 1772, and acted as missionary apostolic in Strathern till 1780, when he was appointed rector of the Scotch college in Valladolid in Spain, where he remained eighteen years. In 1798 he was appointed Coadjutor to bishop Hay, then vicar apostolic of the Lowland district of Scotland; and was consecrated a bishop in Madrid the following year. In 1802 he returned to Scotland, and, bishop Hay having resigned in 1806, he then succeeded that prelate.

7. At Hertingfordbury, aged 69, Nicholas Segar Parry, esq.

— Aged 30, Henry Neele, esq. solicitor. He was found dead in his bed. He had on the previous day exhibited symptoms of derangement, and put an end to his own life. He was son of the late, and brother of the present Mr. Neele, eminent map and heraldic engravers in the Strand, and was born, Jan. 20, 1798. He was educated at a school in Kentish Town, which he left with an imperfect knowledge of Greek and Latin, but capable of reading and enjoying the best French authors; and he afterwards acquired, by his own unassisted efforts, some acquaintance with Italian literature. He early evinced a taste for lyrical poetry; and, at the age of nineteen, his father indulged him by printing, at his own expense, his first publication entitled "Odes, and other Poems." On quitting school, Mr. Neele was articled to an attorney; and did not neglect the opportunities afforded him of obtaining experience in his profession. He subsequently practised as a solicitor in Great Blenheim-street. In 1821 his odes and Poems were reprinted, and in 1823 he published another volume of "Poems, Dramatic and Miscellaneous." He became a frequent contributor to various periodical publications; and was engaged as editor to the annual entitled "Friendship's Offering." In 1819 Mr. Neele composed a series of Lectures on the works of Shakspeare, and, going to Stratford in the company of Mr. Britton, the architectural antiquary, he read one of them in the town-hall of that place. In the winter of 1826 Mr. Neele completed a series of Lectures on the English Poets, from Chaucer to the present period. These he read at the Russell, and afterward at the Western, Institutions. At the close of last year appeared his "Romance of History," in three volumes, dedicated to the King, which embraces tales of every age, from the Conquest to the Rebellion; and each tale is introduced by a Chronological summary of the events.

9. At Ashley Park, Dame Frances Sophia Fletcher. She was the fourth daughter of Thomas Vaughan, of Woodstone, Linc. esq. and was married March 19th 1801, to sir Henry Fletcher, second bart. of Clea-hall, Cumberland, by whom she was mother of sir Henry, the present bart. one other son, and

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two daughters, both deceased. Sir Henry died August 10, 1821.

11. In command of his Majesty's sloop, Zebra, commander Chas. Cotton, second son of the late adm. sir. Charles Cotton, bart.

12. At Rome, dowager lady Page Turner. She was Frances, daughter of Joseph Howell, esq. of Elm, in Norfolk, was married in 1785, and was mother of the present sir Gregory O.P. Turner, and several other children. She was left a widow in 1805.

13. In Lancaster-court, Strand, Charles Anthony Delpini, the author of several dramatic works, and many years ago the best clown of his day at both the principal theatres; and also stage-manager of the Opera-house. He was a caterer not only for the public amusements, but likewise for the diversions of his present Majesty; when young, having got up, for the Prince of Wales's entertainment, that grand festival, or rather masquerade, at the Pantheon, called *La Fiera di Venezia*, in celebration of the Prince's attaining the age of majority. Delpini made no provision for the future, and did not even subscribe to the theatrical fund; so that he was laid on a bed of sickness for some years, afflicted with a complication of disorders, without any resource but the occasional relief derivable from a few friends. His present Majesty, about six years ago, was graciously pleased to send him the sum of 200*l*.

14. At Ryde, Isle of Wight, Mary-Ann, wife of lieut.-gen. Pare, and daughter of the late Edw. Younge, of Durnford-house, Wilts.

16. At the President's Lodge, St. John's college, Oxford, in the 70th year of his age, the rev. Michael Marlow, D.D. president of that society, rector of Handborough, Oxfordshire, and Prebendary of Canterbury. He was the only son of the rev. Michael Marlow, M. A. and was born near London, in Nov. 1758. He was educated at Merchant-tailors school; from which he was elected to a scholarship at St. John's college, in the eighteenth year of his age. He was admitted actual fellow in 1779; took the degree of B. A. April 5th 1780, that of M. A. Feb. 11th 1784, and became B. D. April 1789, being the Vicar of St. Giles's, in the suburbs of Oxford, and public tutor of the college. In March, 1795, he was unanimously elected Presi-

dent of St. John's, and presented by the society to the rectory of Handborough, near Woodstock. He took the degree of D. D. March 24th 1795; he served the office of vice-chancellor of the University during four years, namely, from Michaelmas term 1796, to the same term 1802, having been nominated by the late chancellor, the duke of Portland, by whose recommendation he was preferred to a prebendal stall in Canterbury in 1808. He was nominated one of the select preachers of the University in 1805, and again in 1817; he was likewise a delegate of accounts, one of the commissioners of Sewers, and, in conjunction with the present dean of Exeter, curator of the Sheldonian Theatre.

18. At a very advanced age, Leopold Frederick Gunther, von Göekingk, a poet of considerable reputation in Germany, although his name is not very familiar in this country. His forte lay chiefly in lyrical and epistolary compositions; and as the one are marked by feeling, so are the other by powerful satire.

20. At Oxford, Mr. Thos. Plowman, architect, eldest son of Mr. Plowman, builder, of that city. At sixteen years of age, he received a medal from the society of Arts, for an original design for a Gothic cathedral. Excited by the reward, he was equally successful in designs for houses in Greek architecture; after which he obtained the distinguished notice of sir J. Wyattville, and spent some time in his office. He subsequently returned to his native town, to join his father. The alterations &c. in the University church opened the field for competition, and he carried away the prize, from a numerous list of candidates.

22. At Warsaw, aged 72, general Fanshawe. He was by birth an Englishman, and had attained the rank of colonel in the British army before entering the service of Russia, during the reign of the empress Catherine II. In the year 1785. He was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general by Paul, in 1800, and was appointed in the same year general-in-chief and governor-general of Kieff. By the emperor Alexander he was removed to the government of the Crimea, and obtained from both emperors several decorations. In 1812 he served as a volunteer under the duke of Wurtemberg at the blockade of Dantsic, and, at the termination of



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the campaign, he returned to St. Petersburg, where he was named a senator, and received an *arrende* in consideration of his long services.

23. In Ely Place, after only two days illness, aged 50, Oliver Hatch, esq., treasurer to the city of London National schools, chairman to the houseless poor, and a captain of the hon. Artillery company. Mr. Hatch was well known to his fellow-citizens, as a supporter of many charitable societies, both by pecuniary aid and personal attendance. At the National schools, a special meeting was convened on the 3rd of March, for expressing the sentiments of the subscribers on the occasion. The bishop of London took the chair, and in the presence of alderman Thompson, M. P. vice-patron, John Capel, esq. M.P. president, the right hon. the lord Mayor, the bishop of Chester, bishop of Landaff, and a very numerous assemblage of the vice-presidents and committee, it was "resolved unanimously, that having witnessed the zeal and energy manifested by the late treasurer, Oliver Hatch, esq., in the establishment and extension of these schools, and knowing how much his judicious and unremitting exertions have contributed to their usefulness and prosperity, this meeting feel it to be a sacred and melancholy duty to pay a tribute of respect to his memory, by recording their grateful appreciation of his long and valuable services, together with their deep sense of the loss which this institution has suffered by his sudden and lamented death."

24. At Armitage Park, his seat in Staffordshire, Thomas Lister, esq. LL.D., many years a magistrate for that county. Mr. Lister was the second son of Nathaniel Lister, esq. of Armitage Park, many years member for the borough of Clitheroe, and uncle of the late lord Ribblesdale. Mr. Lister was distinguished from his boyhood by an early maturity of talent. A congeniality of poetical taste, and the circumstance of being at the same school, led to an intimate youthful friendship with Mr. Cary, the deservedly celebrated translator of Dante. The rising abilities of the two young poets strongly attracted the attention of Miss Seward, and are adverted to in several of her published letters. In 1796, after he had quitted the University of Cambridge, Mr. Lister, published his first work, "the Mirror for Princes," addressed in

a tone of powerful expostulation to an Illustrious Personage. In 1798 he published "Opposition dangerous," a political pamphlet of force and ability. After leaving the University, Mr. Lister (his elder brother being then alive) applied himself to the study of civil law; and he was admitted to the degree of doctor in June, 1802. Shortly afterwards, a severe domestic affliction, joined to ill health, obliged him to suspend for a while his legal pursuits; and, the necessity for a profession soon ceasing to exist, he was ultimately induced to abandon them entirely. In 1803, during the short peace of Amiens, Mr. Lister went for the benefit of his health to Lisbon; but he returned shortly after the sudden renewal of the war in the May of that year. From the period of his return to the time of his death, Mr. Lister resided chiefly at his seat in Staffordshire. Mr. Lister married, first Harriet, daughter of John Searle, esq. of the county of Devon, who died, leaving one son; secondly, in 1805, Mary, daughter of William Grove, esq. of the county of Warwick, by whom he had one son and three daughters, the eldest of whom is married to her relative the present lord Ribblesdale.

24 At Oaken, near Wolverhampton, in her 80th year, the hon. Frances, relict of major-gen. sir John Wrottesley, bart. M. P. for county Stafford; eldest sister to the dowager countess Rosslyn, and aunt to visc. Courtenay, the late lady Charles Somerset, the countess of Lisbon, lady Geo. Thynne, the countess of Mountnorris, the late lady Robert Somerset, &c. She was the third daughter of William first viscount Courtenay, by lady Frances Finch, daughter of the second earl of Aylesford. Her ladyship was a maid of honour to Queen Charlotte, and was married to sir John Wrottesley, June 7, 1770, who died in 1787, and by whom she had the present bart. four other sons, and four daughters.

— At Litchfield, Miss Lister, paugther of the late N. Lister, esq. M. P. for Clitheroe.

— At Armitage, aged 74, Robert Harvey, esq.

25 At Maidenhead, G. S. Knight, of the Imperial order of St. Vladimir, and lieut. first Life Guards.

— At Blackheath, aged 81, Ma y, relict of gen. Davies, royal art.

27. In Weymouth-street, aged 76,

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W. Lowndes, esq. for twenty-five years first commissioner for the affairs of taxes.

28. In Maddox-street, aged 42, Magdalene, wife of capt. sir C. Malcolm, R. N.

— At her house at Chiswick, aged 85, the right hon. Jane countess Macartney, great aunt to the marquis of Bute. She was the second daughter of John the third earl of Bute, by Mary only daughter of Edward Montague Wortley, esq. and lady Mary Pierpoint, daughter of Evelyn first Duke of Kingston. Lady Jane Stuart was married to sir George, afterwards earl, Macartney, February 1st, 1768, and had no children. His lordship died in 1806.

— In his 55th year, Mr. John Evans, author of the “Chronological Outline of the History of Bristol,” and formerly editor, at various times, of different newspapers in that city. His death was occasioned by the accident at the Brunswick theatre, [see *Chronicle* p. 20.] with the proprietor of which (Mr. Maurice, another of the sufferers on that occasion) he was about to enter into some engagement in his printing concern.

— At Rome, lady Charlotte Stopford.

*Lately.* At Parry Hall, aged 84, John Gough, esq. he was the only surviving son of Walter Gough, esq. by his first cousin Mary daughter and sole heiress of John Hunt, of Winson Green, esq. Walter Gough, esq. was son of the gentleman of the same name, and first cousin to Richard Gough, esq. the celebrated antiquary. The deceased married his cousin Eleanor-Martha, daughter of Thomas Mytton, of Shipton near Wenlock, esq. and by that lady, who died in 1783, had one son John and two daughters.

At New York, aged 88, George de Witt Clinton, governor of that state. He was born at New York 1740, and was the youngest son of Samuel Clinton, then British governor there. He was educated for the bar, in which profession he continued till the commencement of the revolution in 1775. On the declaration of the independence of America, he took an active part in forming a constitution for the state of New York; and in 1787 was elected governor, in which office he continued till 1795, when he retired on account of ill-health, but was again elected in 1801. After that period he was also elected vice president of the Union.

*Lately.* In Bedford-square, the hon. M. Nolan, King's counsel, and chief justice of the Brecon circuit. Mr. Nolan was a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, and was author of the following professional works. Reports of Cases relating to the Duty and Office of a Justice of the Peace, from Michaelmas Term, 1791, to Trinity Term, 1792, 2 parts, royal 8vo. 1793.—Strange's Reports of Adjudged Cases in the Courts of Chancery, King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, 3rd edit. with notes and references, 3 vols. royal 8vo. 1795.—Syllabus of a Course of Lectures on the Laws of England, intended to be delivered in pursuance of an order of the Society of Lincoln's Inn, in their Hall, 1796, 8vo.—A Treatise on the Laws of England for the Settlement and Relief of the Poor, 2 vols. 8vo. 1805, 2nd edit. with considerable additions, 1808.

In the south-west part of Russia, the rev. Arthur Young, of Bradfield Hall, Suffolk. This gentleman was the only son of the late celebrated Arthur Young, esq. F.R.S., Secretary to the Board of Agriculture. He took the degree of B.A. at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1793, and soon after taking orders, obtained preferment in Suffolk. He compiled for the Board of Agriculture in 1807 a General Report on Inclosures; and in 1808 the Survey of the Agriculture of Sussex. Soon after the peace he published a declaration in the newspapers, saying that he had purchased lands in the Crimea, where no tax-gatherer is seen, and inviting his countrymen to emigrate with him to that blissful region. He was on his return through Russia from selling this tract of country (said to amount to nine thousand acres), when his death occurred. It is supposed to have been occasioned by the fatigue and exhaustion he experienced from travelling.

At East Lodge, Brighton, aged 64, the hon. William Frederick Wyndham, youngest brother to the earl of Egremont. He was born April 6, 1763, the fourth son and youngest child of Charles the late and second earl of Egremont, by the hon. Almeria Carpenter, only daughter of George second lord Carpenter, and sister to George earl of Tyrconnel. His father being then Secretary of State, and his mother lady of the Queen's Bedchamber, both their Majesties were sponsors at his baptism. He was for some years minister at Florence.

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At Chelsea, aged 54, Mr. John Scott, the celebrated engraver of animals. He was a native of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and was there apprenticed to Mr. Greenwell, a tallow chandler in the Old Flesh-market. His graphic genius did not discover itself very early; but, towards the end of his apprenticeship, he began to evince a great attachment to drawing and engraving. Having for some time pursued these employments at his leisure hours, he at length was emboldened to show his performances to Mr. Fisher, who kept a circulating library, and was also clerk to St. Nicholas's church. Mr. Fisher exhibited the specimens to the gentlemen who frequented his library, and was confirmed in his estimation of the talents of the untaught artist. Mr. Scott, at the recommendation of his friend, addressed Mr. Robert Pollard, the engraver, who approved of his coming to London, and, in consideration of his circumstances, and of his being a townsman (for Mr. Pollard was also born at Newcastle), waived his claim to a fee, and immediately gave him instruction and employment. The opportunities he enjoyed with Mr. Pollard of attending to the particular branch of the art to which he had addicted himself, namely the engraving of animals and figures, led the way to his high reputation. His principal works were the various characters of dogs and horses, published in royal quarto, with letter-press descriptions of the qualities and properties of the animals. But his master-pieces were the fox-chase from Reinagle and Marshall's painting, and the death of the fox, from a picture by Gilpin, the property of the late colonel Thornton. In his private character, Mr. Scott was distinguished by unaffected plainness, scrupulous integrity, and general worth. He was one of the eight artists who met together in the year 1809-10 to frame the artist's fund for the benefit of decayed artists, their widows, and children; and it is a pleasing instance of benevolence returning into its own bosom (and several such instances have occurred in the similar society of the literary fund), that Mr. Scott himself found assistance in the hour of need, from the institution he had contributed to establish. Some years before his death he fell into ill

health, and subsequently lost his reason. He left a widow, one son, and eight or nine daughters, all arrived at maturity.

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2. At Bodlende, Carn. aged 78, Abraham Mills, esq. F. R. S. late one of the respective officers of his Majesty's Ordnance Department, Dublin. He contributed to the Philosophical Transactions, in 1790, a paper "On the Strata and Volcanic Appearances in the North of Ireland and Western Islands of Scotland;" and, in 1796, "A Mineralogical Account of the Native Gold lately discovered in Ireland."

— At Tredegar-park, Arthur, fifth son of gen. Mundy, cousin to lord Rodney, and brother to Mrs. Morgan, of Ruperra.

— At the Bermuda Naval Hospital, aged 50, capt. James Kearney White, of his Majesty's ship Tyne. His remains were followed to the grave by adm. sir Charles Ogle, bart. and the other officers on the station.

5. At Woodhay House, Robert Orby Sloper, esq. son of late gen. sir Robert Sloper, K. B.

7. At Steeple Ashton Vicarage, aged 78, Martha, wife of Richard Hey, esq. of Hertingfordbury, near Hertford, and daughter of Thomas Browne, esq. Garter King at arms, of Camfield-place, Essenden.

8. At the Studhouse, Hampton Court, Charlotte, youngest daughter of lord Bloomfield.

— At Balham, aged 92, George Wolff, esq. formerly Danish Consul-general.

— At Kensington, aged 12, J. Croker Bond, son of the dean of Ross, and nephew to the secretary of the Admiralty.

— At Bath, Miss Philips, youngest daughter of the late gen. Philips, of Philipsburgh, New York, and aunt to vis. Strangford.

9. At Spring-garden-terrace, aged 77, Charles Bicknell, esq. He held for upwards of thirty years the office of solicitor to the Admiralty and Navy.

— At Fulham, at a very advanced age, lieut. gen. sir Alan Cameron, K.C.B. colonel of the 79th or Cameron Highlanders. In the American war he exerted himself enthusiastically in his

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country's cause. Unfortunately, however, when on detached service, he was taken prisoner of war, and immured, vindictively, for nearly two years, in the common gaol of Philadelphia, under the plea that he had been engaged in exciting the native tribes in favour of Great Britain. In attempting to escape from this confinement, sir Alan had both his ankles broken and shattered, and he never perfectly recovered from the painful effects of those injuries. Sir Alan was subsequently placed upon half-pay as a provincial officer, but, aroused by the alarms and dangers of 1793, he, principally by his personal influence over the minds of the Highlanders, in little more than three months, raised the 79th, or Cameron Highlanders. In accomplishing this, no burthen was thrown upon the public. Sir Alan Cameron defrayed the whole expense out of his own private funds, no bounty-money whatever having been drawn from government; his officers, also, were taken from the half-pay list, nor was any promotion upon that occasion allowed. In August that year, sir Alan was appointed major-commandant of this his clan regiment, and, in January, 1794, lieutenant-col. commandant of the same. At the head of his regiment, during the latter year, he joined the army in the Netherlands, under the late duke of York. In 1795 sir Alan proceeded to the West Indies, then powerfully menaced. Very severe losses were there sustained by his regiment, and he had the mortification of seeing the remnant of his corps draughted chiefly into the 42nd regiment. Sir Alan, therefore, returned home. He was immediately commissioned to raise the Cameron Highlanders anew, which he accomplished in little more than six months, notwithstanding the advanced period of the war. In 1799 sir Alan again served with his regiment on the continent, under his royal highness the late duke of York. In the battle of Bergen-op-Zoom, sir Alan was twice severely wounded. In 1800 sir Alan Cameron served in the expeditions to Ferrol, Cadiz, &c.; and, in 1801, at the head of his brave men, he shared the dangers and glories of Alexandria, and endured the hardships and perils of the Egyptian campaign. In 1804 sir Alan and the officers of his regiment, in the course of only a few

months, and solely by recruiting, raised a strong 2nd battalion of eight hundred rank and file for general service. He was rewarded, in consequence, with the rank of colonel, on the 1st of January, 1805. In the descent upon Zealand, sir Alan, by the order of lord Cathcart, took military possession of Copenhagen, at the head of the flank companies of the army. In 1808, sir Alan accompanied sir John Moore, as brigadier-general, on the expedition to Sweden; and in 1808, to the Peninsula. Advancing from Portugal with reinforcements, he was placed in a most critical situation by the sudden retreat to Corunna; nevertheless, he succeeded, in marching his force, which had been considerably augmented on its route by convalescents and stragglers, in safety to Lisbon. At the battle of Talavera, sir Alan had two horses shot under him, when he took post by the colours of one of the regiments of his brigade. The action at Busaco was the last in which sir Alan Cameron was engaged. He commanded a brigade of which his own regiment formed part; extreme ill health then compelled him to retire from the active service of his country for ever. On the 25th of July, 1810, sir Alan was appointed a major-general; after the peace, a K.C.B.; and on the 12th of August, 1819, he was made a lieutenant-general. A great sufferer in body from severe infirmities contracted by continued exposures and fatigues on service, sir Alan, nevertheless, lived to an advanced age. But he was doomed to see his family drop around him—his youngest son, when his aide-de-camp, early in the Peninsular campaign, from privations and fatigues—his eldest, when leading on the immediate advance of the British army at Fuentes d'Onor—his nephew and his orphan grandson, from the baneful effects of West India service. The former, when holding only the rank of lieutenant, bravely led on the Cameron Highlanders at the battle of Waterloo, after all his superior officers had been either killed or wounded. Of his own immediate male kindred, sir Alan left only one son, lieutenant-col. Cameron, who, until the close of the war, when the corps was disbanded, commanded the 2nd battalion of the Cameron Highlanders, and who followed to the grave the remains of his veteran parent.

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11. At Ellerbeek, aged 70, John Hodson, esq. who represented the Borough of Wigan in five successive parliaments, from 1802 to 1820.

— At Bath, Simon Kelly, esq.

12. Aged 72, William Stretton, esq. of Lenton Priory.

15. At her son-in-law's sir William Wyna, Bath, Mrs. Long, widow of col. Charles Long, formerly of Tubney Lodge, Berks.

— At Mitcham-grove, aged 72, Henry Hoare, esq. Banker, of Fleet-street, and cousin to sir Richard Colt Hoare, of Stourhead, Wilts, bart.

— At Bruges, in his 52nd year, after enduring for many years great bodily sufferings, Benjamin Sydenham, esq. formerly a Commissioner of the Board of Excise.

17. In London, aged 87, Walter Wilkins, esq. of Wallsworth-house, Gloucestershire, and Maeslough-hall, Radnorshire, and for thirty-two years M.P. for the latter county.

— Aged 72, Hannah, relict of capt. Brandreth, R.N.

— At Tynninghame, in East Lothian, aged 74, the right hon. Charles Hamilton, eighth earl of Haddington and lord Binning and Byres. His lordship was born July 5th 1753, the eldest and only surviving son of Thomas the fifth earl, by his first wife Mary, daughter of Rowland Holt, of Redgrave in Suffolk, esq. and widow of Mr. Lloyd. On the 30th of April 1779, he married lady Sophia Hope, third daughter of John second earl of Hopetoun, and aunt to the present earl. He succeeded to his father's titles, May 19, 1794. In 1804 he was appointed lord lieutenant of the county of Haddington, and he retained that office until 1823, when the marquis of Tweeddale was appointed on his resignation. In 1807 he was elected a representative peer of North Britain; but he sat for only one parliament, to the dissolution in 1812. His lordship was not a political character; although his son lord Binning (lately raised to the British peerage by the title of lord Melrose, and now earl of Haddington) took, for many years, an active part in public affairs. The Earl was greatly addicted to agriculture, and much improved and embellished his patrimonial possessions. On his estate at Tynninghame, he planted upwards of one thousand acres of timber, which flourishes almost to the sea-beach. By lady

Haddington, who died in 1813, his lordship had no other child but his successor before-mentioned: and who, by lady Maria Parker, whom he married in 1802, has no family.

18. At Paris, the rev. Edward Forster, M.A., F.R. and A.S. chaplain to the British Embassy at Paris, rector of Somerville Aston in Gloucestershire, and chaplain to the duke of Newcastle, and to the earl of Bridgwater. He was of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, M.A. 1797; and was editor of the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, embellished with engravings from pictures by Smirke, 1802, 5 vols. 8vo.; *Anacreontis Opera*, 1802, 8vo.; the *British Gallery of Engravings*, with descriptions, super royal folio, published in numbers in 1808, and the following years; also of *Jarvis's Quixote*, *Hamilton's Tales*, and other works.

20. At a friend's house, near Maidstone, rear-adm. John Bazeley. He was the son of admiral Bazeley, who commanded the *Alfred*, of 74 guns, in the battle of June 1, 1794; he participated in the action, being at that time third lieutenant of the *Royal George*. His post commission bore date November 11, 1794; and his superannuation took place July 9, 1814. The admiral's son, the rev. Mr. Bazeley, had brought an action, to be tried at the Kent Assizes, against a Mr. Thompson, for a libel. The admiral and his lady were subpoenaed as witnesses against their son, which distressed them greatly; and an anonymous letter received by the admiral so excited his feelings, that he put an end to his existence. The coroner's verdict was "temporary derangement."

21. At Gibraltar, Thomas Sidney Beckwith, capt. Rifle Brigade, and only son of major-gen. sir Thomas Sidney Beckwith.

— At Blackheath, aged 68, Margaret, wife of John Hertshorne, esq.

— James street, Buckingham-gate, John Henry Bates, esq. late of Brighton, deputy lieut. for Sussex, and formerly capt. 2nd Life Guards.

— At Stoketon House, near Saltash, the hon. Mrs. De Courcy, relict of hon. Michael De Courcy, admiral of the Blue. Her maiden name was Miss Catherine de Lisle, and she was married March 10, 1801.

24. In Serle street, Anne Laurence, wife of Horace Twiss, esq. M.P.

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24. At Cheltenham, aged 72, lieutenant. Trapaud, Madras Eng.

25. Park street, Grosvenor-square, George Hatton, esq. examiner of Excise, Dublin.

— In Great Queen-street, Westminster, aged 24, William Flint, esq. eldest son of sir Charles William Flint.

25. Aged 67, lieutenant-general George Baron de Hocchepied, late colonel of the 103rd regiment, formerly M.P. for Stockbridge, and step-father to earl Grosvenor. This officer, whose name was general Porter, until he obtained in 1819 the royal license to assume the title of baron de Hocchepied (granted to his maternal great-grandfather in 1704, by the emperor Leopold I.), was son of sir James Porter, F.R.S. ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, and author of several works on the East. Col. Porter first sat in Parliament for Stockbridge in 1793, having been successful in petitioning to the House against the members who had been returned, sixty-three of the voters being reported guilty of bribery. He was re-elected without opposition at the seven following general elections in 1796, 1802, 1806, 1807, 1812, 1818, and 1820. He retired soon after the latter date. In September, 1802 he married the dowager countess Grosvenor, who died scarcely two months before him in the present year.

26. In Whitecross-street Prison, where he had been confined for two years, of dropsy occasioned by excessive drinking, William Dawson Moore, nephew to Peter Moore, esq. late M.P. for Coventry.

— Of a sudden attack of apoplexy, aged 53, colonel sir Charles Sutton, knight commander of the Bath and of the Portuguese order of the Tower and Sword. He was the eldest son of the late admiral Evelyn Sutton, of Screveton, near Bingham, and nephew to Mrs. Manners Sutton, the lady of the archbishop of Canterbury.

28. In Grosvenor-square aged 65, George Manners, esq., of Bloxholm, in Lincolnshire, second son of the late lord Robert Manners, half brother of John third duke of Rutland, K.G. and only brother of gen. Robert Manners, M.P. for Cambridge.

— At Marseilles, aged 48, Richard Clark Downer, esq. late of Berbice.

— In Bengal, John Thurlow, eldest

son of John Reade, esq. of Ipsden House, Oxfordshire.

29. At Rome, the right hon. sir William Drummond, of Logie Almond, North Britain, knight of the Crescent, a privy councillor, and Fellow of the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh; formerly His Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of the Two Sicilies. Sir William was well known as an author, and a profound and elegant scholar. His first work, published in 1794, was "A Review of the Governments of Sparta and Athens," large 8vo. At the close of 1795, he was returned to parliament on a vacancy in the representation of the borough of St. Mawes; and in the two following parliaments, which met in 1796 and 1801, he sat for Lostwithiel. At the time of his second election he was Envoy-extraordinary at the Court of Naples. In 1798 he published in 8vo. "The Satires of Persius, translated;" which happened to appear about the same time as the translation of the same poet by Mr. Gifford, the late editor of the Quarterly Review. In 1801, being ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, Mr. Drummond was honoured with the order of the Crescent, which was confirmed by license in the London Gazette, Sept. 8, 1803. In 1805 Sir William published in 4to. "Academical Questions;" in 1810, in association with Robert Walpole, esq. "Herculanensia; or Archaeological and Philological Dissertations;" containing a MS. found among the ruins of Herculaneum," 4to; in 1811 an "Essay on a Punic Inscription found in the Isle of Malta," royal 4to; in 1818 "Odin, a poem," 4to; and in 1824 "Origines; or, Remarks on the Origin of several Empires, States, and Cities," 2 vols. 8vo. Sir William also printed, but not for sale, a work entitled "Œdipus Judaicus." In this an attempt was made to consider certain of the histories and other parts of the Old Testament as allegories,—some of them as astronomical allegories. It elicited an answer from Dr. D'Oyley, under the title of "Letters to the right hon. Sir William Drummond, in defence of particular passages of the Old Testament against his late work entitled "Œdipus Judaicus."

30. At Kilkenny, aged 23, ensign J. W. F. Prettejohn, eldest son of John Prettejohn, esq. of Hare Hatch, Berke.

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31. At Shrewsbury, aged 34, Mr. James Parkes, drawing-master, in which profession he was highly esteemed; and son of Mr. David Parkes. Some time back he amused himself with copying scarce Shropshire portraits, in pen and ink, which he intended to have etched, in imitation of the drawings; had they been done in that style they would have been very valuable acquisitions to the collectors of rare portraits. He etched several plates of ancient buildings in and near Shrewsbury.

*Lately.* At Florence, the count Demidoff. He left to his two sons an income of 240,000*l.* a year, besides one million sterling in moveable property. A troop of comedians, which he had engaged from Paris, was amply provided for by the count's testament.

At Forres, capt. J. Grant, of the Royal Invalids. Capt. Grant was the last male representative of the ancient family of Dalrachney, in Strathspey, and one of the oldest officers in his Majesty's service. He entered the army in 1755, as lieut. in the 42nd Highland reg.

Together with a brother officer and his boat's crew, whilst surveying a sunken rock at the back of the Island of Jersey, aged 20, Mr. Richard Braithwaite Hall, midshipman of his Majesty's cutter *Sylvia*, and late of his Majesty's ship *Albion*, second son of Benjamin Edward Hall, esq. of Paddington.

*Lately.* At Bath, the recorder of Dublin, sir Jonas Greene.

APRIL:

4. At Inveresk Manor-house, near Edinburgh, Steuart Boone Inglis, esq. formerly of the King's German Legion, and only son of the late capt. John Inglis, R. N. and of the ancient house of the Inglis's of Cramond, N. B. He married first Mary Barrett, eldest daughter of E. J. Curteis, esq. M. P. for Sussex, who died in childbirth of her first child, and secondly Charlotte Sholto, youngest daughter of the late sir James Halkett, bart. of Pitferran, Fifeshire, and widow of major-general Pringle.

6. Aged 66, W. Moore, esq. He married Mary-Anne, daughter of the late sir Chas. Price, bart.

— In Piccadilly, the lady Cope.

6. In Hertford-street, Miss F. Pigot, daughter of the late adm. Pigot, and sister to lady Henry Fitz-Roy.

7. At Cholmondeley-house, Piccadilly, aged 16 months, Marcia Charlotte Emma, eldest daughter of lord Henry Cholmondeley.

— Aged 67, Charles Conolly, esq. of Mitford castle, Somersetshire, and near relative of the late right hon. Thos. Conolly, of Castletown, near Dublin.

— At Kingthorp-house, near Pickering, Yorkshire, in his 78th year, Thos. Lloyd, esq. a deputy lieutenant for the West Riding, and many years colonel commandant of the Leeds volunteer infantry.

— At his house in Grosvenor-street, aged 77, the right hon. John Joshua Proby, first earl of Carysfort, and second lord Carysfort, of Carysfort, county Wicklow, in the Peerage of Ireland; first lord Carysfort of Norman's Cross, in Huntingdonshire; K. P., a privy-councillor, and joint guardian of the rolls in Ireland, LL.D. F.R.S. F.S.A. M.R.I.A. &c. His lordship was born August 12, 1751, the only son of sir John Proby, K. B. afterwards lord Carysfort (so created in 1752) by the hon. Elizabeth Allen, daughter of Joshua, second viscount Allen, and sister and coheirress of John, third visc. Allen. Lord Carysfort received his education at Westminster school and Trinity college, Cambridge, where he took the degree of M. A. in 1770, and proceeded LL.D. in 1811. Succeeding to the Irish peerage by the death of his father in 1772, he, for several years, took an active and distinguished part in the debates of that parliament. On the 19th of March, 1774, his lordship was married to his first lady, Elizabeth, only daughter of the right hon. sir William Osborn, of Newtown, county Tipperary, bart. In 1779 lord Carysfort was elected a fellow of the Royal Society; and in 1780 he appeared as an author and a reformer, in a pamphlet entitled "a Letter to the Huntingdonshire Committee, to show the legality as well as necessity of extending the Right of Election to the whole body of the People, and for abridging the duration of Parliament." His lordship did not himself become a member of the British legislature until ten years after, although he had been nominated a candidate for the University of Cambridge, in 1779. He pursued his in-

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quiries in "Thoughts on the Constitution, with a view to the proposed Reform in the representation of the people, and the duration of Parliaments," 1783, 8vo. His lordship was invested a knight of the order of St. Patrick, March 5, 1784; and he was installed in the cathedral of St. Patrick, on the 17th of March in the following year. Having lost his first wife in 1783, lord Carysfort, by a second alliance, became connected with some powerful members of the administration. On the 12th of April, 1787, he was married to Elizabeth second daughter of the right hon. George Grenville, sister to lord Grenville, then secretary for the foreign department, and aunt to the present duke of Buckingham and Chandos. In 1789 he was appointed guardian and keeper of the rolls in Ireland; and, on the 18th of August, in the same year, he was created earl of Carysfort. He was first elected to the English House of Commons in January, 1790, on a vacancy in the borough of East Looe. At the general election in that year, he was returned for Stamford, of which place he continued one of the representatives in that and the following Parliament, until called to the British House of Lords by the title of baron Carysfort, of the hundred of Norman's Cross, in the county of Huntingdon, Jan. 13, 1801. On the 24th of May, 1800, he was appointed his Majesty's ambassador at the court of Berlin, and in 1801 he filled the same high situation at the Russian metropolis. In 1806 he was appointed joint postmaster-general in England, which office he retained until the change of ministry in the following year. He was the author of two volumes of "Dramatic and Miscellaneous Poems," 1810, of considerable merit, and of "An Essay on the Improvement of the Mind," addressed to his children, and printed privately. The earl had by his first marriage three sons and two daughters: and by his second, one son and three daughters.

8. At Gloucester, aged 62, Edward Younge, esq. capt. and adj. of Royal South Gloucester Infantry, barrister-at-law.

9. In Bloomsbury-square, aged 63, the hon. John Herbert Harrington, late senior member of the supreme council, Bengal.

— At Warwick Hall, aged 43, Thos. Parker, esq. high sheriff of Cumberland.

11. At Tetbury, aged 36, Arabella, wife of capt. Dacres, R.N. and youngest daughter of general sir Hew Dalrymple, bart.

13. In the King's Bench prison, aged only 30, Joshua Paul Meredith, esq. whose death, as it appeared on an inquest, was occasioned by continual indulgence in spirituous liquors. He had been about three years a prisoner. The deceased was the gentleman whose name and person were sported with, under the title of captain Meredith, at that disgraceful scene called "the Mock Election," in this prison, and which Mr. Haydon, the artist, who was then a prisoner himself, made the subject of a profitable exhibition picture. That picture has recently been purchased by his Majesty for 500*l*.

14. Suddenly, in his 82nd year, the hon. Philip Pusey, great-uncle by half-blood to the earl of Radnor; and only surviving son of sir Jacob Bouverie, by his second marriage, with Elizabeth eldest daughter of Robert first lord Romney. He assumed the name of Pusey, in 1784, on acceding to the estates of that family, at Pusey in Berkshire.

15. In Portman-square, aged 78, Sarah countess Nelson. Her ladyship was daughter of the rev. Henry Yonge, vicar of Great Torrington, Devon, (and cousin to Dr. Phillip Yonge, bishop of Norwich).

18. At his residence in Great Pulteney-street, Bath, aged 93, sir John Trevelyan, fourth baronet of Nettlecombe in Somersetshire, and formerly M. P. for that county. He was the only son of sir George the third baronet, by Julia, only daughter of sir Walter Calverley, of Calverley in Yorkshire, bart. Sir John was born at Esholt, in the parish of Guiseley, Yorkshire, Feb. 6, 1734-5. He was a member of New College, Oxford, where he was created M. A. July 6th 1757. On the 28th of December, 1768, he succeeded his father in the title and estates. He first entered Parliament in 1777, on the death of his uncle sir Walter Blackett, as member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne, after a severe contest with the notorious adventurer, Andrew R. Bowes. At the next general election in 1780, he was chosen knight of the shire for the county of Somerset; and he was returned in the same capacity at the two following elections in 1784 and 1790. After the dissolution in 1796 he never sat in Parliament.



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### DEATHS.—APRIL.

19. At Iffley, Oxfordshire, aged 73, Wm. Nowell, esq. vice-admiral of the blue; second son of Cradock Nowell, of Ice Mawr, Glamorganshire, and nephew of the late rev. Dr. Nowell, principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford.

21. At Wrockwardine, county Salop, aged 73, the rev. Joshua Gilpin, M.A.

— At Paris, the duc de Rivière, governor of the young duke of Bordeaux and one of the most devoted servants of the Bourbons. He was born of a noble family in the year 1763; and, in 1780, entered the army. He emigrated with the French princes in 1789; and, after having served in the army of Condé, became first aide-de-camp to the present king of France, by whom he was employed on various missions to the royalists of the west. He entered France seven times in disguise, to correspond with the friends of the royal cause; but, unfortunately, in 1804, having been sent to Paris, with the generals George and Pichegru, he was arrested with those officers, tried, and sentenced to death. His punishment was afterwards mitigated into an imprisonment of four years. When Louis 18th. was restored, Mons. de Rivière, was appointed a mareschal de camp, made a commander of the order of St. Louis, and nominated ambassador to the Ottoman Porte. He was waiting at Marseilles for a favourable wind, when Bonaparte landed from Elba, and, having exerted himself to the utmost in raising the south of France against the usurper, he sailed to Barcelona, and joined the duc d'Angoulême. In July, Monsieur de Rivière returned to Marseilles, on board of the British squadron, as governor of the eighth division, and was received with acclamations by the inhabitants. On the re-establishment of the Bourbons, he was elevated to the peerage. The duc de Rivière was then sent, as governor, to Corsica. Thence he proceeded on his mission to Constantinople, where he for a considerable time held the office of ambassador. After his return to France, the duc de Rivière had the honour of being appointed governor to the duke of Bordeaux.

— Samuel S. Boddington, son of S. Boddington, esq. of Upper Brook-street.

— In Bedford-row, aged 28, Allan Sandys, esq. of the Inner Temple, 2nd son of col. Sandys, of Lanarth, Cornwall.

21. Aged 34, lady Harriet Finch, sister to the earl of Aylesford.

22. In Grosvenor-square, aged 81, Mrs. Benyon.

— In Parliament-place Westminster, Harriet Mary, wife of James Fulman, esq. F. S. A. Portcullis Pursuivant of Arms.

26. In his 70th year, John Abbott, esq. elder and only brother of Lord Tenterden. He was a merchant in London, and married in 1785 his first cousin Susan, daughter of James Abbott, esq. of Canterbury, by whom he has left two sons and two daughters.

27. At York Gate, Regent's Park, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of rear-admiral Robert Waller Otway, K.C.B.—commander-in-chief in South America.

28. At Oldland Common, Bitton, aged 108, Samuel Haynes. He left a widow two years older than himself; also four daughters, all widows; and twenty-two grandchildren, twenty-nine great-grandchildren, and two great-great-grandchildren.

30. At Sea, Horatio Paget, midshipman of H. M. S. Talbot, and nephew of the marquis of Anglesey. He was third son of rear-adm. the hon. sir Chas. Paget, K. C. B.

*Lately.* At the Royal Military college, Sandhurst, aged 95, col. James Butler, lieut.-governor of that establishment. This officer was appointed a cadet 1772: second lieutenant in the Royal Artillery 1776; first lieutenant 1779; captain 1785. He served at Gibraltar from Sept. 1785 to the same month in 1787; and from 1791 to 1793, was employed by the duke of Richmond, then master-general of the ordnance, in teaching the improved system of tactics, and during part of the latter year in forming and training the Sussex, militia. He attained the brevet rank of major in 1795; that of lieutenant-colonel in 1800; in 1801 a majority in the Royal Artillery; in 1802 the lieutenant-colonelcy of the Invalid Battalion of that corps; and in 1810 the brevet of colonel. He succeeded major-gen. le Marchant as lieut.-governor of the junior department of the Royal Military College, Aug. 20, 1811.

### MAY.

1. At Islington, aged 69, Mr. Henry White, well known to the literary world.

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as the proprietor of the Sunday paper called the "Independent Whig." He was tried, but acquitted, for a seditious libel November 1, 1811, having been previously confined for three years in Dorchester gaol, on account of his political writings.

3. At Highfield Park, aged 18, Albemarle, eldest son of the hon. Lindsey Burrell, grandson of lady Willoughby, and nephew to lord Gwydir and the countess of Clare.

5. At Abbeville, aged 76, Peter Moore, esq. for twenty-five years the representative of Coventry in parliament. He was the son of a respectable clergyman, and in early life went out to India, in the civil service of the East-India Company. He there made an ample fortune; and on his return he furnished to Burke and Sheridan important materials for their attack on Warren Hastings. He became, from this circumstance, connected with the leading members of the Whig opposition, and in 1796 engaged in an unsuccessful contest for the representation in parliament of the borough of Tewksbury. In 1802 he declared himself a candidate for the city of Coventry, joining interests with W. Wilberforce Bird, esq. The show of hands was in their favour; but capt. Barlow and Mr. Jeffreys were returned on a poll. A Committee of the House decided against the return of Mr. Jeffreys; and Mr. Moore, after another contest with a Mr. Stratton, was the successful candidate. He was re-elected for subsequent parliaments at comparatively little expense. He was an active promoter of various public works. He was much connected, in the years 1824 and 1825 with the projectors of new companies: and when the bubbles burst, he was so assailed by legal process from all sides, that he was compelled to fly to the continent. He first resided at Dieppe. He occupied himself in writing the memoirs of his own life and times, but his mind was much harassed by his reverses and his anxieties respecting the affairs in which he had been engaged in England. He left one son and two daughters.

9. In Upper Seymour-street, Matilda, wife of Thomas Campbell, esq. author of the "Pleasures of Hope" &c.

10. At Cambridge, aged 81, the rev. Thomas Kerrich, M.A. F.S.A. Principal librarian of that University, prebendary of the Cathedrals of Wells and Lincoln,

and vicar of Dersingham, Norfolk. He was of Magdalen College, Cambridge; and in 1771, having in that year taken the degree of B.A. with the rank of second Senior Optime, was elected one of Wort's Travelling Bachelors. He was at the same time tutor to Mr. John Petteward, Fellow Commoner of Trinity College, the eldest son of Dr. Roger Mortlock, alias Petteward, sometime a Fellow of that College, and afterwards chancellor of Chichester, who changed his name from Mortlock to Petteward on a very large fortune being left him by an uncle. Mr. Kerrich travelled with his pupil through France and the Low Countries, settled at Paris for six months, and at Rome for two years. In 1784 Mr. Kerrich was presented to the Vicarage of Dersingham by D. Hoste, esq. He proceeded M.A. in 1775, and about the same time was elected fellow of his College. In 1797 he was elected principal librarian. In 1798 he was presented by bishop Pretyma to the prebend of Stow Longa in the Cathedral of Lincoln, and in 1812, by bishop Beadon, to that of Shandford, in the Cathedral of Wells. In 18—Mr. Kerrich became a fellow of the society of Antiquaries; and, during the remainder of his life, he furnished several important articles to its *Archæologia*. The first of these was in 1809, "Some Observations on the Gothic Buildings abroad, particularly those in Italy; and on Gothic Architecture in general," printed in vol. xvi. pp. 292—325, illustrated by eighteen plates of sketches and sections of the cathedrals of Placentia, Modena, Parma, Milan, &c. In 1813 he communicated to the society an "Account of some lids of stone coffins discovered in Cambridge Castle in 1810," printed, with two plates, in vol. xvii. p. 228; and in 1824, "Observations upon some Sepulchral Monuments in Italy and France," printed in vol. xviii. pp. 186—196, accompanied by eight plates, either etched by Mr. Kerrich himself, or copied from his etchings. It was the sight of these and other specimens of Mr. Kerrich's skill in delineating monumental effigies, that induced the late Mr. C.A. Stothard, F.S.A. to undertake his beautiful work on those very interesting remains of ancient art, and undoubted authorities for the features and costumes of the mighty in former ages. The following is a list of the subjects etched by

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Mr. Kerrich, 1. Effigy of Peter Earl of Richmond, in the church of Aquabella in Savoy (two plates); 2. Peter de Aquabella, bishop of Hereford, in the same church; 3. Equestrian Statue of Bernabo Visconti, at Milan (several plates); 4. Monument of Matteo Visconti, at the same city; 5. Louis earl D'Evreux, in the church of the Dominicans at Paris; (all the preceding are in the *Archæologia*); 6. Charles earl of Anjou 1285; 7. Philip d'Artois, 1298; 8. Robert earl of Clermont, 1317; 9. Louis earl of Clermont, 1341; 10. Peter duke of Bourbon, slain at Poitiers 1356; and 11. Charles Earl of Valois, all from the Church of the Dominicans at Paris; 12. a Bishop at Pavia; 13. a Harsyck, from South Acre church, Norfolk; 14, 15, two portraits from paintings by B. Gozzoli.

11. In Southampton-row, Matty Wolff, wife of George Chilton, jun. esq. and sister of sir Edward Poore, bart. She was daughter of Edward Poore, esq. by Mathy-Anne, second daughter of George Wolff, esq. consul-gen. from Denmark; and was married June 19, 1823.

— The infant daughter of lord and lady Loughborough.

— Aged 66, the countess Maria-Justina, lady of the rev. count Reuss, and grand-daughter of the late count Zinzendorf.

12. At Boxley House, aged 77, the hon. Mrs. Eliz. Marsham, aunt to the earl of Romney. She was the second daughter of Robert second lord Romney, by Priscilla, daughter and heiress of Charles Pymm, esq. of St. Kitts.

— At Tidworth House, Hants, in his 78th year, Thomas Assheton Smith, esq. lord,-lieut. of Carnarvonshire, and formerly M.P. for that county.

— In Euston-square, in his 42nd year, Charles Grant, esq. of Wester Biches, county Moray, and Bembridge, Isle of Wight.

16. At Notting-hill, aged 44, Jane-Anna, wife of rev. Robert Boyer, last surviving daughter of gen. Robert Donkin, and sister to lieut.-gen. sir Rufane Donkin.

17. On board his Majesty's packet the duke of York, aged 44, his excellency sir Ralph James Woodford, second baronet of Carleby in Lincolnshire, and governor of Trinidad. He was the only son of sir Ralph the first baronet, formerly Minister-extraordinary at the

Court of Denmark. Sir James had been fifteen years Governor of Trinidad. His health being affected by so long a residence in a tropical atmosphere, he made a cruise to Jamaica for change of air and scene. But the remedy was not successful; and, quitting that island with an increase of alarming symptoms, his life terminated on his voyage home to his native country. Sir James was never married; and the baronetcy has become extinct.

19. At Hawchurch, in Dorsetshire, aged 74, sir William Domett, G.C.B. admiral of the White; formerly a lord of the Admiralty.

20. At Ceylon, aged 39, Henry Matthews, esq. Puisne judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature in that Island. Mr. Matthews was the fifth son of the late John Matthews, esq. of Belmont in Herefordshire; was educated at Eton, and afterwards became a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. In 1817 he left England for the Continent, on account of ill health, and on his return in 1819, published his "Diary." In the latter end of 1821, having been previously called to the bar, he was appointed Advocate-fiscal of Ceylon, and fulfilled the duties of that office with the warm and unqualified approbation of his Majesty's government till October 1827; when he was promoted to the Bench, on the vacancy occasioned by the death of sir Harding Giffard.

22. In Wimpole-street, lieut.-gen. Thomas Joseph Backhouse.

23. In Montague-square, col. Thomas M. Weguelin, E.I.C.S.

— Miss Grant, eldest sister of the right hon. Charles Grant.

— Ellen Emma, only daughter of John Ranking, esq.

— In Gloucester-place, Mary, relict of sir Wm. More, fifth and last bart. of More Hill, Lancashire.

24. At Dresden, aged 68, Charles Compton, first Marquess of Northampton, earl Compton, and baron Wilmington; ninth earl of Northampton; lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county, and recorder of the town of Northampton; and F.S.A. His lordship was born March 21, 1760, and was the only son of Spencer the eighth earl; his mother was the earl's first countess; Jane, daughter of Henry Lawson, esq. He was a nobleman of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took the degree

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of M.A. in 1779. At the general election in 1784, he was returned one of the Burgesses in parliament for the town of Northampton, and he continued its representative in that and the following parliament, until he succeeded to the earldom on the death of his father April 7, 1796. The remains of the marquess were brought to England, and deposited in the family vault at Castle Ashby in Northamptonshire.

25. In his 80th year, the rev. William Leves, rector of Wrington in Somersetshire, to which church he was presented in 1779 by Mr. and Mrs. Pulteney. This gentleman was the author of the favourite plaintive air of Auld Robin Gray. He composed it in the year 1770; but its author was not known until so late as 1812, when it appeared in a volume of Miscellaneous Songs, published by Birchall and Co. under the author's sanction, and dedicated to Mr. Hammarsley, the banker.

26. In Waterloo-road, Mr. James Jones, for many years proprietor of the Royal Circus, and founder of the Coburg Theatre.

— At Windsor, Eliz. wife of lieutenant. Bridger, C.B.

27. In London, aged 60, lieutenant-general the hon. Stephen Mahon, for more than thirty years lieutenant-colonel of the 7th dragoon guards, and formerly knight in parliament for the county of Roscommon; next brother and heir presumptive to lord Hartland; cousin to the earl of Mountcashel, the countess of Kingston, and lord Mount Sandford. He was first returned to parliament for the county of Roscommon in 1806; and was re-elected in 1807, 1812, 1818, and 1820. At the last election in 1826 the hon. Robert King was returned in his room.

28. In Upper Brook-street in her 80th year, the hon. Anne Seymour Damer, celebrated as an amateur sculptress, and as the legatee of Horace earl of Orford, at Strawberry-hill. She was the only child of Field-Marshal the right hon. Henry Seymour Conway (brother to Francis first marquess of Hertford) by lady Caroline Campbell, only daughter of John, fourth duke of Argyle, and widow of Charles earl of Ailesbury and Elgin. She was married, June 14, 1767, to the hon. John Damer, eldest son of Joseph, first lord Milton, and brother to George earl of Dorchester. Her marriage was an unhappy

one. Mr. Damer was heir in expectancy to 30,000*l.* a year, but was of a turn too eccentric to be confined within the limits of any fortune. He shot himself at the Bedford-Arms in Covent-Garden, August 15th 1776, leaving Mrs. Damer, his widow, without issue. From this period, Mrs. Damer appears to have devoted herself to the cultivation of her talents, particularly to her chisel. In 1797, on the death of her father's intimate friend, Horace Walpole, Mrs. Damer found herself owner of Strawberry-hill, with a legacy of 2000*l.* to keep it in repair, on condition that she resided there, and did not dispose of it to any person, unless it were to his great-niece the countess dowager of Waldegrave, on whom and her heirs it was entailed. All his prints, books, and furniture, were made heir-looms. Mrs. Damer resided at this house from lord Orford's death till about the year 1810, when she gave it up to the late countess dowager Waldegrave, who died there in January 1816. When the duke of Richmond patronised Private Theatricals, he was glad to avail himself of Mrs. Damer's assistance. She appeared in the character of Violante in "The Wonder," when lord Henry Fitzgerald supported the part of Don Felix. She was eminent also as Mrs. Lovemore in "The Way to Keep Him;" and as lady Freelove in "The Jealous Wife." At a later period, during her residence at Strawberry-hill, she herself fitted up an elegant little theatre. Here the comedy called "Fashionable Lovers," (which has been attributed to the pen of lord Orford) was first represented. Mr. Kemble obtained permission to transplant this comedy to Drury-lane, but there it was not successful. In the art of sculpture Mrs. Damer undoubtedly took the lead of all amateurs. In early life she received lessons from Ceraschi, and also from the elder Bacon; and she followed the example of professional artists in going to Italy to improve herself. Her elegant, tasteful, and classical productions are widely scattered as presents. At the suggestion of her relative sir Alexander Johnston, with a view to aid the advancement of European arts in India, she sent a bust of lord Nelson to the king of Tanjore; and she presented another bust of Nelson to the Corporation of London, which is placed in the common-council room at Guildhall. A statue of George the Third by

## DEATHS.—MAY.

Mrs. Damer adorns the register office at Edinburgh, and her beautiful bust of sir Joseph Banks at the British Museum is well known. But perhaps the colossus public of her works are the colossal heads of the Thames and Isis, on Henley Bridge. Several of her busts are in the hands of private individuals. Mrs. Damer possessed one of the best-selected and most valuable libraries that was ever formed by a female collector. She directed that her apron and tools should be buried with her; as also the bones of a favourite dog that died before her.

28. In Bridge-street Blackfriars, aged 60, Warner Phipps, esq. Secretary to the Albion Insurance Company.

30. At Tunbridge Wells, aged 32, the rev. and right hon. lord George Henry Spencer Churchill, third son of the duke of Marlborough. His lordship was admitted to the degree of M. A. at Emanuel coll. Camb. in 1822. He married July 13, 1824, his cousin Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the rev. Edward Nares, D.D. professor of modern history at Oxford, by lady Charlotte, daughter of Charles third duke of Marlborough, K. G.

*Lately.* By an accident, aged 23, Mr. Theodore Lane, an artist, whose clever little picture "the Enthusiast" and various caricatures, are well known. He left a widow and two children. He was waiting for a friend at the Horse Repository, Gray's Inn-lane, to accompany him to join his family out of town, when stepping accidentally upon a skylight, he was precipitated upon the stone pavement below, and killed upon the spot.

At Toulouse, aged 56, sir William Congreve, second Baronet of Walton in Staffordshire, Knight of St. Anne of Russia, M.P. for Plymouth, senior Equerry to the King, Comptroller of the Royal Laboratory and Superintendent of the Military repository at Woolwich, and F.R.S. The deceased was born May 20th, 1772, and was the eldest son of lieutenant. sir William Congreve, the first baronet, by his first wife Rebecca Elmston. The general died in 1814 in possession of the same offices at Woolwich which his son has ever since filled. The latter entered early into the same branch of military service as his father had pursued. He had in 1816 attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the Artillery, and was then equerry to the

prince regent. Retaining the latter honourable appointment, he had retired in 1820 from his military rank. It was in 1808 that he first invented that formidable engine of warfare, the Congreve Rocket, which he succeeded in establishing as a permanent instrument of the military and naval tactics of the country, and which foreign nations have found it necessary to adopt. Having been tried and approved, it was used by lord Cochrane in Basque Roads, in the expedition against Walcheren, in attacks on several places in Spain, at Waterloo, and with most serviceable effect in the attack on Algiers. For the effect of the Congreve rockets at the battle of Leipzig in 1813, the order of St. Anne of the 2nd class was conferred on sir William by the emperor of Russia, and when the emperor visited England in 1814, he was particularly interested by an exhibition of their powers at Woolwich. Sir William had a private factory at West Ham in Essex. The rockets have also been employed in a modified form, in the whale fishery. But the Congreve rocket, though the most important, was only one of very many scientific inventions by which sir William benefited himself and the world. On several of these he published treatises. In 1819 there appeared an "Elementary Treatise on the Mounting of Naval Ordnance; shewing the true principles of construction for the carriages of every species of Ordnance," 4to. In 1811 sir William Congreve was elected Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1812 he was returned to parliament for Gattton, and, in 1820 and 1826, for Plymouth. He succeeded his father in the baronetcy April 30th, 1814. In 1815 appeared "A description of the construction, properties, and varieties of the Hydro-Pneumatic Lock," for which he obtained a patent in that year, and which is now so generally adopted on canals. In the same year sir William obtained a patent for a new mode of manufacturing gunpowder. This invention consisted, first, of a machine for producing as perfect a mixture as possible of the ingredients; and secondly, of an improved mode of passing the mill-cake under the press, and a new granulating machine. In 1819 a patent was granted to him for an improved mode of inlaying or combining different metals; and another for certain improvements in the manufacture of bank-note paper for the

## DEATHS.—May.

prevention of forgery. In 1823 sir William published, by order of government, a very interesting report on the Gas-light establishments of the metropolis. After recounting these his important benefits to society, it is melancholy to have to class him with those individuals of previous respectability, the influence of whose example decoyed so many weaker minds to ruin, during that mania for speculation, which, two years ago, desolated with such cruelty the commercial community. On the ebbing of the tide, sir William, found it necessary to take refuge on the continent.

—Aged 56, Sir George Berney Brograve, second baronet, of Worsted in Norfolk, and the last known male descendant of that ancient family. From sir Roger Brograve, who lived in the reign of Edward I. was descended sir John, who was knighted in 1603, and was attorney-general of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Hertford. His great-grandson Thomas was the first baronet, so created in 1662; but that creation expired with his son sir Thomas in 1707. Sir Berney, of a younger branch, was elevated to the same dignity in 1791. The deceased was born Feb. 4, 1772, and was the eldest son of sir Berney by his second wife, Jane, daughter of Matthew Hallcott, esq. He succeeded his father in 1797; and married May 7, 1800, Emma-Louisa, youngest daughter and co-heiress of Edward Whitwell, esq. this marriage was dissolved by act of parliament in 1809, and the lady immediately married Marsham Elwin, esq. Sir George's brother, capt. Roger Brograve, shot himself in 1813.

## JUNE.

1. At his house in Mansell-street, Goodman's-fields, aged 75, the learned rabbi, Dr. Raphael Meldola, high priest of the southern (Oriental, Spanish, &c.) Jews, in the twenty-third year of his priesthood. Dr. Meldola was eminent as a most profound theologian and philosopher, and as a most learned Jewish high rabbi of the ancient and chief synagogue in England. He was the son of H. Moses Meldola, formerly professor of the oriental languages at the university at Paris, and whose literary writings and rabbinical remarks are found in the works *Toafot Rehem*, *Maamar Morde-*

*cai*, &c. &c.; he was born in the city of Leghorn in Italy, in the year 1754, and was a descendant of an ancient and truly respectable family. His ancestors have been great rabbis and learned men for many generations, and in a direct genealogy of twelve trace themselves to rabbi David, who was accompanied to Italy by some of the Jews in their expulsion from Toletola in Spain. Our rabbi at an early age exhibited proofs of an extraordinary endowment of mind. After proceeding through a regular course of studies, at the age of fifteen he was admitted a member of the first rabbinical university. In the year 1803, after he had received the degree of rab, or high rabbi, as it is commonly called, he was further honoured by the appointment of judge, to try all causes amongst his own people. In the year 1805, after having been for thirty years destitute of a spiritual head, the Portuguese and Spanish congregations of London made application to the different principal congregations of Europe for a proper chief and ruler. Dr. Raphael Meldola was the person selected. From that period till his death, on the 1st of June, 1828, he continued to perform his pastoral duties. He was buried in the old burial ground at the side of the rev. Dr. David Netto, M. D. who was chief rabbi at London, and died in 1728. Dr. R. Meldola was celebrated as an orator for his sermons. At an early age he published a work called *Korban Minhù*, a literary comment on and explanation of the service of high priest, which is read at every synagogue throughout the world on the fast day of Kippoor. Afterwards he published, in 1796, a rabbinical work, entitled *Hupat Hatanim*, universally applauded, and wherein he has shewed extensive abilities in the mathematical as well as in the rabbinical branches of knowledge. His sermons on the occasions of the death of the princess Charlotte of Wales, and of his late majesty, have been published; and the learned rabbi was honoured with the royal thanks. Amongst his numerous MSS. are preserved ten complete and valuable works, the true value of which can be known only by good Talmudists. One of them is a complete Jewish catechism.

—At his seat, Newbury, co. Kildare, Ralph Peter Dundas, esq. only son of the late gen. Ralph Dundas, of Manor, N. B.

DEATHS.—JUNE.

1. At Zante, aged 34, captain Francis Abney Hastings, brother to sir Charles Abney Hastings, bart. M. P. for Leicester. He was the younger son of the late gen. sir Charles Hastings, by Parnell, daughter and sole heiress of Thomas Abney, of Wellesley, county Derby, esq.

3. In Dominica, after a short illness, John O'Driscoll, esq. late chief-justice of that colony.

5. At Brompton, after a lingering decline, Harry Stoe Van Dyke, esq. a poetical writer of some talent. Besides a volume entitled, Poetical Portraits, and the Batavian Anthology, the joint production of himself and Mr. Bowring, he published the year preceding his death, the Gondola, a collection of prose tales and sketches. There are also many fugitive pieces from his pen in the London Magazine, and other periodicals.

— At Whitley rectory, Worcester, aged 36, the rev. William Andrew Foley, of Newport House, Hereford, rector of Whitley, and vicar of Claverdon with Norton Linsey; cousin to lord Foley, and brother to col. Foley, late M. P. for Herefordshire. He was the youngest son of the late hon. A. Foley, M. P. for Droitwich, by his cousin Elizabeth, daughter of Boulter Tomlinson, esq.

— At Edinburgh, aged 83, Andrew Duncan, sen. M. D. professor of the theory of medicine in the university of Edinburgh, vice-president of the royal college of physicians, and of the horticultural society in Scotland, and first physician to his majesty for that kingdom. Dr. Duncan was a native of Edinburgh, and a scholar of the university of St. Andrew's, where he was contemporary with several eminent persons, whose friendship afterwards formed one of the chief pleasures of his life. On the death of Dr. John Gregory, professor of the theory of medicine, in 1773, a gentleman having been appointed to succeed him, who was absent from the country, Dr. Duncan was chosen to supply the temporary vacancy, and he accordingly taught the class, and delivered at the same time the usual course of Clinical lectures, till the end of the summer session 1776; when, Dr. James Gregory having been finally appointed to the chair formerly held by his father, Dr. Duncan's connexion with the university was for the time suspended. After his temporary connexion with the university, Dr. Duncan continued for

fourteen years to deliver private courses of lectures on the theory and practice of medicine, with increasing reputation and success; and in 1790, on the accession of Dr. James Gregory to the chair of the practice, he was appointed joint professor to the theory or institutions of medicine, along with Dr. Cullen, who had resigned the practice. In 1801 he brought forward a scheme for the erection and endowment of an hospital for lunatics in Edinburgh, and after many delays, an establishment was erected at Morningside, under the sanction of a royal charter. In 1809, Dr. Duncan projected, and, by his indefatigable exertions, soon succeeded in establishing, the horticultural society of Edinburgh.

6. At Cromer, W. Orton Salmon, esq. (son of the late rev. Benj. Wimberley Salmon) late of the Bengal civil service, and president of the central board of revenue in British India.

— At Tuxford, Notts, on his way home from London, Ralph Creyke, esq. of Rawcliffe, only surviving son of the late col. Creyke, of Marton, and one of the magistrates for East-Riding of the county of York.

— At Kensington, aged 32, Mary Anne, dowager viscountess Neville. She was a daughter of the late Bruce Elcock, esq. and was married to Ralph Visc. Neville, capt. R. N. Feb. 2, 1813.

7. In Somerset-street, Portman-square, Mary, dowager lady Dunsany. She was the second daughter of John Smith, esq. and sister to the late sir Drummond Smith, bart. She became the second wife of Randal, the 13th and late lord Dunsany, Aug. 7, 1800; but had no children by him.

— In Hertford-street, May Fair, aged 58, the rev. and right hon. lord Henry Fitzroy, Prebendary of Westminster, rector of Barnham and Little Fakenham, Suffolk, and of Toppsfield, Essex; half-brother to the duke of Grafton. His lordship was the third son of Augustus-Henry, the third and late duke of Grafton, K. G. and the eldest child by his grace's second marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of the very rev. sir Richard Wrottesley, bart. dean of Windsor. He was of Trinity college, Cambridge, where he was admitted to the degree of M.A. in 1789, his father then being chancellor of the University.

8. At his rectory of Bemerton, aged 81, the rev. William Coxe, Archdeacon

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of Wilts. Mr. Coxe was the eldest son of Dr. William Coxe, physician to the king's household in London. He was born in Dover-street, Piccadilly, on the 7th of March, 1747, O. S.; and in his fifth year, was placed under the care of the rev. Mr. Fountaine, who kept the Grammar school at Mary-le-bone. In 1753 he was removed to Eton, and continued his education there under the rev. Dr. Bernard, till 1765; when he was elected to King's College, Cambridge. In 1768 he was chosen a Fellow of that College, and, during his residence at that University, he distinguished himself by his classical attainments, and twice gained the Bachelor's prize, for the best Latin Dissertation. Dr. Glynn was at that time senior resident Fellow at King's College, and was pleased to honour Mr. Coxe, as a young man of ability, with his peculiar favour. His advice was, that he should immediately enter upon some work of useful information, with a view to publication. It was this advice, that induced Mr. Coxe to direct his attention, at an earlier age than usual, to the attainment of literary reputation. Having devoted himself to the church, in 1771, he was admitted to Deacon's Orders, by Dr. Terriek, bishop of London. In March 1771 Mr. Coxe was appointed to the curacy of Denham, near Uxbridge; but in the course of a few months he received an invitation from the late duke of Marlborough, to whom he had been recommended by the learned Mr. Bryant, to be tutor to the marquis of Blandford, the present duke. In this situation he remained two years, but was obliged to relinquish it by reason of indisposition; the continuance of which was the cause that he could not re-assume that appointment, though for some time it was graciously kept open for him, in the hope of his recovery. In 1775 Mr. Coxe accompanied the late earl of Pembroke, then lord Herbert, in a Tour on the continent. During that journey, which embraced a considerable portion of Europe, Mr. Coxe's attention was particularly struck by a country so interesting, and then comparatively so little known, as Switzerland. The result of his observations there was his first publication intituled, "Sketches on the Natural, Civil, and Political State of Switzerland," in one vol. 8vo., which appeared before his return to England; but being enlarged

and improved by his further researches during a second tour in the summer of 1779, it was reprinted under the title of "Travels in Switzerland; and the country of the Grisons," in 3 vols. 8vo. to which has been added, in the fourth and last edition of that work, an Historical Sketch of the Revolution in Switzerland in the year 1798. When, in the further prosecution of this tour, Mr. Coxe visited Russia, his inquiries were directed to the discoveries that had been made by the Russian navigators, in the seas which divide the two continents of Asia and America. On this point he collected much valuable information, particularly from those celebrated Naturalists, Muller and Pallas; and, in 1780, he gave to the world his "Russian Discoveries," containing not only a sketch of different voyages, undertaken by the Russians; but also a brief narrative of the conquest of Siberia, and an account of the commercial intercourse between Russia and China. In 1784 appeared "Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark," in five vols. 8vo. Soon after the publication of this last work, Mr. Coxe made a new tour on the continent, with the late Samuel Whitbread, esq.; and travelling through Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, the Low Countries, and the northern kingdoms of Europe, he returned to England in May 1786; and, shortly after, he again visited the continent with H. B. Portman, esq. eldest son of W. H. Portman, esq. of Bryanston, Dorset, and, having passed through Switzerland and France, and spent the winter at Paris and the Hague, he concluded his engagement with this gentleman, by visiting in his company the most interesting parts of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. In 1786 Mr. Coxe was presented by the Society of King's College, Cambridge, to the living of Kingston on Thames, which he resigned in 1788, on being presented to the rectory of Bemerton by the earl of Pembroke. Here he chiefly fixed his subsequent residence; and to this agreeable retreat he was always strongly attached. In 1794 he again repaired to the continent, with lord Brome, eldest son of the marquis Cornwallis; and spent five months in travelling over Holland, Germany, and part of Hungary. The marquis presented him to the chaplaincy of the Tower. In the course of his different travels, Mr. Coxe had made



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extensive collections for an historical and statistical account of Europe, and the work was even advanced to a considerable degree of forwardness; but the disturbed and uncertain state of public affairs induced him to relinquish his design. He then commenced the "Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, earl of Orford, illustrated with Original Correspondence, and Authentic Papers," &c.; which work was first published with those papers in 1798, in 3 vols. 4to.; afterwards in 3 vols. 8vo. without them; and finally in 4 vols. 8vo., with a selection of the most curious documents. In the autumn of 1798 he accompanied his friend sir Richard Colt Hoare in an excursion into Monmouthshire. The natural beauties and historical associations of that small but interesting county, appeared to him to furnish a fertile subject of description; and having extended and corrected his first observations in subsequent journies, he published the "Historical Tour in Monmouthshire," illustrated with plates from the drawings of sir R. C. Hoare, in 2 vols. 4to. Soon afterwards he was presented by sir Rd. Hoare, to the rectory of Stourton, which he held till he was presented to the rectory of Fovant, Wilts, by the late earl of Pembroke, in 1811. In 1802 he published, in one vol. 4to., the "Memoirs of Horatio lord Walpole," as a continuation to those of his brother, sir Robert Walpole. In 1803 he was elected one of the canons residentiary of the Cathedral of Salisbury; and in 1805 appointed archdeacon of Wilts by the venerable bishop Douglas. In 1803, he espoused Eleanora, daughter of Walter Shairp, esq. consul general of Russia, and widow of Thomas Yeldham, esq. of the British Factory at St. Petersburg. The researches connected with the Historical Tour in Monmouthshire, diverted for a time the attention of Mr. Coxe to the study of antiquities; and he purposed to undertake an Historical account of Wiltshire. But he relinquished that intention, and resumed his usual pursuits, by preparing for the press the "History of the House of Austria," of which he had sketched the outline in his intended Historical and Statistical View of Europe. This work appeared in 1807, in three vols. 4to. Mr. Coxe published, in 1813, "Historical Memoirs of the Bourbon Kings of Spain," in 3 vols. 4to.; and he then commenced

the "Memoirs of John duke of Marlborough," principally drawn from the rich collection of papers preserved at Blenheim. Of this elaborate work, the first volume appeared in 1817, the second in 1818, and the third in 1819. While engaged in this arduous undertaking, Mr. Coxe first experienced symptoms of that approaching decay of sight, which eventually terminated in total darkness. As sight became weak, his memory, at all times good, seemed to become remarkably tenacious; and he prosecuted with unabated ardour the work in which he was engaged. Under these circumstances he was enabled to prepare for the press; first, the "Private and Original Correspondence of the duke of Shrewsbury, illustrated with Narratives Historical and Biographical," which was published in 1821, in 1 vol. 4to.; and then to leave also for the press, wanting only the necessary attention of revision, "The Memoirs of the Administration of Mr. Pelham," drawn from the papers in the possession of his grace the duke of Newcastle, and the earl of Chichester, and intended as a sequel to the "Memoirs of sir Robert and lord Walpole." Of the publications of Mr. Coxe, which, strictly speaking, may be considered as of a minor character, the following may be noted: "The Literary Life, and Select Works of Benjamin Stillingfleet, esq.," in 3 vols. 8vo.; the "Lives of Handel and Smith," in 4to.; two pamphlets, addressed to J. Benett, esq., M.P. for Wilts, on the Nature and History of Tithes; "A Vindication of the Celts;" a small edition of the "Fables of Gay," with notes; a volume of "Miscellaneous Tracts, comprising an Account of the Prisons and Hospitals in Russia, Sweden, and Denmark;" "a Letter on the Secret Tribunal of Westphalia;" and "Sketches of the Lives of Correggio and Parmegiano." The religious compositions of Mr. Coxe, are these: "An Explanation of the Catechism of the Church of England." "An Abridgement of Secker's Tract on Confirmation, for the Use of Young Persons." "A Sermon on the Excellence of British Jurisprudence; preached before the Judges of Assize at Salisbury." And "A Sermon delivered at St. Paul's, at the Anniversary of the Meeting of the Sons of the Clergy."

10. At Kirtlington Park, Oxfordshire, aged 83, sir Henry Watkin Dashwood;

## DEATHS.—JONES.

D.C.L. third baronet of Northbrook in that county, a gentleman of the privy chamber to his majesty, and for thirty-six years M.P. for Woodstock; maternal uncle to the duke of Manchester, the earl of Galloway, and the duchess of Marlborough; and through his maternal aunt, Anne duchess of Hamilton, first cousin once removed to the duke of Hamilton, the late duchess of Somerset, and the countess of Dunmore. Sir Henry was the second, but eldest surviving son of sir James Dashwood, the second baronet, M.P. for Oxfordshire, and high steward of Oxford University, by Elizabeth, younger daughter and co-heiress of Edward Spencer, of Rendlesham in Suffolk, esq. Sir Henry was of Brazenose College, Oxford, and was created M.A. April 29th, 1766, and D.C.L. July 8, 1773. He succeeded his father Nov. 10th 1779; and married, at Gaton Park on the 17th of the following July, Mary Ellen, eldest daughter of a gentleman who had been a member of the council in Bengal, and niece of lord Newhaven. Sir Henry was appointed a gentleman of the king's Privy Chamber about 1784; and was first elected M.P. for Woodstock in that year. He continued to represent that borough until the dissolution in 1820. He had five sons and three daughters.

11. At Edinburgh, aged 75, Dugald Stewart, esq. lately professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh, and member of the academies of St. Petersburg and Philadelphia. He was son of Dr. Matthew Stewart, professor of Mathematics in the same University. In his eighth year he was sent to the High school at Edinburgh. In October 1766, he was entered at the University, under the tuition of Dr. Blair and Dr. Fergusson. His principal intellectual pursuits were history, logic, metaphysics, and moral philosophy. To the study of mathematics he paid no more attention than was necessary to avoid the censure of negligence; yet, in the nineteenth year of his age, his father having been seized with an indisposition which incapacitated him from continuing his professional labours, for the benefit of his family, he was deputed, as his substitute, to read the mathematical lectures. So extraordinary was his success—such the spirit and love of the study which he infused into the pupils—that it became matter of general remark and surprise. One individual asked the young lecturer

himself, how it was that he, who had not devoted himself particularly to mathematics, should have succeeded in teaching them better than his father. "If it be so," said the philosopher, with no less modesty than sagacity and truth of principle, "I can only account for it by the fact, that, during the whole session, I have never been more than three days a-head of my pupils." About this time Mr. Stewart, in addition to his intimacy with Mr. Robert Thompson, became acquainted with Mr. John Scott, Mr. Thomas Stewart, Mr. John Playfair, and Dr. William Thompson. Having taught the mathematical class for about seven years, he was called to the performance of a duty more congenial to his own taste. When Dr. Fergusson was sent to North America on a mission, Mr. Stewart undertook to teach his class in moral philosophy until his return. Having nothing written before hand, nor time to make regular preparations, he used, all that winter, to rise at four or five in the morning, and pacing for several hours in the dark, along the quadrangular walk of a small garden attached to his father's house in the Old College, he there conceived the plan, and arranged in his head the expression, of each day's lecture; and without committing a word to paper, entered the class, which then met at nine in the morning, and poured forth his glowing periods—in which the freshness and vehemence of extempore eloquence were chastened and harmonized by the dignity and seriousness of the subject. Mr. Stewart, by the death of his father, was now sole professor of mathematics. Dr. Fergusson had resigned his professorship of moral philosophy. Mr. Stewart was allowed to be the fittest man for succeeding to that chair, and Mr. Playfair for succeeding Mr. Stewart. In 1792 Mr. Stewart published the first volume of his "Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind," the second volume of which did not appear till 1813, and the third, not till 1827. He printed "Outlines of Moral Philosophy for the use of Students," in 1793; "Dr. Adam Smith's Essays on Philosophical Subjects, with an Account of the Life and Writings of the author," in 1801; "An Account of the life and Writings of Dr. Robertson," 1803; "An Account of the Life and Writings of Dr. Reid;" "A Statement of Facts relative to the Election of a Mathematical Professor

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of the University of Edinburgh," 1805; "Philosophical Essays," 1818. After that he wrote some of the Dissertations prefixed to the Supplement to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. After the peace of Amiens Mr. Stewart accompanied lord Lauderdale upon his mission to France. This obtained for him a sinecure appointment, which rendered him independent for life. The marquis of Lansdowne, when chancellor of the Exchequer, made him *Gazette*-writer for Scotland. Mr. Stewart's writings procured for him the honour of being elected a member of the academy of St. Petersburg, and also of the academy of Philadelphia; and, in 1826, the Royal Society of Literature of London voted him one of the two medals yearly placed by his Majesty at their disposal, "for his Essay on the Philosophy of the Human Mind, Philosophical Essays, Lives of Adam Smith and Dr. Robertson," &c. The remains of this distinguished philosopher were interred in the Canonicate church-yard. The funeral proceeded as a private one till it reached the head of the North bridge, when it was joined by the Professors of the University in their gowns, two and two, preceded by the mace-bearer, the junior members being in front, and the principal in the rear. After them came the magistrates and council, preceded by the regalia and officers, the lord Provost in the rear. Next came the hearse, drawn by six horses, with three baton-men on each side, and then followed the mourning-coaches and private carriages, with the relations and friends of the deceased. A meeting took place in Edinburgh, a few days after, to consider the project of erecting a monument to Mr. Stewart's memory. The Lord Chief Commissioner presided, and said, "he felt peculiarly gratified with the honour of being placed in the chair on the occasion, both on account of the admiration he had always entertained for the highly-gifted individual whose loss had been the cause of the meeting, and because he believed himself to be the only man now alive who had witnessed one of the earliest displays of Mr. Stewart's extraordinary precocity of talent and of taste—it was an *Essay on Dreams*, delivered in a society of students in Glasgow, when he was eighteen years of age. And such was his lordship's admiration of it at the time, and so vivid his recollection

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even now, that he felt himself justified in saying that it evinced those powers of profound thinking, ingenious reasoning, beautiful illustration, lofty generalization, and almost unequalled felicity of expression, which form the charm of his subsequent works. Taking this circumstance along with that well known to the gentlemen present, that he had written the prefatory notice to his last book a few weeks before his death, at the age of seventy five, he could not help mentioning it as a proud example of a human intellect remaining for so long a period, connected with a mortal body, in a state of pure splendor, increasing to the last."

13. At Cheltenham, aged 58, colonel William-Augustus-Spencer Boscawen, formerly of the Coldstream Guards. He was son of the hon. major gen. John Boscawen, and elder brother of Hugh Boscawen, esq. M. P. for St. Mawes. Col. Boscawen sat in two parliaments for the borough of Truro; he was first returned at the general election in 1784; and again in 1790; but a new writ was ordered in 1792, on his being made a commissioner of the Salt office. He had for some years retired from the army.

15. At Stoke, near Bristol, having lately completed her 81st year, her grace Elizabeth, duchess-dowager of Beaufort. She was born May 28, 1747, and was the youngest daughter of adm. Edward Boscawen, a lord of the Admiralty, and grandfather of the present earl of Falmouth, by Frances, daughter of Wm. Evelyn Glanville, of St. Clare, in Kent, esq. She was married to Henry fifth duke of Beaufort, K. G. Jan. 2, 1766. By his grace she was mother to Henry-Charles the present duke, eight other sons, and four daughters. Her grace lived until nearly eighty descendants from her, of the name of Somerset alone, had entered the world.

— In Spring-garden-terrace, Wm. Hill, esq. under secretary of the Treasury.

16. At Brickhill, aged 42, Mrs. Cockburn, wife of the dean of York. She was Elizabeth, second daughter of sir Robert Peel, bart. by Ellen, daughter of Wm. Yates, of Bury in Lancashire; and sister to the right hon. Robert Peel. She was married December 30, 1805.

17. In Park-street, aged 88, the hon. Anne Robinson, last surviving child of Thomas, first lord Grantham by Frances, third daughter of Thos. Worsley, esq.

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and aunt to lord Grantham and viscount Goderich.

17. At Leamington, aged 76, sir Joseph Scott, bart. of Great Barr, Staffordshire, formerly M. P. for Worcester. Sir Joseph was high sheriff for the county of Stafford in 1779; sat in the House of Commons for the city of Worcester in the Parliament which lasted from 1802 to 1806; and was created a baronet April 1st, in the latter year. He married, in 1777, Margaret, daughter and heiress of Edward Whitby of Sheet End in Staffordshire, esq. and by that lady, who died in 1822, had two sons and a daughter.

— At Paris, of apoplexy, aged 60, James-Alexander-Bernard Law, Comte de Lauriston, a peer and marshal of France, and a commander of the order of St. Louis. He was the great-nephew and representative in the male line of the celebrated financier Law, comptroller-general of France, and author of the Mississippi scheme. He was born Feb. 1, 1768, and was the third son of John Law, *maréchal de camp*, governor of Pondicherry, and commandant-general of all the French settlements in India, by Miss Jean Carvalho, daughter of a Portuguese gentleman settled at Calcutta. His father died at Paris about 1796; and, he being of the Romish communion, in 1808, his younger brother Francis-John-William Law, esq. a merchant of London, was served in Scotland nearest heir to his father of the reformed religion. The deceased at an early age embraced the military profession, and obtained rapid promotion in the artillery. In 1800 he commanded, as brigadier-general, the fourth regiment of flying artillery at La Fere. In 1801 he brought to England the ratification of the preliminaries of the peace of Amiens. M. de Lauriston was in every campaign of note in Spain, Germany, and Russia. In 1809 he penetrated into Hungary, and took the fortress of Raab, after a bombardment of eight days. It was Lauriston who decided the victory in favour of the French at the battle of Wagram, by coming up to the charge, with one hundred pieces of artillery. In 1811 he was appointed ambassador to the court of St. Petersburg. His mission, the object of which was to obtain the occupation of the ports of Riga and Revel, and to exclude English ships from the Baltic, having failed, he was employed in the Russian campaign;

and, after the taking of Moscow, he was sent to the emperor Alexander, with proposals for an armistice. Those proposals were rejected. General Lauriston, after the retreat from Moscow, commanded an army of observation on the banks of the Elbe. During three months he defended that river with a small force, and prevented the enemy from entering Hanover. Having distinguished himself at the battle of Leipsic, he retreated to the bridge between that town and Lindenau. Finding the bridge destroyed, he plunged into the river with his horse, but was taken prisoner, and conducted to Berlin. After the conclusion of the general peace, the king created him a knight of St. Louis, grand cordon of the legion of honour, and captain-lieutenant of the Grey Mousquetaires, an appointment rendered vacant by the death of general Nansouty. After the 30th of March, 1815, he followed the royal household to the frontiers of France, and then retired to his estate of Richecourt, near La Fere, without taking part in any of the transactions of the hundred days. On the return of the king, general Lauriston was made president of the Electoral college of the department of l'Aisne, lieutenant-general of the first division of Royal Foot Guards, and member of the commission appointed to examine into the conduct of such officers as had served from the 20th of March to the 18th of July 1815. He was created a commander of the order of St. Louis in 1816; and he presided, in the course of the same year, over the council of war appointed for the trial of admiral Linois, count Delaborde, &c. On the 6th of June 1823, he was raised to the dignity of marshal of France in the room of the prince of Eckmühl, deceased, and appointed commander-in-chief of the second corps of reserve of the French army in Spain.

19. At Dunwich, Barne Barne, esq. formerly M. P. for that place; and a commissioner of the Tax office.

— At Hampstead, aged 82, Henry Hodson, esq. formerly a commissioner for affairs of Taxes.

21. At Paris, about 70 years of age, Leandro Fernandez Moratin, the most distinguished dramatic writer of Spain, of the last and present century. He is sometimes called the younger Moratin, to distinguish him from his father, Nicholas Moratin, who died in 1780,

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and who was one of the most eminent poets of his age. Leandro's first production was an heroic poem on the reconquest of Grenada; he also occasionally employed his pen on lyrical pieces: but his other works are eclipsed by his comedies, which, for elegance of style, keenness of satire, wit, humour and vivacity, have obtained for him the appellation of the Spanish Molière. He also published some satirical pieces.

24. At Cholmondeley House, Piccadilly, aged 33, lady Charlotte-Georgiana Seymour, sister to the marquis Cholmondeley. She was the only daughter of the late marquis and lady Charlotte-Georgiana Bertie; was married May 18, 1818, to col. Hugh-Hen. John Seymour, cousin to the present marq. of Hertford, and was left a widow, with an only child, Hugh-Horatio, Dec. 2, 1821.

25. At his house in Pall Mall, aged 88, George Nicol, esq. many years bookseller to his late majesty. He came to town to his uncle, David Wilson of the Strand, who afterwards took him into partnership; and, in 1773, they issued a catalogue, comprising, amongst other collections, the library of the famous Dr. Henry Sacheverell. In the spring of that year, Mr. Nicol attended the sale of Mr. West's library; and was abused by Almon the bookseller, and others, for having purchased nearly the whole of the Caxtonian volumes in that collection, for his majesty's library. It was noised abroad, that "a Scotchman had lavished away the king's money in buying old black-letter books." In his directions to Mr. Nicol on the above occasion, his majesty forbade any competition with those purchasers who wanted books of science and belles-lettres for their own professional or literary pursuits. Mr. Wilson died at a very advanced age in 1777; and, about the year 1787, Mr. Nicol removed his business to Pall Mall. On the 9th of July 1787, as Miss Boydell, niece of the first Mr. Alderman Boydell, and sister of the second, accompanied by Mr. Nicol, was walking up Prince's street, Leicester Fields, Dr. Elliot, a medical man then well known among the literati, fired a pair of pistols so closely to the lady as to set fire to her cloak, yet she received no other hurt than a slight contusion on the shoulder. Mr. Nicol immediately seized the assailant, who was tried at the Old Bailey. Insanity

was attempted to be established; yet the proof did not come up to the satisfaction of the court. Though acquitted of the greater offence, he was ordered to remain to be tried for the assault; but the prisoner starved himself to death in Newgate, on the 22nd of July. This accomplished lady bestowed her hand on her protector on the 8th of September after the above extraordinary occurrence. Mrs. Nicol was afterwards distinguished as an admirable judge of prints and drawings, of which she formed a fine collection. In this pursuit she was materially assisted by her connection with the house of Messrs. Boydell, then the first merchants in prints in England, and who may justly be considered as the warmest patrons of the arts. Mrs. Nicol died December 21, 1820, and her collection was sold by auction by Mr. Evans. Mr. Nicol's connexion with the Messrs. Boydell was productive of one of the largest literary speculations ever embarked in. The well-known Boydell edition of our immortal Bard originated with Mr. Nicol in a conversation that took place in the year 1787. In a paper written and printed by Mr. Nicol, giving an account of what he had done for the improvement of printing in this country, he says—"When I first proposed to Messieurs Boydell to publish a national edition of Shakspeare, ornamented with designs by the first artists in this country, it must be confessed I did not flatter myself with seeing it carried into immediate execution. The idolatry with which I have ever regarded the works of that inspired poet, has often prompted me to make similar propositions. At so early a period of my life as the jubilee at Stratford, the proposal was made to Mr. Garrick, that great histrionic commentator on the author. Why it was then neglected it is not now easy to say; I attribute it more to the youth and inexperience of the proposer than to any want of propriety in the plan. The event has shown the proposal was neither improper nor impracticable. The conversation that led to the present undertaking was entirely accidental. It happened at the table of Mr. Josiah Boydell, at West End, Hampstead, in November 1787. The company consisted of Mr. West, Mr. Romney, and Mr. P. Sandby; Mr. Hayley, Mr. Hoole, Mr. Brathwaite, Alderman Boy-

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dell, and our host. In such a company it is needless to say that every proposal to celebrate genius or cultivate the fine arts would be favourably received." The text was revised by G. Steevens and Isaac Reed. Mr. Bulmer possesses the proof-sheets of the whole work, on which are many curious remarks by Steevens, not always of the most courteous description; also scraps of poetry, graphic sketches, &c. The fate of this national undertaking was unfortunate. It cost the projectors considerably above one hundred thousand pounds. A gallery was built in Pall Mall, adjoining to Mr. Nicol's house, to receive the original paintings. The great object of the undertaking was to establish an English school of historical painting. The projectors once flattered themselves with being able to have left the pictures and gallery to the public, but the convulsions on the continent during the war put it out of their power. The collection was dispersed by way of lottery; and the great prize, which comprised the original paintings, became the property of Mr. Tassie, of Leicester Square. In May 1805, the pictures were sold by auction by Mr. Christie. The building is now appropriated as the British Gallery. Mr. Nicol was, in 1797, one of the executors of Mr. James Dodsley the bookseller, of Pall Mall, who left him a legacy of 1000*l*. In 1813, Mr. Nicol republished "Sir Thomas Herbert's Memoirs of the Last Two Years of the Reign of Charles I.," to which he prefixed a preface signed with his initials. Mr. Nicol had long enjoyed the friendly confidence of the duke of Roxburgh; and was his principal adviser in the formation of his library. After his Grace's death, he formed the catalogue for sale, and wrote the preface; which, being previously circulated among the friends of the author, had the effect of exciting a great interest in the sale. Mr. Nicol selected for his assistant on this occasion, his friend Mr. Evans, the bookseller of Pall Mall. The sale took place at the house of his Grace, in St. James's-square, and lasted forty-two days. Never did the Bibliomania rage so violently as on this occasion, and a club was afterwards established in commemoration of it, called the Roxburgh club. In 1815, Mr. Nicol prepared the catalogue of the library of the duke of Grafton, which was sold by Mr. Evans, and brought great prices. Mr. Nicol

was a most agreeable companion; and perhaps no man ever enjoyed the pleasures of convivial society more than he did. He was a member of many of the literary clubs of his day; particularly of the Unincreasable Club, held at the Queen's Head, Holborn, of which Mr. Isaac Reed was president, and whose funeral Mr. Nicol attended at Amwell, Jan. 13, 1807; of the Anons, amongst whom the names of Professor Porson, Dr. Charles Burney, Matthew Raine, and James Perry, were conspicuous; and of the Booksellers' Club, which originally met in the evening at the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar, and, after a few years, was changed to a monthly dinner at the Shakspeare Tavern.

26. At Roydon, near Diss, Charles Cameron, esq. late Governor of the Bahama Islands.

27. John Pugh, esq. of the firm of Pugh and Redman, of Trinity-square, drowned while bathing in the Thames.

28. Lady Banks, relict of the right hon. sir Joseph Banks, bart. P. R. S. She was Dorothea, daughter and co-heiress of William Weston Hugussen, of Provender, in Kent, esq. and was married to sir Joseph, March 29, 1779.

— In New Burlington-street, Cecilia Rachel, sister to sir Charles Chad, bart. She was second daughter of the late sir G. Chad, bart. of Thursford, Norfolk, by his first wife Sarah, daughter of John Rowle, of Kingston, in Surrey, esq.

30. At High Wycombe, Georgiana Maria Hutchinson, wife of General Sarrazin.

*Lately.* In Clarges-street, lieutenant-col. the hon. Robt. Clotworthy Clements, brother to the Earl of Leitrim. He was the second and youngest son of Robert, the first and late earl, by lady Eliz. Skeffington, eldest daughter of Clotworthy, first earl of Massareene. He entered the first foot guards as ensign in 1806; became lieutenant and capt. 1812, brevet major 1815, lieutenant-col. 1823. He served in Flanders and at Waterloo. The colonel held the office of searcher, packer, and gauger, at the Port of Dublin.

— In the Isle of Man, in his 86th year, Thomas Woods, of Banadoole, Esq. capt. 58th foot.

— At her house in Naples, from decay of nature, aged 77, the Margravine of Brandenburg, Anspach, and Bayreith, Princess Berkeley of the Holy Roman Empire, and Dowager.

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Baroness Craven, of Hempsted, in Berkshire. This lady published, in 1826, an auto-biographical memoir, in two octavo volumes. She was born at Berkeley House, in Spring-gardens, in the month of December 1750, the youngest surviving daughter of Augustus fourth earl of Berkeley, K. T. by Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Drax, of Charborough in Dorsetshire, esq. Her father died when she was only five years old; and her mother, who was lady of the bed-chamber to the Princess of Wales, and who was re-married to earl Nugent, she describes as having no love for children; she was accordingly entirely confided to a Swiss governess, who became her kindest and best friend. At the age of thirteen she accompanied her mother and sister to Paris, when the latter soon after eloped with lord Forbes. Lady Elizabeth was introduced at court soon after her return; and, at the early age of sixteen, she was married, May 30, 1767, to William Craven, esq. who succeeded his uncle in the family peerage in 1769. She had by him seven children; but after they had been married thirteen years, each had cause of dissatisfaction with the other's conduct. They separated; and lady Craven left England for France. From thence she took an extensive tour to Italy, Austria, Poland, Russia, Turkey, and Greece; and was presented to the emperor at Vienna, to the king of Poland at Warsaw, and to the empress Catherine at St. Petersburg. "After a gratifying journey," she says, "during which, at each place I stopped I was protected by sovereigns and ministers, and treated with respect, and care, and generosity, I found myself again in England for the purpose of seeing my children, and from hence went to Paris to take measures for my stay at Anspach with the Margrave and Margravine." The then Margravine was in ill health, and lady Craven, according to her own account, became the principal lady in the Court of Anspach. She established a theatre there, of which she was "chief manager." She composed "two *petites pieces* : one called 'La Folie du Jour;' the other, 'Abdoul et Nourjad,' which she had previously written to please M. Choiseul Gouffier, was acted by her company with such success that many people took drawings of the first scene, and the sentinels and boys in the streetsung the

favourite airs. She also translated from the English into French, the comedy of 'She would and she would not.' "Notwithstanding," says she, "all my endeavours to please, I could not satisfy the suspicious tempers of the Germans; and all the good I wished to do was frequently opposed. During my residence at Anspach for five years, the Margrave took two journeys into Italy. In the winter following my arrival at Anspach, the Margrave wished me to go to Naples with him, in order to pass a few months there. I, of course, acceded to his proposition, and we set off with my youngest son Keppel. We were received at court with the greatest delight;" and, after a long residence there, and three months stay at Berlin, they returned to Anspach. They afterwards paid Berlin another visit, and, in 1791, went to Lisbon, passing through England on their way. It was there they received tidings of the death of lord Craven, which took place at Lausanne, Sept. 26, 1791. As by this occurrence the widow considered herself "released from all ties, and at liberty to act as she thought proper, she accepted the hand of the Margrave without fear or remorse." She was married on the 30th of the month following that of her first husband's death, at the Prussian minister's hotel, where the Margrave had taken up his residence. It was announced, at the time, that the ceremony was performed before the Ambassadors of Russia, Naples, Holland, Vienna, and all the English gentry that could be collected together; and the Margravine herself says: "We were married in the presence of one hundred persons, and attended by all the English naval officers, who were quite delighted to assist as witnesses." From Lisbon the Margrave and Margravine went to Madrid, thence through France to Berlin, and thence came to England. "Upon my return to England," she says, "I received a letter, signed by my three daughters, beginning with these words; 'With due deference to the Margravine of Anspach, the Miss Cravens inform her that, out of respect to their father, they cannot wait upon her.' The letter dropped from my hand, while Keppel endeavoured to soothe me, as I could neither speak nor stir. Such conduct seemed to me to be perfectly unaccountable. I, however, recovered my spirits, in order to sup-

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port more ill treatment, which I expected would follow from this prelude. My suspicions were not unfounded; my eldest son, lord Craven, totally neglected me; and lord Berkeley, who was guardian to my children, wrote me an absurd letter, filled with reproaches on account of my marriage with the Margrave so soon after the death of my late husband. I deigned to reply; and observed that it was six weeks after lord Craven's decease that I gave my hand to the Margrave, which I should have done six hours after, had I known it at the time. I represented that I had been eight years under all the disadvantages of widowhood, without the only consolation which a widow could desire at my time of life—which was that of bestowing my hand, when I might forget, by the virtues of one man, the folly and neglect of another, to whom it had been my unfortunate lot to be sacrificed. The next affront that I met with was a message sent by the queen to the Margrave, by the Prussian minister, to say, that it was not her intention to receive me as Margravine of Anspach. The Margrave was much hurt by this conduct of her majesty, and inquired, if I could conjecture the cause. I answered him that I was ignorant of it; but that, as such was the queen's intention, she should not see me at all. The Margrave, upon this, demanded an audience of his majesty, but refused to pay his respects to the queen; nor did he ever after see her. Having disposed of his principality to the king of Prussia, in 1791, for an annuity to himself and the Margravine of 400,000 rix-dollars, the Margrave settled in England, and purchased Brandenburg House, near Hammersmith, and Benham in Berkshire, an old seat of the Craven family, but which lord Craven had sold. "The theatre, concerts, and dinners at Brandenburg House, were sources of great enjoyment to the Margrave. My taste for music and poetry, and my style of imagination in writing, chastened by experience, were great sources of delight to me. I wrote 'The Princess of Georgia,' and 'The Twins of Smyrna,' for the Margrave's theatre, besides 'Nourjad,' and several other pieces; and for these I composed various airs in music. I invented fêtes to amuse the Margrave, which afforded me a charming contrast to account, bills, and the changes of

domestics and chamberlains, and many other things quite odious to me. We had, at Brandenburg House, thirty servants in livery, with grooms, and a set of sixty horses. Our expenses were enormous, although I curtailed them with all possible economy." In 1802 the Emperor Francis sent the Margravine a diploma for the title of Princess Berkeley, and she went to Vienna to have an audience on that occasion. She then again applied to the queen of England for the same compliment, but could obtain no answer. The Margrave died at Benham, Jan. 5, 1806, having then nearly completed his seventieth year. He had no family by either of his wives, and left a property of nearly 150,000*l.* to his widow. The Margravine continued to reside at Benham, till she "thought it proper to go to Anspach to make inquiries respecting a sum of money of the Margrave's, which was mine by right." After this journey, which was unsuccessful, she continued in England till the peace. She then went to Marseilles, thence to Genoa, where she met with the Princess of Wales, to whom her son Keppel had been chamberlain; thence to Ghent, where she saw Louis the Eighteenth; and thence to Naples, where she finally settled. She built there, on a beautiful spot of two acres given her by the king, a house similar to her pavilion in the gardens of Brandenburg House, having a large circular room in the centre, with smaller apartments surrounding it. The Margravine's remains were interred, according to the desire she had expressed, in the English Protestant burial-ground at Naples, and were attended to the grave by her son, the hon. R. Keppel Craven, his grace the duke of Buckingham (her nephew), the members of his Britannic majesty's mission and consulate, the minister plenipotentiary of his majesty the emperor of Austria, and a long train of distinguished personages both English and Neapolitan, who were anxious to pay this last tribute of respect to her memory. With the exception of provisions for her servants, and some trifling bequests, the whole of her property in England is left to her third son, the hon. R. K. Craven, with a reversion in the landed property in Berkshire to her nephew, sir George Berkeley, bart. K.C.B. Her house and property at Naples, together with her villa situated on the Strada Nuova, the



- several roads called The Main Trust Roads, all in the county of Carmarthen.
- lxxvii. An Act to alter, amend and enlarge the powers and provisions of several Acts relating to the road from Chester to Wrexham, in the city and county of Chester and the counties of Flint and Denbigh.
- lxxviii. An Act for more effectually repairing and otherwise improving the road from Beverley to Kexby-bridge in the county of York.
- lxxix. An Act for diverting, widening, repairing, and improving the road from the town of Derby to south end of Compton-street next Ashborne, and from Ashborne to Hurdloe-house, in the county of Derby, and that part of the said road called The Old Road, leading from Hardy's-hill toll gate unto Compton.
- lxxx. An Act for more effectually repairing and improving the road leading from Lisburn in the county of Antrim to the town of Monaghan.
- lxxxi. An Act for making, repairing, and keeping in repair several turnpike roads in the parishes of Llandilofawr, Llandefeyson, Llandybie, Bettws, and Llanedy, and several other roads in the county of Carmarthen.
- lxxxii. An Act for more effectually making, amending, widening, repairing, and maintaining certain roads and bridges in the county of Dumbarton.
- lxxxiii. An Act for amending, diverting, and improving the present roads, and making and maintaining certain new roads, between the towns of Birstal and Huddersfield in the West Riding of the county of York.
- lxxxiv. An Act for more effectually repairing the Dunster, Stowey, Watchet, and Crowcombe districts of the Minehead roads, in the counties of Somerset and Devon; and for making and repairing several other roads communicating with the same districts of road, or some of them.
- lxxxv. An Act for more effectually repairing the road from the town and port of Sandwich in the county of Kent, to the towns of Margate and Ramsgate in the Isle of Thanet in the said county; and for reducing for a limited time the tolls and duties payable at Sandwich bridge.
- lxxxvi. An Act for more effectually repairing and maintaining the road from Banbury in the county of Oxford, through Daventry and Cottesbach, to Lutterworth in the county of Leicester.
- lxxxvii. An Act for making and maintaining a road from Wilsontown iron works to the road leading from Edinburgh to Ayr, by West Calder and Allanton in the county of Lanark.
- lxxxviii. An Act for more effectually repairing and maintaining the roads from Lutterworth Hand on the Watling street road, through Churchover, Brownsover, Newbold-upon-Avon, Rugby, and Bilton, in the county of Warwick, to the turnpike road between Dunchurch and Hillmorton in the said county.
- lxxxix. An Act for more effectually draining and improving the lands and grounds lying in Great and Little Waldersey in the parish of Wesbech St. Peter's and Elm in the Isle of Ely.
- xc. An Act for lighting, watching, cleansing, paving, and otherwise improving the town of Wantage in the county of Berks.
- xc. An Act for making and maintaining a railway or Tramroad from Gelly Gille Farm in the parish of Llanelly in the county of Carmarthen, to Machynis Pool in the same parish and county; and for making and maintaining a wet dock at the termination of the said railway or tramroad at Machynis Pool aforesaid.
- xcii. An Act for making and maintaining a railway or tramroad from the Duffryn Llynvi and Pwll Cawl otherwise Porth Cawl railway, to commence at a certain point therein in the parish of Laleston in the county of Glamorgan, and to terminate near to the town of Bridgend in the same county.
- xciii. An Act for making and maintaining a railway or tramroad from or near the city of Bristol to Coalpit Heath in the parish of Westerleigh in the county of Gloucester.
- xciv. An Act for making and maintaining a railway or tramroad from Rodway Hill, in the parish of Mangotsfield in the county of Gloucester, to the river Avon in the parish of Bitton in the same county.
- xcv. An Act to consolidate and amend several Acts for the further improvement of the port of London, by making docks and other works at Blackwall

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lord Rivers of Strathfield Saye in Hampshire, and of Sudeley castle in Gloucestershire, and a lord of the king's bedchamber. The family of Pitt was founded by John Pitt, esq., who was clerk of the Exchequer in the reign of queen Elizabeth. From his eldest and his third sons, the titled branches of Rivers and Chatham derive their descents. Each of them was principally established by a great-grandson of John, —the former by George Pitt, esq. of Strathfield Saye, who formed an advantageous alliance with the heiress of Savage earl Rivers; and the latter by Thomas Pitt, esq. governor of Fort St. George, who purchased the famous Pitt diamond. This latter branch divided itself into three houses, which were all elevated to peerages. The eldest son, Thomas, married the heiress of the Ridgways earl of Londonderry, and was consequently honoured with that title; but it expired with his younger son the third earl. The governor's second son Robert was grandfather of Thomas Pitt, esq. of Boconnoc, who was created lord Camelford in 1784, and left one only son, who was killed in a duel, unmarried, in 1804. First cousin to the first lord Camelford is the present earl of Chatham. His father, the illustrious William earl of Chatham, was the younger son of Robert above-mentioned. He is now the only male descendant of governor Pitt; as William Morton Pitt, esq. the late knight in parliament for Dorsetshire (and first cousin to the first lord Rivers), is the only male descendant of the elder branch. The deceased was born at Angiers in France, Sept. 19, 1751, and was the only son of George Pitt, esq. afterwards lord Rivers, by Penelope, heiress of the family of Atkins, baronets, of Clapham in Surrey. After receiving a public education, he repaired abroad, and resided some time on the continent, visiting France, Italy, and Switzerland. At the general election of 1774 his father made room for him to represent the county of Dorset in parliament; he sat for it also in the two following parliaments, the last of which was dissolved in 1790. He then resigned the post to his cousin William Morton Pitt, esq. On the death of his father, May 7, 1803, he succeeded to the title of lord Rivers; and, in 1804, he was elevated to an office which his father also had enjoyed, that of a lord of his majesty's bedchamber.

21. At Lambeth palace, aged 73, his grace the most reverend and right hon. Charles Manners Sutton, D. D. lord archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and metropolitan, a privy-councillor and lord of trade and plantations, official visitor of All Souls and Merton colleges, Oxford, and of King's college, London, governor of the Charter-house, president of the corporation of the sons of the clergy, of the society for the propagation of knowledge in foreign parts, of the national society for education, and of the naval and military bible society. His grace was born Feb. 14, 1755, and was the fourth son of lord George Manners Sutton (third son of John third duke of Rutland, K. G.) by Diana, daughter of Thomas Chaplin, of Blankney, in Lincolnshire, esq. He received his education with his brother lord Manners, at the Charter-house, and removed thence to Emanuel college, Cambridge. In 1777, on taking the degree of B. A. he was the fifteenth wrangler (his brother lord Manners, who was with him at Emanuel also, at the same time being fifth wrangler); he proceeded M. A. 1780, D. D. 1792. In 1783, he succeeded Richard Sutton D. D. in the rectory of Averham with Kelham (at which place is the family seat of the Suttons) in Nottinghamshire, and in that of Whitwell in Derbyshire; his brother being the patron of the former, and the duke of Rutland of the latter. In 1791, on the death of Dr. Tarrant, he was appointed Dean of Peterborough; and in the following year, on the decease of bishop Horne, he was elevated to the see of Norwich, and resigned all his other preferments. The deanery of Windsor was, however, conferred on him in commendam in 1794, on the resignation of bishop Cornwallis, who then obtained in exchange the deanery of Durham, vacant by the death of bishop Hinchcliffe. The deanery of Windsor of course rendered Dr. Manners Sutton well known to the royal family, with whom both he and his lady were great favourites. And, accordingly, on the death of archbishop Moore in 1803, he was elevated to the primacy. Dr. Manners Sutton appeared little as an author. In two instances publication was demanded by the general usage on similar occasions. Both these happened whilst he was bishop of Norwich, and produced, "A Sermon preached before the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, at the

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Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster, on the Fast Day, 1794," 4to; and "A Sermon before the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1797," 4to. In the latter year he contributed to the *Linnæan Transactions* "A Description of five British species of *Orabanche*." (Vol. iv. p. 173." The archbishop did not hesitate to speak in the House of Lords, whenever ecclesiastical subjects formed an appropriate topic for the delivery of his opinion, but he followed the laudable rule of abstaining from debate on ordinary questions of secular policy. He was a steady and consistent opponent of the demands of the Romanists. As early as 1805 we find him expressing his surprise "that, after such a series of concessions, a petition like that on the table should be brought forward." The requests of the dissenters were treated by his grace in a different manner. He gave his voice and vote against Lord Sidmouth's bill in 1811; and on the late settlement of the question, he gave them his vote by proxy, and expressed his sentiments, as far as in absence he could, through the medium of the bishop of Chester. The archbishop's funeral took place on Tuesday the 29th; his body being interred in a family vault, which had been formed under Addington church not six months previously. The ceremony was conducted with as little display as possible. The train issued from Lambeth Palace about twenty minutes after seven. After the usual number of porters and mutes employed in private funerals, came the hearse, on the draperies of which were embroidered the arms of Sutton, and the see of Canterbury; then two mourning coaches, drawn by six horses each, in which were the rev. Dr. D'Oyly, the rev. John Lonsdale, the rev. Mr. Vaux, Charles Hodgson esq. Mr. Cocking Lane, and some other members of the late archbishop's household; next followed his private carriage; and then eight carriages belonging to his relatives and friends, amongst them those of the duke and duchess of Rutland, of lord Manners, and of the Speaker of the House of Commons. The archbishop married April 3, 1778, his kinswoman Mary, daughter of Thomas Thoroton, of Scriveton in Nottinghamshire, esq. By that lady, who survives him, he had three sons and ten daughters.

— At St. Omer's, in France, aged 60, George Allan, esq. of Blackwell Grange,

in the county of Durham, M. A. F. S. A. a justice of the peace, deputy for the county, and formerly M. P. for the city of Durham. This gentleman was the only surviving son of George Allan, esq. F. S. A. the colleague of Mr. Hutchinson in his history of Durham. With the estate of his father Mr. Allan inherited also his taste for polite literature, and his communicative spirit. He was educated at Hertford, under John Carr, L. L. D. the translator of Lucian; became a fellow-commoner of Trinity-hall, Cambridge, in 1784; and was entered of the Middle Temple in 1785. He took the degree of B. A. in 1788; in Hilary Term 1790, was called to the bar, and, at the commencement at Cambridge in 1792, took the degree of M. A. At the death of his father in 1800, his large collection of books and prints, and a valuable museum, once the property of his friend Mr. Tunstall, were sold under his will, and were purchased by his eldest son, the subject of this article. In 1818 the collections continued at the Grange, Mr. Allan's seat near Darlington; but the whole have since been dispersed. The books were sold by Mr. Southey in 1822. In 1813 Mr. Allan was a candidate for the city of Durham, on the resignation of R. J. Lambton, esq., and, after a severe, lengthened, and expensive struggle, he was returned by a considerable majority. On the dissolution of 1818 he was again a candidate; but the heavy pecuniary sacrifices of the first election did not warrant his perseverance in a second contest, and he declared his "inability to command such pecuniary resources as would be necessary to secure his election." From that period he continued to reside at St. Omer, with limited means, yet without repining, and devoting his leisure to the pursuits of literature. He died childless, and his estates devolved on William Allan, esq. eldest son of the late Robert Allan, esq. of Newbottle.

22. At Melbourne-house, Whitehall, aged 88, the right hon. Penyston Lamb, viscount Melbourne, and baron of Kilmore in the county of Cavan, in the peerage of Ireland, and baron Melbourne of Melbourne in Derbyshire, in that of the United Kingdom; second baronet of Brocket-hall, in Hertfordshire, and a lord of the king's bedchamber. This venerable peer, born in 1740, was the only son of sir Matthew Lamb, the first baronet (brother to Dr. Robert Lamb,

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bishop of Peterborough), by Charlotte, daughter of the right hon. Thomas Coke, teller of the Exchequer and vice-chamberlain to queen Anne, and sister and coheirress of George Lewis Coke, of Melbourne, in Derbyshire, esq. He was elected M. P. for Ludgershall, at the general election in 1768; on the 6th of November in that year, he lost his father, and succeeded to the baronetcy. On the 13th of April 1769, he married Elizabeth only daughter of sir Ralph Milbanke, fifth baronet of Hainaby in Yorkshire. On the 8th of June 1770 sir Penyston Lamb was created lord Melbourne of Kilmore, in the county of Cavan. His lordship was re-elected for Ludgershall in 1774 and 1780; and, on the 11th of January 1781, was advanced to the title of viscount Melbourne, in the kingdom of Ireland. On the 30th of November 1783, he was appointed a gentleman of the bedchamber to the prince of Wales. At the general election of 1784, he was returned M. P. for Malmesbury; at that of 1790, for Newport in the Isle of Wight; but, in 1793, he accepted the stewardship of the hundred of East Hendred, and his eldest son, the hon. Penyston Lamb, was elected in his room. In 1812 his lordship was appointed a lord of the king's bedchamber; and, on the 18th of July 1815, he was summoned to the British house of peers by the title of baron Melbourne, of Melbourne in the county of Derby.

24. Aged 45, colonel the hon. Edward Acheson, C. B. only brother of the earl of Gosford, brother-in-law to lieutenant-general William Bentinck, and to the late brigadier-general R. B. Sparrow. Col. Acheson held the office of customer and collector at the port of Dublin.

— At Arne, E. I., Rich. Sugden, lieutenant 13th dragoons, eldest son of Edw. B. Sugden, M. P. esq. of Lincoln's-inn.

29. At Chislehurst, Kent, aged 45, Eliz. wife of sir Herbert Jenner, knight, his majesty's advocate-general.

— At Newport house, county Mayo, sir Hugh Moore O'Donel, third baronet of that place, and nephew to the present earl Annesley. He was the eldest son of sir Neale, the second baronet by lady Catherine Annesley. He succeeded his father March 1, 1827; and it is but a few short months since he attained his majority.

— At Whitehall-place James Cuff, of Deal Castle, esq. M. P. for Tralee, governor and custos rotularum of the

county of Mayo, colonel of the N. Mayo militia, and a trustee of the linen manufacture.

29. At Belanagare, the seat of his brother the O'Connor Don, Dr. Charles O'Connor, author of the *Letters of Columbanus*, editor and translator of the *Irish Chronicles*, and librarian to the duke of Buckingham. Being educated for the priesthood, this learned Irishman spent his early years in Italy, and passed much of his time at Rome, of which he always spoke with enthusiasm. His first introduction to the late marquess of Buckingham was for the purpose of arranging and translating the MSS. purchased by the marquis from his grandfather, Charles O'Connor, the historian of Ireland. He afterwards became domestic chaplain to the marchioness of Buckingham, and, after her death in 1813, remained at Stowe as librarian. The first appearance of Dr. O'Connor in print was in "*Columbanus's Letters, with an Historical Address on the Calamities occasioned by Foreign Influence in the nomination of Bishops to Irish Sees*," 2 vols. 1810, 1813. His next publication was a "*Narrative of the most interesting Events in Modern Irish History*," 8vo. 1812. In 1818 and 1819 was privately printed at Buckingham, in two quarto volumes, the result of his official labours at Stowe, entitled "*Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis*;" a work abounding in valuable information and acute criticism, and forming a respectable monument of Dr. O'Connor's extensive reading. His most important labour is comprised in four thick quarto volumes, also privately printed at Buckingham at the expense of the duke, and entitled, "*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*." The first volume appeared in 1814; the second, in 1824, and is partly printed in some of the most beautiful Irish type ever cast; it was followed in 1825 and 1826, by the third and fourth volumes. The whole of this extensive work is (except the Irish originals) in Latin. It contains an account of the MSS. written in Irish characters prior to the Danish settlements in Ireland with fac-similes; of the antiquity of letters in Ireland, and of the Irish pagan year and Rathras; of ancient Irish poems quoted by Tigernach in the 11th century; of eclipses recorded in the Irish chronicles, by which the years and succession of the Irish kings of Scotia and Albania are ascertained; Gildas Col-

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man's Irish metrical list of Irish kings down to the year 1072; an Irish metrical list of the Irish kings of Scotland, written about the year 1053, from the Maguire collection at Stowe, &c. The second volume is occupied with the Annals of Tigernach of Innisfallen, and those of the Monastery of Buellius; the third with the Annals of the four Masters—so called from their having been compiled by four monks of Donegal who were great masters of Irish literature. They extend from about two hundred years before the Christian era, to A. D. 1171;—and the fourth, with the Ulster Annals, and a copious general Index. Dr. O'Connor's manners were a curious compound of Italian and Irish. He was fond of good living and his bottle of port, but never indulged to excess. Claret and fish he abhorred, and a fast day was to him a day of real penance. Latterly, although by no means of a very advanced age, he became extremely infirm, lost his memory, and nearly his sight, was paralytic, and imagined constantly that people came by night into his room. It was necessary at last to have a person continually with him; and when Stowe was shut up, on the duke repairing to the continent, he removed to his brother's seat at Belanagare, where he died, in about the 67th or 68th year of his age.

31. At Liverpool, aged 102, Charles Mac Quarrie, a native of the island of Ulva in Scotland.

*Lately.* Near Torgau, of apoplexy, aged 72, Charles Augustus, grand duke of Saxe Weimar. He had reigned, longer than any of the sovereigns of Europe, now living, having succeeded to the dukedom at the age of eight months, on the death of his father, duke Ernest Augustus Constantine, May 28, 1758. He was declared of age, Sept. 3, 1775, and, a month afterwards, married Louisa, sister to the present grand duke of Hesse Darmstadt. He had issue by that princess, who survives him, two sons, Charles Frederic, now grand duke of Saxe Weimar, who married in 1804 a sister of the emperor of the Russias, and has a son and heir, born in 1818, and other children; and duke Charles Bernard, who married in 1816, the duchess Ida of Saxe Meningen, only sister of the duchess of Kent, and has also a family.

— At Bath, Elizabeth, only daughter of the late Joseph Le Fanu, esq. of Dublin, niece to the late right hon. A. B. She-

ridan, and sister of the very rev. the dean of Emly.

— At Derwent lodge, Keswick, aged 45, sir Frederick Treise Morshead, second baronet of Trenant park in Cornwall, brother-in-law to sir Charles Mill, bart.

AUGUST.

1. At Grand Cairo, aged 25, Mr. James Webster, of the Inner Temple, fifth son of the late rev. John Webster, of Inverary. Mr. Webster had been educated at St. Andrew's. He was intended for the English bar, and had kept his terms; but, before commencing the duties of his profession, he resolved to devote a few years to the improvement of his mind, and the acquisition of a knowledge of the world, by visiting the principal countries of Europe which generally attract the enlightened traveller. He left England upwards of three years ago; and, after accomplishing the object with which he set out, he was led into more extensive plans by his active and enthusiastic spirit. He traversed the Crimea; and, after visiting Constantinople at the time the allied powers were pressing the treaty of the 6th July on the Porte, he left it when the ambassadors departed, and proceeded to Egypt. There he ascended the Nile to the confines of Nubia, and examined the ruins of Thebes and the other magnificent remains of antiquity in that interesting country. On their return to Cairo, he and his companion, Mr. Newnham, finding that a few weeks must elapse before the arrival of the season for commencing their journey to Jerusalem resolved to fill up their time by an excursion to Mount Sinai. This they accomplished; but the fatigues of the journey, and the pestilential winds of the desert, were too much for Mr. Webster. A fever ensued on his return to Cairo, and he expired in two days.

3. In South Audley-street, aged 85, Sophia, dowager baroness de Clifford. She was the third daughter of Samuel Campbell, esq. of Mount Campbell, county of Leitrim; and, by the late lord de Clifford (who died in 1777), had issue the present lord, three other sons who died young, the late countess of Albe-marle, the late viscountess Sydney, and three other daughters.

7. Col. George McGregor, C. B. 59th foot,

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8. At his country seat, Limsberg, near Upsal, aged 85, professor Thunberg. He was the senior of the university of Upsal, and the academy of sciences at Stockholm, Upsal, and Drontheim, member of sixty-six Swedish and foreign academies and learned societies, commander of the order of Warsaw, &c.

— At the Firs, Chaldon, in her 66th year, Miss Tomlins, eldest sister of sir T. E. Tomlins. She was daughter of Thomas Tomlins, esq. a solicitor in the city of London, upwards of fifty years clerk of the company of painter stainers. Poetical talent manifested itself at an early age, in several "Tributes of Affection," published under that title, by her brother, sir Thomas Edlyne Tomlins. Turning her attention to the composition of tales and novels, she gave successively several volumes to the press. The most popular of these performances was, "The Victim of Fancy," founded on the model of Göthe's "Werther." Her original productions consist, further, of "The Baroness D'Alunton;" two other novels; "Connell and Mary," a ballad, in Dr. Langhorne's selection; and many fugitive pieces, contributed to nearly every respectable periodical work, from the year 1780 to the present time. Miss Tomlins was also the translator of the first History of Napoleon Buonaparte that ever appeared in this country; part of the works of Anquetil, &c. From devotion to a father, whose severe notions of duty led him to receive the sacrifice only as a right, Miss Tomlins overcame the fascinations of literature; and actually superintended his professional concerns for seven years previously to his death, in 1815. Though anxiously and almost incessantly employed, her poetical talent was occasionally exercised in the production of pieces, as contributions to the periodical press. On her father's decease, she retired to an isolated cottage, which, for forty years, had been in the occupation of the family; and there lived with her mother and three sisters. On the 7th of August, Miss Tomlins had the misfortune to be thrown from a pony, and received bruises, which, though not apparently mortal, proved unexpectedly so on the following morning.

9. Simon Taylor, esq. B. C. L. of Harley-street, one of the Bank directors, and fellow of All-Souls college, Oxford. He was thrown from his horse in the Regent's Park, on the day before his death.

— At Göttingen, in his 63rd year, Frederick Bouterwek, professor in that university. Among his critical writings, which are numerous and varied, may be here mentioned his *Ästhetik*, in three vols., and his *Geschichte der Poesie, und der Beredsamkeit*, twelve vols. The last mentioned work is a comprehensive history of the literature of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, England, France, and Germany; and although the extent of its plan necessarily renders it sketchy, and in parts little more than a slight outline, it is valuable both as a work of reference, and as affording a connected view of the progress of letters in modern Europe.

12. John Swinfen, esq. of Swinfen.

13. At Charborough-park, near Blandford, aged 31, Richard Edward Erle Drax, esq. cousin to earl Grosvenor and the earl of Wilton. He was the only son of Richard Grosvenor, esq. M. P. for Chester, (who assumed the name of Erle Drax) by Sarah Frances, daughter and sole heiress of Edward Drax, esq. of Charborough.

14. At Claremorris, aged 68, the right honourable Denis Browne, a privy councillor for Ireland, governor of the county of Mayo, and late knight in parliament for the same; uncle to the marquess of Sligo, K. P., and great uncle to the earl of Dysart. He was the younger son of Peter the second earl of Altamont, by Elizabeth only daughter and heiress of Denis Kelly, esq. chief justice of Jamaica. He was one of the representatives of the county of Mayo in parliament for upwards of five and thirty years.

17. In his 64th year, Mr. W. Staveley, of Newington-place, near York, many years governor of York Castle.

18. At Scarborough, aged 28, T. Pigott, second son of Charles Gregory Fairfax, esq. of Gilling-castle.

— In Cumberland-street, Bryanstone-square, the widow of Paul Benfield, esq. of Woodhall, Hertfordshire, and cousin to sir John Swinburne, bart. She was daughter of Henry Swinburne, esq. of Hamsterley, county of Durham, author of "Travels in the Two Sicilies and Spain," by Martha, daughter of John Baker, of Chichester, esq. solicitor-general to the Leeward islands.

20. At Hereford, in his 77th year, James Wathen, esq., distinguished for his talents as a draftsman. Mr. Wathen was a native of Hereford, in which city early in life he acquired a respectable

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competency as a glover. He had for very many years retired from business, and employed his leisure chiefly in pedestrian excursions to all parts of the United Kingdom, taking on his route innumerable sketches of interesting objects and remarkable scenery. His pencil was most rapid and effective, enabling him sometimes to depict faithfully twenty views in a day; and it is probable that he had made more sketches from nature, during his rambles, than any other man living. Having repeatedly visited in his pedestrian tours every part of the United Kingdom, and during the war not being able to gratify his curiosity by rambling at will over the continent of Europe, his friend, captain James Prendergast, of the H. C. S. the *Hope*, proposed a voyage with him to India and back again. Mr. Wathen accepted the offer, and, contrary to expectation, obtained the permission of the East India Company. The result of his observations he communicated to the public on his return, in a work entitled, "*Journal of a Voyage in 1811 and 1812, to Madras and China; returning by the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena. Illustrated with twenty-four coloured Prints, from Drawings by the Author.*" On his voyage homewards from China, in the summer of 1812, Mr. Wathen paid a visit to the island of St. Helena; and during the short stay of not quite three days, he made no fewer than thirteen drawings from various parts of the island. Two of them are published in the "*Journal*," and eight of the remainder were, in 1821, when political events rendered that place particularly interesting, consigned to a bookseller, who, with the addition of one or two views more immediately connected with the exiled emperor, published them under the title of "*A Series of Views illustrative of the island of St. Helena*," in 4to. In the autumn of 1814, Mr. Wathen undertook a pedestrian tour of five weeks in the northern counties and to the lakes of Westmorland and Cumberland. At Malvern he met a party of ladies who wished to join him in his excursion; and who travelled with their own carriage and horses. To this he readily assented, provided they could keep pace with him; and as he knew the route well, he promised to shew them all the lions by the way. Thirty miles was the lowest rate of his walking, where he had been before. He soon found the

horses were knocked up. This was the only inconvenience, except it was that the horses required two hours to bait, when Mr. W. wanted only one hour. When on his walks, Mr. Wathen never eat meat, and drank neither wine, beer, nor spirits; tea was his great refreshment. With the carriage party, however, he managed to keep company, so as to shew them, on their way to the Lakes, much that was worth seeing at Birmingham, the potteries in and near Newcastle-under-Line, Mr. Wedgwood's works, the silk mills at Congleton, cotton works at Manchester, the old castle and courts of law at Lancaster, &c. &c. In 1816 Mr. Wathen undertook a long-wished-for pedestrian excursion to the Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, &c. and was absent from England above a year. On his return, he finished a series of interesting drawings from the sketches he made during this tour; but did not publish any account of it. Till very recently Mr. Wathen continued his accustomed habits of making long pedestrian tours. In the summer of 1827 he called on some friends near London, and told them he was about to take a little trip to Heligoland, and that he would call again on his return. He did so within a fortnight; and his whole excursion had cost him only fourteen guineas. He declared, however, that, if ever he went again, it should put him to less expense.

20. In Curzon-street, Mayfair, aged 74, the hon. Henry Fitzroy Stanhope, only brother of the earl of Harrington, and father-in-law of lord Southampton. He was born May 29, 1754, and was the younger son of general William the second earl, by lady Caroline Fitzroy, eldest daughter of Charles, second duke of Grafton, K. G. He was formerly in the army; and married Miss Eliza Falconer, by whom he had issue, a son, who died young; Henry Fitzroy, who died at the age of ten in 1802; Rob.-Henry, born in 1802.

— At Great Baddow, Essex, major-general Robert Douglas, of the 55th foot, formerly adjutant-general in the West Indies.

21. In Park-street, Grosvenor-square aged 35, sir James Wynne Butler de Bathe, second baronet of Kingstown, county of Meath (in the baronetage of the United Kingdom). He was the eldest son of sir James Michael de Bathe, the first baronet.

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— At the house of his brother the hon. Henry Legge, on Blackheath, aged 55, the hon. and rev. Augustus George Legge, M. A. chancellor and prebendary of Winchester, chaplain to his majesty, rector of Wonston and North Waltham in Hampshire, and a justice of the peace for that county; brother to the late earl of Dartmouth, K. G. and the late bishop of Oxford; and uncle to the present earl. He was born April 21, 1773, being the eighth and youngest son of William the second earl of Dartmouth, by Frances Catherine, sole daughter and heiress of sir Charles Gunter Nicoll, K. B. He was educated, with others of his brothers, by Dr. Parr at Hatton; and was afterwards of Merton college, Oxford, where he attained the degree of M. A. in 1796. He was appointed king's chaplain in 1798. For his other preferments he was entirely indebted to his half-uncle the late bishop North. Mr. Legge's death was sudden: whilst sitting at dinner, he was seized with an attack, supposed to have been occasioned by suppressed gout, and expired in a few minutes.

22. The right rev. J. T. James, bishop of Calcutta, on board the Marquis Huntly on his passage from Calcutta to Penang, aged 43.

— At his country house, at Montrouge, near Paris, aged 71, the celebrated phrenologist, Jean Joseph Gall. He was born in 1758, in a village of the duchy of Baden; his parents were in trade. His education was commenced at Baden; then he studied at Brucksal, and afterwards at Strassburgh; at Vienna he was invested with the title of doctor, in the year 1785, and he afterwards followed the practice of medicine there. He next visited the north of Germany, and he was well received in all the capitals of the German States, as well as in Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark. He explained his system concerning the functions of the brain before several sovereigns, and was honoured with marks of esteem and admiration. He likewise visited England, and at length determined to reside at Paris; he accordingly repaired to that capital in 1807, where his reputation had already preceded him. Although Dr. Gall's lectures had been interdicted at Vienna in 1802, by command of the government, the expense of publishing the great work of Gall and Spurzheim, at Paris, in 1810, was guaranteed by prince Metternich, at

that time Austrian minister at the court of France. He had previously attended several courses of Dr. Gall's lectures, consulted him as his physician, and continued attached to him up to the time of his death. The funeral of Dr. Gall took place at Paris, at the burying ground de l'Est, on August 27, and was attended by a considerable number of the faculty and men of science. Three *éloges* or *oraisons funèbres* were delivered at the place of interment by professor Bronsais, Dr. Fossati, and Dr. Londe.

23. While on a visit at Welwyn in Hertfordshire, aged 48, major-general sir Henry Torrens, K. C. B. K. T. S. col. of the second foot, adjutant-general of his majesty's forces, and a commissioner of the royal military college at Sandhurst. This most able and distinguished officer, who was brother to the hon. Robert Torrens, now judge of the Common Pleas in Ireland, and to the venerable John Torrens, D. D. the present archdeacon of Dublin, was born in the city of Londonderry in 1779, and was the son of the rev. Thomas Torrens. Having lost both his parents at an early age, he and his three brothers were left to the care of his grandfather, the rev. Dr. Thomas Torrens, a fellow of the university of Dublin, and a gentleman of literary attainments. He received his education at the military academy of Dublin, where, from the hilarity of his disposition, he was universally designated "Happy Harry." In November 1793, being then only fourteen years of age, he commenced his military career as an ensign in the 52nd regiment. In June 1794 he was promoted to a lieutenancy in the 92nd regiment; and, in Dec. 1795, was removed to the 63rd regiment. With the latter corps he joined the expedition under sir Ralph Abercrombie for the reduction of the enemy's colonies in the West Indies, distinguished himself by his bravery on several occasions, and was severely wounded in the thigh at the siege of Morne Fortunée in St. Lucie, May 1, 1796. On the 9th of June following, he rejoined the corps at St. Vincent, and was present at the storming of three French redoubts on the 10th of June. He served for seven months in the Carib country, and commanded a post in the woods during the reduction of those people. In March 1797, on the return of the troops to Jamaica, the general rewarded his services by a



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company in one of the West India corps then forming; and on one occasion, when quitting the regiment with which he had been acting, the non-commissioned officers and soldiers under his command insisted upon bearing him in triumph upon their shoulders, as a rude but touching mark of their attachment and admiration. In 1798 sir Henry Torrens returned to England; and, in August following, was appointed aide-de-camp to general Whitelocke. In November of the same year he embarked for Portugal, as aide-de-camp to general Cuyler, who commanded the British auxiliary army sent to protect that country from the threatened invasion of the Spaniards under French influence. While holding this situation, in Aug. 1799, he was removed from the West India corps to the 20th regiment of foot; and, hearing that his regiment was to form a part of the force destined for Holland under the duke of York, he immediately relinquished the advantages of his staff situation for the post of honourable danger, and served in all the different actions of that sanguinary campaign. In an engagement fought between Egmont and Harlaem, sir Henry Torrens was again desperately wounded. A musquet-ball passed through his right thigh and lodged in the left, from which it was found impossible to extract it, and it remained there until his death. In Nov. 1799, after his return from Holland, sir Henry Torrens was promoted to a majority in the Surrey rangers, which corps he formed and commanded; and he served with it one year in Nova Scotia. He was subsequently removed to the 86th foot, which he joined in Egypt, and commanded it on its return across the desert to India; as he did subsequently for two years, when in the field during the war with Scindia. Having obtained leave to return home on account of ill health, he stopped at St. Helena; there he recovered, and married Miss Paton, daughter of the governor. He then returned to India, and served there till 1805, on the 1st of January in which year he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. After his return to England, lieutenant-colonel Torrens was employed for fifteen months in the staff as assistant adjutant-general for the Kent district; he was removed as major to the 89th foot; and, in 1807, joined the expedition against South America, as military secretary to the

commander of the forces, lieutenant-general Whitelocke. At the attack of Buenos Ayres he received a contusion from a musket ball, which shattered a small writing apparatus which was slung to his side. On his return to England, he was appointed, in December 1807, assistant military secretary to the commander-in-chief. In 1808 he served in the expedition to Portugal as military secretary; and was present at the battles of Roleia and Vimiera. In October of that year he returned to England to his former secretaryship, and afterwards succeeded as chief secretary. In 1811 he was appointed to a company in the 3rd guards; in 1812 he was made aide-de-camp to the prince regent with the rank of colonel, and in 1814 he attained that of major-general. In November 1815 he was appointed colonel of the royal African corps; in September 1818, he was removed to the 2nd West India regiment; and in August 1822, to the 2nd, foot guards. About eight years ago he was appointed to the situation of adjutant-general, and his health, which had suffered from excessive exertion and close confinement while he was military secretary, was entirely restored. The last important work of sir Henry Torrens, in his situation of adjutant-general, was the revision of the army regulations. The death of sir Henry Torrens was sudden. Apparently never in better health and spirits than on the day which closed his honourable and exemplary life, he went out for an airing on horseback, accompanied by lady Torrens, his two daughters, and some gentlemen. He was seized with apoplexy, but did not fall from his horse. As soon as it was discovered that he was in a fit, he was carried into the house, and every effort was made to effect his recovery, but without success. From his first seizure, till the moment of his decease, two hours afterwards, he never spoke.

— At his seat, Callon, county of Louth, aged nearly 88, the right hon. John Foster, lord Oriel of Ferrard in that county, in the peerage of the United Kingdom, a privy councillor in England and in Ireland, a governor of the county of Louth, one of the corporators of the port of Dublin, a trustee of the linen manufacture in Ireland, and M.P.I.A. He was born Sept. 28, 1740, and was the son of Anthony, lord chief baron of the Exchequer in Ireland, by Elizabeth youngest daughter of William

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Burgh, of Dublin, esq. His younger and only brother William died bishop of Clogher in 1796; and was father of the present John Leslie Foster, formerly M. P. for the university of Dublin, and lately for the county of Louth. John Foster, having received an excellent education at Trinity college, Dublin, determined to pursue his father's profession; and, after having resided some time in London, for the purpose of study and attendance on the English courts, he was called to the Irish bar in 1766. He accordingly began to practise, while his father still presided in the exchequer. In 1784 he became a bencher of the honourable society of the King's Inns. Having been returned to parliament for the county of Louth, at a period when a seat in the Irish legislature might be considered as nearly a tenure for life, he paid immediate attention to the situation of his native country. The first thing which he attempted was the introduction of a new system of corn laws, and he accomplished it after a hard and protracted struggle. He next turned his attention towards the linen manufacture; and his zeal, his knowledge, and his talents, in this direction also, soon obtained celebrity for him. In 1785, during the vice-royalty of the duke of Rutland, Mr. Foster was appointed to the important office of chancellor of the Exchequer. In the following year, he resigned the chancellorship, on being chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, which post he retained to the Union, whilst his services were rewarded by the elevation of his lady, in 1790, to the rank of a baroness, and, in 1797, to that of viscountess. In 1793 was published in 8vo. his "Speech on the Bill for allowing Roman Catholics of Ireland to vote at the election of members of parliament, proving that this bill has a direct tendency to subvert the Protestant establishment, and to separate that kingdom for ever from Great Britain." Mr. Foster strenuously opposed the Union: and published "A Speech on the proposed Union between Great Britain and Ireland, April 11, 1799." After that important change had been consummated, Mr. Foster was still re-elected for the county of Louth. In 1802 he spoke with great ability in the imperial parliament, on the subject of the corn laws. He also delivered his sentiments at large, relative to the finances of Ireland. His name appeared soon

after in the list of those who supported the pretensions of the heir apparent to the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, during his minority. In 1803, he spoke at length on various legislative provisions relative to Ireland; particularly on the "Bank Restriction Bill." In Feb. 1804 he moved "that a committee be appointed to inquire into the state of Ireland, as to its circulating paper and specie, its current coin, and the exchange between it and Great Britain;" to which accordingly the House consented. In March he objected to the additional duty of three per cent proposed to be laid on Irish linens by Mr. Corry, the then chancellor of the Irish exchequer; and on that occasion he was complimented by Mr. Pitt, for the knowledge which he had displayed relative to that interesting subject. Soon after, in consequence of his efforts, a bill was brought in for exempting the linen of England and Ireland from the export duties recently laid upon them; and when the Irish budget was produced (June 30), Mr. Foster, as it were in the character, though not in the official garb, of the chancellor of the exchequer of Ireland, made a long and able speech. This occasioned inquiries from the opposition, with allusions to the necessity of responsibility; but it was not till towards the close of the session that a new writ was moved for the county of Louth, Mr. Foster having accepted the office, of his capabilities for which he had recently given such certain proof. He retained the chancellorship of the Irish Exchequer, with a short intermission during Mr. Fox's administration, till 1812, and he continued to represent the county of Louth, till he was created a British peer by the title of baron Oriel of Ferrard, by patent dated July 9, 1821, on occasion of the coronation of George the Fourth. For some time he was a commissioner of the Irish treasury. Chief baron Foster was twice married; both his wives were of the name of Burgh; and his son lord Oriel followed his father's double example. Lady Oriel was Margaretta-Emilia, eldest daughter of Thomas Burgh, of Bert, county of Kildare, esq. (grandson of Ulysses Burgh, bishop of Ardagh) by Anne, only daughter of Dive Downes, bishop of Cork and Ross. She was consequently cousin to the late lord chief justice Downes, and aunt to the present colonel lord Downes, for-

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merly known as sir Ulysses Burgh. Her sister Anne married a namesake, chief baron Burgh. Her ladyship died Jan. 20, 1824; and was succeeded by her only surviving son.

24. At Leamington, of apoplexy, after only a few hours illness, in his 52nd year, sir Philip Carteret Silvester, second baronet of Yardley, in Essex, post captain in the royal navy, and a companion of the order of the Bath. This distinguished officer, who, during the active part of his services, was known by the name of Carteret, was son of rear-adm. Philip Carteret, the circum-navigator, by Mary Rachel, sister to the late sir John Silvester, bart. recorder of the city of London.

25. At the house of his friend, Mr. Lewis, surgeon, at Sudbury in Suffolk, of a rapid decline, in his 33rd year, Walter Henry Burton, of Lincoln's inn, esq. barrister-at-law. He was the only son of the late Michael Burton, esq. of Mildenhamp, in Suffolk; and received his academical education at Exeter college, Oxford, where he obtained in 1816 the chancellor's prize for Latin verse, the subject of which was "Druidæ." He took the degree of B. A. in 1818, having been previously elected a fellow of his society. On the 16th of Oct. in that year he was elected a Vinerian scholar; and on the 1st of Dec. 1825, a fellow.

26. At Drumesk cottage, aged 27, Henry Whaley, esq. son of John Whaley, esq. of Stephen's-green, Dublin, and nephew of the right hon. lady Howden. —And at the same place, aged 28, Christ. St. George Trench, esq. son of Patrick Trench, esq. and nephew of the earl of Clancarty;—both drowned when bathing.

31. At Dover, Forbes Des Vœux, esq. second son of sir Charles Des Vœux, bart.

*Lately.* At Bedford Lodge, Middlesex, the most noble Susan duchess of Manchester, sister to the duke of Gordon, the duchesses of Richmond and Bedford, the marchioness Cornwallis, and lady Madelina Palmer. Her grace was the third daughter of Alexander, fourth and late duke of Gordon K.T. by Jane, daughter of sir William Maxwell, bart.; and was married to William fifth and present duke of Manchester, Nov. 8th, 1793. By his grace she had issue Susan, now marchioness of Tweeddale, five other daughters, and two sons. Her remains were interred at Kimbol-

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ton, attended by her son viscount Mandeville, and son-in-law colonel Steele.

At Sierra Leone, lieutenant-col. Dixon Denham. This officer, distinguished for his discoveries and researches in Africa, had but a short time since left this country in high health and spirits, to assume the office of commissioner of inquiry into the state of the settlement, and, shortly afterwards, succeeded to its government on the death of sir Niel Campbell. Thinking himself seasoned by the probation he had undergone, he accepted the appointment; and having attained the highest office in the colony, sunk in the prime of life, into his grave, the last of four governors who have perished in succession in little more than four years. He was an active, intelligent, and accomplished man.

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3. At Thomas's Hotel, Berkeley-square, Sophia Elizabeth, wife of the venerable Gilbert Heathcote, archdeacon of Winchester. She was the second daughter of Martin Wall, M.D. clinical professor in the University of Oxford; and was married Jan. 3, 1805.

— Charlotte Anne Dorothea, wife of David Barclay Chapman, esq. of York-terrace, Regent's Park, and daughter of the lord bishop of Sodor and Man.

10. At Lovell-hill, the residence of major-gen. Scott, lieutenant-col. Forsteen, commanding his majesty's 12th regiment of foot.

11. At Bank-hall, near Chapel-en-le-Frith, aged 77, Samuel Frith, esq. one of the oldest magistrates and deputy lieutenants for the county.

13. At Dunkin Hall, Eliz.-Anne, wife of Henry Petre, esq. and eldest daughter of E.-I. Glynn, of Glynn, Cornwall, esq.

— At Liverpool, aged 110, Mr. Roger Murphy.

14. At Lee, Charles Lucas, esq. only son of the right hon. the lord Mayor.

15. In Great Denmark Street, Dublin, aged 96, the right hon. John Creighton, earl of Erne, viscount and baron Erne, of Crum Castle, county Fermanagh, a representative peer for Ireland, a privy-councillor in that kingdom, governor of the county of Fermanagh, a trustee of the linen manufacture, &c. He was born in 1732, the second, but eldest surviving son of

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Abraham first lord Erne, by his first wife, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the right hon. John Rogerson, lord chief justice of the King's Bench in Ireland. He succeeded his father in the barony, in June 1772, and, on the 12th of October, 1773, first took his seat in the Irish House of Peers. He was advanced to the dignity of viscount Erne, of Crum Castle, by patent dated Jan. 6th, 1781; to the earldom of Erne, August 18th 1789; and he was elected a representative Peer for Ireland in 1800, at the memorable epoch of the Union.

15. At Mellor, Derbyshire, in his 72nd year, Samuel Oldknow, esq. He was born at Anderton near Bolton, in Lancashire, on the 5th Oct. 1756, of respectable parents; and, at an early age, was apprenticed to his uncle, Mr. Thomas Oldknow, a draper at Nottingham. When his apprenticeship expired, he returned to his native place, and began to manufacture muslin handkerchiefs, a branch of manufacture then unknown in that part of the country. In this he was successful. About 1784 he removed to Stockport, where he erected a most extensive muslin manufactory; and to him the country is in a great measure indebted for the introduction of that branch of manufacture. So assiduous was he in business, that (to use his own language) he seldom observed a muslin dress on any lady, of a pattern differing from his own goods, but he had an improved piece in the loom the following day. About 1790, he removed to Mellor, and erected a large establishment for spinning cotton on the banks of the Goyt. He became an extensive landed proprietor, both in that place and in the adjoining township of Marple; and a great practical and experimental agriculturist. He was appointed the president of the Derbyshire Agricultural society for the present year.

16. At sea, in the Mediterranean, commander Peter Salmond, second captain of his majesty's ship *Asia*, bearing the flag of vice-admiral sir P. Malcolm, K.C.B.

19. At Leamington, aged 24, Sarah, youngest daughter of the late sir William Walker, knight, of Leicester.

20. At his seat, Allos House, Clackmannanshire, aged 56, the right hon. John Thomas Erskine, thirteenth earl of Marr and baron Erskine. He was the eldest son of John Francis, the late earl, by Frances, only daughter of

Charles Floyer, esq. governor of Madras: and succeeded his father in the title, Aug. 20th, 1825. His wife was Janet, daughter of Patrick Miller, esq. by whom he had issue, first, the right hon. John-Francis-Miller, born in 1795, and now earl of Marr; second, Jean, who died in 1806; third, lady Frances-Jemima; and four, another daughter.

20. At Toulon, rear-adm. Collat.

23. In London, aged nearly 27, Mr. Richard Parkes Bonnington, a young artist of promise. He was born Oct. 25th 1801, at the village of Arnold near Nottingham, and was the son of a drawing-master. At the age of three years he discovered a strong attachment to the fine arts, which was principally evinced by his sketching almost every object that presented itself to his observation. He even sometimes ventured upon designs. These productions confirmed his father's desire to educate him to the arts as a profession. When Richard was not more than seven or eight years of age, he made some drawings from old buildings at Nottingham, which surpassed every thing he had before done; and about the same time he took a decided turn for marine subjects. At the age of fifteen his parents took him to Paris. Upon his arrival, application was made for permission to draw in the Louvre; and the request was instantly granted. He very soon after became a student of the Institute, and also drew at M. le baron Gros's *atelier*. About the same period he made many drawings of coast-scenery; particularly some representing fish-markets, with groups of figures, for which he at all times found a ready sale. His study from the figure was exceedingly good; though, amid the diversity of his talents, marine pieces were at once his favourites and *chef d'œuvres*. Yet he exhibited this year at Somerset House one picture of quite another class, his "Henry the third of France," in which he admirably displayed his knowledge of colour and composition, and his great attention to costume. Subsequently Mr. Bonnington undertook a tour to Italy, from whence he brought back some splendid specimens of his abilities. It was his intention, had his life been spared, to have painted a series of pictures similar to "the Ducal Palace," exhibited this year at the British Gallery, Pall Mall. His mode of preparing for a picture was, after making an

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elaborate sketch for the outline and detail, to study the local colour most accurately. His works, which have been from time to time seen in London exhibitions, are now in the possession of the duke of Bedford, the marquess of Lansdowne, countess de Grey, Mr. Vernon, and Mr. Carpenter, the latter of whom has two of his greatest works of the Canaletti school. His last sketch, "The Lute," was made for Mr. Sharpe, and is engraved in the annual called "The Anniversary," for 1829. Overwhelmed with the number of commissions which poured in upon him in consequence of his rising reputation, he seems to have viewed the accumulation of employment with dismay; and success was the proximate cause of his fatal malady. His nerves became deeply affected, and a rapid decline ensued, which in four months brought him to the tomb. His latest effort was to travel from Paris to London. His remains were deposited in the vault at St. James's, Pentonville, on the 29th Sept.; where sir Thomas Lawrence and Mr. Howard appeared for the academy, Mr. Robson and Mr. Pugin for the society of Water-colour Artists; and other friends, to the number of thirty, paid their last tribute of respect to his memory.

25. At his lodgings in Christ Church, the rev. Alexander Nicoll, D.C.L. F.R.S. regius professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, and canon of Christ Church. Dr. Nicoll was born in 1793, in or near Aberdeen, in which town he received the early part of his education. By extraordinary diligence in his studies, and a thirst for knowledge unusual at his age, he attracted the notice of the late bishop Skinner, by whose influence he obtained an appointment to one of Snell's exhibitions for natives of Scotland. He was thus removed to Balliol college, Oxford. He took the degree of B.A. in 1811; and devoted himself to the study of the oriental languages, in which his progress was extremely rapid. Soon after commencing M.A., he was nominated one of the sub-librarians of the Bodleian, where the noble collection of oriental MSS. gave him an opportunity of pursuing his favourite study to the greatest advantage. Of these MSS. a considerable portion had been either not described at all, or at least imperfectly so; many having been brought into the library from time to time, in addition to the

original collection, of which a catalogue was printed in 1787, by Dr. John Uri, a learned Hungarian. Mr. Nicoll therefore, having made an offer to the delegates of the University Press to continue Uri's catalogue, under the name of a second part, but in reality on a plan much more extensive and complete, published the first part of this 2nd volume in 1821—a work so well received by all judges of oriental literature as to secure him a high reputation not only in his own country, but also on the continent; many of the most eminent foreigners ranking themselves among his correspondents. In 1822 he succeeded the present primate of Cashel in the Hebrew professorship and the canonry of Christ Church annexed; a preferment most unexpected by him, and for which he was indebted entirely to his merits. This change in his fortunes did not produce any relaxation in the pursuit of his studies; he still went on with his catalogue, of which he had finished the Arabic department, and was preparing an index to the whole, when death put an end to his useful labours. In fulfilling the duties of his professorship Dr. Nicoll was scrupulously exact. He regularly gave a course of lectures each year, continuing them through the several terms, and dividing his pupils into two classes, according to their proficiency. But the exertion required in delivering these lectures was probably too much for a constitution naturally delicate, and rendered more feeble by sedentary habits and intense study. The first appearance of disease was an affection of the trachea; but the mischief was more deeply seated, as he was suddenly carried off by the rupture of a blood-vessel in the lungs. Dr. Nicoll was twice married; first, to a Danish lady, who died suddenly in 1815; and several years after to Sophia, daughter of the rev. J. Parsons, the learned editor of the Oxford Septuagint.

27. At Dover, aged 21, Matilda, youngest daughter of J. M. Raikes, esq. of Portland-place.

28. Aged 70, Mr. Isaac Penniston, of Harvest-lane, Sheffield, of the firm of Penniston, Wheatcroft, and Singleton, edge-tool makers. He invented the flat rope, so generally adopted in coal-pits, for which Mr. Curr, of Belle Vue got a patent.

29. At Beccles, Georgina, wife of  
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Thos. Farr, esq. and youngest daughter of sir Thomas Gooch, grandfather of the present baronet.

30. At an advanced age, at Hampstead, John Heavyside, esq. F.R.S. of Gower-street, and Geddons, near Hatfield, Herts. He was a surgeon of considerable celebrity.

*Lately.* At West Drayton, aged 77, gen. William John Arabin, late of 2nd Life-guards.

In the present year the baron Ramond, who from his earliest youth, seems to have been animated with the love of studying on the spot the beauties of mountain-scenery. For this purpose he frequently climbed the romantic summits of the Vosges mountains, and haunted the ruins of their ancient castles: such effect had these excursions upon his mind, that he there composed elegies and dramas. "These imposing remains of the middle ages," says M. Cuvier, "inspired him with the idea of painting the manners of those times in a series of continued dialogue-pictures, like the historical tragedies of Shakspeare. This work was printed at Basle, in 1780, under the title of '*Guerre d'Alsace pendant la grand Schisme d'Occident.*' It was translated into the German language, and was represented at different theatres. After Alsace, M. Ramond visited Switzerland; and the forcible impressions which that country made on him, may be seen in his notes to his translation of Coxe's '*Letters on Switzerland.*' On M. Ramond's arrival at Paris, he became connected with the *coterie* at the Hotel de la Rochefoucauld, which introduced him to the acquaintance of the cardinal de Rohan, with his friend, the miracle-worker, Cagliostro. In 1781, the miraculous Cagliostro arrived at Strasburgh, preceded, accompanied, and followed, by a number of poor people, whom he supported or healed gratuitously, and by true believers, whom he pretended to illuminate with supernatural lights. Nobody knew where he came, who he was, or from what source he drew his riches, nor by what secret power he exercised over his followers unbounded empire; still every one made his conjectures, and advanced assertions, each more strange than the other. The cardinal de Rohan not only saw, but entertained him; and, what seemed stranger than all, a prince of the church—a nobleman

of the first order, who had exercised the highest functions of diplomacy—an academician, united with the most learned men—became, in a short time, the friend, the disciple, nay, the slave of the son of a publican (as it was said) of Palermo. They could not even be separated; or, at least, if that was necessary for particular purposes, they were obliged to have recourse to a mutual friend to keep up their communications—and that friend was M. Ramond, who avowed that he was on the most intimate terms with the grand magician, and that he was witness to several of his miracles! The conduct of M. Ramond during the revolution was perfectly honourable, and his reputation gained him a seat in the legislative assembly, as one of the deputies for the city of Paris. He appeared on several remarkable occasions in the tribune, as the friend of liberty and the enemy of anarchy; and, when the opinions he supported fell, he was arrested, and confined (and happily forgotten) in the prison of Tarbes, until the celebrated 9th Thermidor arrived, when he escaped the guillotine. In 1796 he was nominated professor of natural history to the central school of the Upper Pyrenees, sitting at Tarbes. His frequent journeys to the Pic du Midi, which he ascended no less than thirty-five times, gained him the appellation of "*un savant chamois.*" His attempts, finally crowned with success, to gain the summit of Mont Perdu, the most elevated of the chain, furnished him with materials for a third work, which he published under the title of "*Voyage au Mont Perdu,*" and which presents a general theory of the Pyrenean mountains, both new and important for the study of geology. Mont Perdu is the first of calcareous mountains, as Mont Blanc is of granitic, and although less elevated, it yields to Mont Blanc, neither in the aspect of the ruins which surrounds it, nor in the imposing spectacles which characterize these monuments of the sublime revolutions of nature. "The most interesting of M. Ramond's researches," says M. Cuvier, "were his views on the vegetation of mountains, and the comparison of their zones with the climates of our hemisphere. A little before his death he again brought them before the public, with a more extensive discrimination, in a work entitled '*Mémoire sur la*

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*Végétation du Pic du Midi.* Every one admired his history of those living plants, which, under perpetual ice, and the double protection of snow and earth, perhaps never see day ten times in a century, but run through their circle of vegetation in the short space of a few weeks, to sleep again in the winter of many years; and of those common plants, lost in some measure in the midst of others, but where the ruins of a hut, or the disjunctures of a rock, exhibit their existence.' In 1800, M. Ramond, being elected to the *corps législatif*, fixed the attention of Bonaparte; who, on the establishment of the prefectures, offered him one, which he refused. At length, however, in 1806, having been noticed for his independence of character, he was offered the prefecture of Puy-de-Dôme on such terms that he could not refuse, which gave him the opportunity of frequently remarking that he was made a prefect *par lettre de cachet!* Thus he was placed at the head of the most classical department for geology. He saw himself on the spot where Pascal had made his experiments as to ascertaining heights by the barometer; and here it was that M. Ramond brought it to perfection. It was here, also, that he announced his curious views on the diurnal movements of the atmosphere. In January 1813, he obtained leave to retire, and established himself once more at Paris, with the intention of applying the remainder of his days to the education of his son, and in editing definitively his researches on natural history, geology, and botany, to which he added memoirs of his life. But, at the time of the invasion of Paris by the allied armies, his journals, correspondence, and all the materials he had collected, were in one fatal day destroyed by the Cossacks; and, of all his works of forty years, recollections only remained. He again filled in the most honourable manner different functions with which he was charged; and at last was nominated (June 1818) *conseiller d'état*; of which, without any apparent cause, he was deprived in 1822.

## OCTOBER.

2. At Waterstock, Elizabeth, wife of W. H. Ashhurst, esq. M. P.

3. At Kippax, in his 42d year, Mr.

John Atkinson, F.L.S. of Park-square, Leeds, surgeon, sixth son of the late rev. Miles Atkinson, B.D. vicar of Kippax. He was an honorary member of the Hull Literary and Philosophical Society.

3. At his residence in Portsmouth Dockyard, after a long and painful illness, aged nearly 61, the honourable sir George Grey, bart. K. C. B. captain in the royal navy, resident commissioner of Portsmouth dock-yard, marshal of the vice-admiralty court at Barbadoes; an alderman of Portsmouth, vice-president of the Naval and Military Bible Society, &c.; younger brother to earl Grey. He was born October 10, 1767, and was the fourth but third surviving son of general Charles the first earl Grey, by Elizabeth, daughter of George Grey, esq. of Southwick in the county of Durham. He was a lieutenant of the Resolution in Rodney's action in 1782; and, at the commencement of the war with France, in 1793, was serving on board the Quebec of thirty-two guns; from which he was promoted to the command of the Vesuvius bomb. On the 1st of November in the same year, he obtained post rank in the Boyne, a second-rate, bearing the flag of sir John Jervis, with whom he served during the memorable West-India campaign. At the siege of Guadaloupe he commanded a detachment of five hundred seamen and marines, landed to co-operate with the army. On the 1st of May, 1795, soon after capt. Grey's return to England, and whilst he was attending a court-martial at Portsmouth, a fire broke out on board the Boyne, then at Spithead, and she was totally destroyed. Captain Grey subsequently commanded the Glory, another ship of ninety-eight guns, forming part of the Channel fleet. In the following year, he was in the Victory, a first-rate, bearing the flag of sir John Jervis. He assisted at the defeat of the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent, Feb. 14, 1797, on which occasion the Victory had only one man killed and five wounded. In the spring of 1800, earl St. Vincent hoisted his flag on board the Ville de Paris of one hundred and ten guns, as commander-in-chief of the channel fleet; and at the same time, captain Grey assumed the command of that ship, which he held until the month of March, 1801. He was soon after appointed to one of the yachts in attendance on the royal family at Weymouth, and continued to

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he employed on that sort of service till about April, 1804, when he succeeded sir Isaac Coffin, as commissioner of Sheerness Dock-yard, whence he afterwards removed to Portsmouth. In June 1814, his present majesty, when on a visit to the fleet at Spithead, in company with the allied sovereigns, was received by commissioner Grey, and in consequence presented him with the patent of a Baronetcy. On the 20th May, 1820, he was nominated an extra K. C. B. Sir George Grey married, in July 1795, Mary, daughter of Samuel Whitbread, esq. by lady Mary Cornwallis, and sister to the late Samuel Whitbread, esq. M. P. for Bedford.

4. At Bettisfield Park, aged 81, sir Thomas Hanmer, bart. steward of the lordship of Englefield, county Flint, F.R.S. and a bencher of Lincoln's Inn. He was born April 5, 1747, and was sixth baronet of this house, being eldest son of sir Walden Hanmer, of Sympson, Bucks, in whom the title was revived. He succeeded to the title in 1783, and is succeeded by his grandson now sir John Hanmer, born December 1809.

5. At Limsfield, Surrey, in her 45th year, Eliz.-Cath. lady of sir James Stuart, bart. of Allanbank, Berwickshire, and only surviving daughter of the late Elborough Woodcock, esq. of Lincoln's Inn.

6. At Stuttgart, aged 62, her majesty Charlotte Augusta Matilda, princess royal of England, and queen of Wirtemberg. She was the eldest daughter of the late king George the third, and was born at Buckingham house, Sept. 29th 1766. She was christened on the 27th of the following month by archbishop Secker. On the 18th of May, 1797, she was married at the Chapel-Royal, St. James's, to Frederick-Charles-William, Prince, and afterwards king of Wirtemberg, to whom she was second wife. Her majesty had been afflicted, for many years past, with dropy, which was the cause of her extraordinary size. Her malady was one principal inducement for her majesty visiting her native country last year, in the hope that the English faculty might give her relief. Sir Astley Cooper and others were called in to attend the queen, and, by sir Astley Cooper's advice, her majesty underwent the operation of tapping, while residing in St. James's Palace, which was performed by sir Astley with great privacy. There were flat-

tering hopes that the operation would lead ultimately to a perfect cure. Her majesty frequently experienced great difficulty in breathing, was obliged to be carried up stairs in a chair, and, when she entered a carriage, to be assisted by two domestics. So far, however, was her majesty from having any serious idea of her approaching dissolution, that she entertained at dinner the earl and countess of Shrewsbury at her palace of Louisa, only three days previously to her death.

7. O. S. At St. Petersburg, aged 76, Robert Glen, esq. who had resided in that city for fifty-seven years.

8. At Poros, of fever, aged 24, Brudenell James Bruce, ensign in the 3rd regiment of guards, and nephew to the earl of Elgin. He was the second son of the late hon. Charles Andrew Bruce, governor of Prince of Wales's Island, by his 2nd wife Charlotte-Sophia Dashwood.

10. In Grosvenor-place, Archibald, only son of Stewart Marjoribanks, esq. M. P.

11. At Stapleton, aged 84, capt. Joseph Haynes. R. N.

12. At his residence near Lynn in Norfolk, in his 90th year, sir Andrew Snape Hamond, bart. F. R. S.; a captain in the royal navy, one of the elder brethren of the Trinity-house, and formerly comptroller of the navy. He was born at Blackheath, December 17, (old style), 1738, and was the only son of Robert Hamond, esq. a merchant and considerable ship-owner, by Susannah, daughter and sole heiress of Robert Snape, of Limekilns, near Blackheath, esq.

13. At Henley-upon-Thames, aged 18, Charlotte-Anne, second daughter of the late col. Childers, of Cantley, near Doncaster.

— At Milan, aged 75, Vincenzo Monti one of the most eminent of the modern Italian poets. His first literary work of importance was his tragedy of Aristodemo, which appeared in 1786, and at once fixed his reputation. This was succeeded by another entitled Gallotti Manfredi, which was, however, less favourably received. At length appeared his poem of the 'Basvilliana,' to which he will be indebted for his most permanent fame. For some time he was secretary to the Cisalpine Republic, and, in 1805, was appointed by Napoleon historiographer of the king-



## DEATHS.—Oct.

dom of Italy. Among various other literary works of Monti's, may here be mentioned, *Il Bardo della Selva Nera*, an epic in six cantos; and a translation of Homer's *Iliad*.

13 At Kingston-house, in her 52d year, the right honourable Catherine Bridget, Viscountess Ennismore. She was the eldest daughter of Robert first lord Clonbrock, by Letitia, daughter and heir of John Green, esq. and niece to the earl of Norbury; and was married June 10, 1797, to the late Richard viscount Ennismore, M.P. for the county of Cork. By that nobleman, whom she survived more than a year, her ladyship has left four sons and two daughters.

19. At Bollingham, aged 72, Elizabeth, relict of John Kennedy, of Cultra, county Down, esq. She was daughter of the late rev. Henry Cole, the brother of lord Mountflorece, afterwards earl of Enniskillen.

21. In Grafton-street, Richard Wharton, esq. F. R. S. of Old Park, county Durham. He was the third son of Thos. Wharton, of Old Park, M. D.; was a Barrister-at-law; and was elected M. P. for the city of Durham 1802—6, 1807

—12. He was some time chairman of the committee of Ways and Means; and afterwards joint secretary of the Treasury. He was the author of "Observations on the Authenticity of Bruce's Travels in Abyssinia," 1800, 4to.; "Fables from the Italian Poets," 1805, two vols. 8vo.; "Remarks on the Jacobinical tendency of the Edinburgh Review," 1809, 8vo.; "Ronscevalles," a Poem, dedicated to the Princess Elizabeth, 1812, 4to. He married, June 7, 1792, Henrietta, daughter of — Farrer, of Lincoln's Inn, esq.

24. At Edinburgh, of ossification of the heart, sir William Forbes, seventh baronet of his family, F.S.A. Edinburgh, and head of the banking-house of Forbes, Hunter, and co. He was eldest son of the late sir William Forbes, the sixth baronet, also a banker in Edinburgh and the author of the *Life of Beattie*.

25. At Funchal in Madeira the hon. W. Pitt Canning, eldest son of the late prime minister. He was a captain in the Navy, and had been raised from being a midshipman to post-captain in less than four years. Capt. Canning had been engaged to dine with Mr. Gordon. He passed the morning in the exercise of rackets, with which he became exces-

sively heated. He walked out for the purpose of bathing in a large reservoir near to the house of his host. It is supposed that on plunging into the water he was seized either with the cramp or an apoplectic fit, as he rose no more alive.

27. At Geneva, aged 36, Joseph Henry Butterworth, esq. of Clapham Common, son of the late Joseph Butterworth, esq. formerly M. P. for Coventry, and for Dover.

— At Hackney, capt. T. H. Bruen, 89th regiment, brother to lieutenant-col. Henry Bruen M. P. of Oak Park, county Carlow.

While walking in Norfolk-street, Mr. George Wilson, the artist. He was the inventor of embossing glass; and in his youth was a great favourite of sir Joshua Reynolds.

29. Luke Hansard, esq., an eminent printer. He was born in the parish of St. Mary, Norwich, July 5, 1752, and was the son of a respectable manufacturer in that city, who in his latter days was unsuccessful in business, and died in 1769, at the early age of forty-two. He was placed for education at the grammar-school of Boston in Lincolnshire, and was afterwards apprenticed to Mr. Stephen White, printer, at Norwich. Immediately after the close of his apprenticeship, he came to London, with a solitary guinea in his pocket; and it is still remembered that the first guinea he earned, beyond his immediate necessities, he transmitted to Norwich to pay an unsatisfied demand upon his father. Mr. Hansard first obtained a situation as a compositor at the printing-office of Mr. Hughes, of Great Turnstile, who was printer to the House of Commons, and carried on that branch when it was of small extent compared with what it had arrived at about thirty years ago, when Mr. Hughes resigned it to Mr. Hansard. For nearly twenty years Mr. Hansard possessed the full confidence of his employer, and had extended the whole concern, not only by the indefatigable attention he bestowed upon it, but by the invention and introduction of a system of regular operations, and of mechanical improvements, which evinced the highest professional skill and judgment. Of this system and these improvements, an account is found in the report of "a Select Committee on Printing done for the House of Com-

## DEATHS.—Oct.

mons," which was ordered to be printed July 10, 1828. Before this committee John Rickman, esq. clerk assistant to the House of Commons, gave the following history and character of Mr. Hansard and his establishment. "Mr. Hansard has been employed in the service of the House of Commons from the year 1772, and came into the management of the printing business as a partner of Mr. Hughs in 1774. Half a century ago the printing of the House of Commons was comparatively of small extent, and the types of the printer were oftener employed in the service of booksellers and of authors than at present. Mr. Hansard, early in his career, was employed by Mr. Orme in printing his 'History of India;' and from personally attending that gentleman, and assisting him in correcting of the proofs and revises, he gained a competent knowledge of India affairs, which afterwards became highly useful to himself and to the public. He had previously become acquainted with Mr. Burke in carrying through the press for him the early editions of his 'Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful;' so that, when Mr. Burke came into public life, and commenced his Indian Inquiries at the House of Commons, he was highly pleased to see his humble friend again at hand, and soon found him his most useful assistant in discovering, among the mass of Indian papers (reluctantly furnished to the committee), such as were essential to his purpose, especially the various 'Consultations,' which developed the secrets of the then policy of our Indian empire. After this, Mr. Burke, of course, employed Mr. Hansard in printing his 'Essay on the French Revolution;' and the large and reiterated impressions were carried through the press with a facility that called forth Mr. Burke's warm commendation. Dr. Johnson, when in connexion with Mr. Dodsley, preferred Mr. Hansard as his printer, whenever his services could be obtained; who also carried the original edition of the 'Hermes' through the press, greatly to the satisfaction of Dr. Harris. Mr. Bryant presented Mr. Hansard with a copy of his work, in token of satisfaction in his manner of printing it; and Poreon pronounced him to be the most accurate of Greek printers. This last praise, well-merited no doubt, and gratifying as it was, led him to purchase

a store of Greek type, which the increase of parliamentary business rendered dead stock, after it had been employed in printing the Port Royal Greek Grammar, Clark's Homer, and a few other works. In public employment Mr. Hansard first attracted Mr. Pitt's notice, when the latter, having drafted in his own hand-writing (which was not remarkably legible) the report of the secret committee on the French Revolution, sent for the printer, and stated to him the pressure of the occasion, doubting however the possibility of his reading the manuscript; but the printer was accustomed to the hurried writing of great men, and having read it to Mr. Pitt immediately, undertook to copy it himself for press; when, a question of secrecy and expedition arising, Mr. Hansard at once showed in what manner the first object was perfectly secure, and the more so among numerous workmen; and as for expedition, Mr. Pitt was astonished at receiving all the proof-sheets early the next morning, and was not slow in expressing his sense of this opportune service. The same thing happened in the case of the report of 1794, on advancing Exchequer bills in relief of a commercial panic; when expedition was of the last importance for insuring full effect to the aid thus wisely and effectually afforded by a judicious government. Mr. Hansard next distinguished himself in the service of the finance committee of 1796-7. In the next year the slave trade was brought before the privy council, and the mass of matter printed at the suggestion of Mr. Wilberforce and Dr. Porteus (afterwards bishop of London) was such, that three printers were employed, Mr. Hansard planning and distributing the whole. After the union with Ireland, the printing of the House of Commons increased rapidly, and Mr. Hansard's occupation became too incessant to admit of private printing, except such as could be procured in the dead time of the year, to keep his large establishment unbroken, in readiness for each ensuing session of parliament. Among the combinations of workmen in the year 1805, the printing trade did not escape, and the standing order for the delivery of printed bills before their first reading was deemed by the workmen a good opportunity to try an experiment of forcing a rise of wages in

## DEATHS.—Nov.

Mr. Hansard's printing office. The pressmen were put in front of the battle; twenty-four of them simultaneously left their work. Their master lost no time in seeking and finding unemployed men in the streets and stable-yards, and he was seen by more members of parliament than one in a working jacket, and, with his sons, instructing these new men by precept and example. No person, with less practice than Mr. Hansard in printing arrangements, could equal him, in seeing at a glance, and marking on paper (intelligibly to the workmen) the exact scheme of every type, and line, and column, and indentation, so as to be at once perspicuous and economical. This kind of editorial attention in the variety and novelty of arrangement of House of Commons printed papers, saves considerable expense to the public, who pay nothing for it. In this department Mr. Hansard's singular invention for invariably leading the eye across two pages, has promoted both convenience and economy by the disuse of leaves folded as maps. So his printing four folio pages at once instead of two, saves to the public half the press-work (about twenty-five per cent. on the total printing expenses) and is no inconvenience, if (as recently contrived) the leaves are cut before delivery to members." Mr. Hansard was abstemious in his diet, saw but little company, and was seldom in any part of the day so detached from business, as to have leisure either to visit or be visited merely for convivial purposes. There was nothing in his mode of life showy and ostentatious. His contributions to public charities were liberal, though little known. He was throughout life an early riser, and sketched in his mind the plan and business of the day, before others were awake to execute it. During the more complicated periods of parliamentary duties, he was always prepared, and knew directly where to look for extraordinary as well as ordinary assistance. On most occasions, on the shortest possible notice, he was enabled to execute with ease and promptitude, what others, with less experience and a less establishment, would have thought impossible under any circumstances. After the enjoyment of an uncommon portion of good health, promoted rather than injured by his laborious habits, he, for the first time felt an alarming change about the be-

ginning of the year 1828. This appeared in a paralysis of the left eye, and, although he recovered from it, it was obvious that his constitution was beginning to give way. When parliament met, however, he made his usual preparations and began his usual labours, with as much apparent zeal and energy as on any former occasion. He observed, a few days before his death, that he had been for some months aware that this would be his last regular effort, but that he had determined never to relax from his duties, while parliament sat. The session terminated on the 28th of July, and one of his last labours was the printing of that report, so honourable to himself, from which we have made the above extract. Soon after, becoming more sensible of his decay, he took a solemn leave of the principal persons employed in his large establishment, and intimated, as his own firm belief, that he should see them no more. After this, his health rapidly declined, and, early in September, he repaired to Worthing. After a month's residence there, passed for the most part, in helpless weakness and decay, he returned, by slow journeys, to his son's house in Southampton-street. During the few days that remained of his life, he took leave of his family individually, explaining to each the provision he had made for them, dispersing among them tokens of remembrance, and bestowing upon them his blessing. He left a widow, three sons and two daughters.

*Lately.* At Paris, Dr. Chaussier, member of the Academy of Sciences, honorary professor of medicine at Paris, and to whom medical science is indebted for many important physiological and anatomical discoveries.

At Paris, Wm.-Alexander Maddocks, esq. of Tanyr-allt, near Tremadoc, in Caernarvonshire, many years M.P. for Boston.

At Courtown, county Wexford, aged 25, the hon. Robert Stopford, fifth son of the earl of Courtown.

## NOVEMBER.

2. At Teddington House, the wife of the hon. Wm. Jervis, eldest son of viscount St. Vincent.

3. At Methley Park, aged 65, the hon. Hen. Saville, only surviving brother

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of the right hon. the earl of Mexborough.

5. In Manchester-street, aged 99, Mrs. Eliz. Dalrymple, surviving sister of the late admiral Dalrymple.

— In her 71st year, the Dowager empress of Russia, widow of the emperor Paul. She was Sophia Dorothea of Wirtemberg Stuttgart; sister to the late king of Wirtemberg, and to Elizabeth empress of Austria, who died in 1780. By Paul she was mother of the late and present emperors of Russia, the archduke Constantine, and five daughters. Paul died in 1800; and, for some years after, she was supposed to have exercised considerable influence in affairs of state. The anniversary of her birth-day had been celebrated but ten days before her death, the emperor having hastened his journey from Odessa for the purpose of being present at it. After lying in state several days in one of the halls of the palace, which was magnificently fitted up for the occasion, after the designs of the architect Rossi; her remains were finally entombed with extraordinary pomp in the church of St. Peter and Paul, on the 28th. Around the catafalco were twelve pedestals, in the form of antique tombs, supporting colossal tripods, from which arose clouds of incense. The figures of eight angels, with reversed torches in one hand and cypress wreaths in the other, served also to decorate the catafalco; while two ranges of gilt candelabra, blazing with a profusion of tapers, heightened the melancholy grandeur of the spectacle. Orders were issued that the mourning should continue till the anniversary of the empress's decease.

6. At Lausanne, in Switzerland, Cath. wife of John W. Fane, esq. (eldest son of the Member for Oxfordshire), and dau. of sir Benj. Hobhouse, bart. He was married Nov. 30, 1826.

8. In Great Mary-le-bone-st. aged 56, Benj. Pereira, esq. of Shortwood and Eaglesnest, Jamaica, the eldest nephew of sir Manasseh Lopez, bart. M.P.

9. In Princes-st. Upper Stamford-st. aged 95, major Chas. Stewart, R.M.

12. In Alfred-place, aged 45, the hon. Edward Rodney, capt. R. N. uncle to lord Rodney. He was the fourth and youngest son of Adm. the first lord, by his second wife Henrietta, daughter of John Elias, esq.

12. Francis Smith, esq. of Holt Lodge, near Newbury, youngest son of the late

rev. Dr. Smith, master of Westminster school.

— At Hagley, Worcestershire, aged 65, the right hon. George Fulke, 4th lord Lyttelton. His lordship was a bachelor; and is succeeded by his half-brother Wm.-Henry, who married, in 1812, a daughter of earl Spencer.

15. At Dresden, her majesty Maria Amelia Augusta, dowager queen of Saxony. She was sister to the late king of Bavaria, and widow of king Frederick of Saxony.

— In Russell-square, aged 67, S. Marryat, esq. one of his majesty's counsel, and a bencher of the Middle-Temple.

17. At Scarborough, aged 71, Wm. Belcombe, M.D.

19. At the Hazles, the seat of his brother-in-law, Jos. Birch, esq. M. P. Benjamin Arthur Heywood, esq. of Claremont, near Manchester.

— At Verona, of which city he was a native, the Cavaliere Ippolito Pindemonte, aged 75. As a poet, Pindemonte obtained a very extensive reputation, and a rank hardly inferior to that of any of his contemporaries: his most popular productions are his *Lyrical Pieces*, his "Viaggi," "Sermoni," and "Epistles;" besides which he was the author of two tragedies. The prevailing character of his poems consists in depth of thought, strong feeling, and moral purity. He was well acquainted with our poetical literature, and had imbibed much of its spirit.

21. Drowned, in the wreck of *La Jeune Emma*, West Indiaman of Cherbourg, on the Cefre Sidan sands, near Carmarthen, lieut.-col. Coquelin, of the French marines, aged 45; Mademoiselle Adelini Coquelin, his daughter, and a niece of the cleveant empress Josephine, aged 12; monsieur Chancelot de Chatellon, the captain, and ten others of the crew.

— At Milton Abbas, aged 76, the hon. lady Caroline Damer, sister and sole heir of the last earl of Dorchester, who died in 1808. She was the only daughter of Joseph the first earl, by lady Caroline Sackville, only daughter of Lionel first duke of Dorset, K. G.

— Aged 43, Mary-Ann, wife of Mr. Thomas Frid, hop-factor, Southwark, and sister to sir Wm. Salstonstall Wiseman, bart. captain R.N.

22. At her seat, Brynthalt, Denbighshire, aged 61, the right hon. Char-

## DEATHS.—Dec.

lotte Viscountess Dungannon, aunt to lord Southampton.

— At Inverness, aged 76, the relict of the right rev. Bishop Macfarlane.

25. At Paris, Donna Marie-Therese de Bourbon, countess of Chinchon, daughter of Don Louis of Spain, and sister to the Cardinal de Bourbon, archbishop of Toledo. She was compelled to marry Emmanuel Godoy, prince of the peace, the favourite of Charles IV., from whom she had lived separate since 1818. She resided with her brother the duke de San Fernando, who, as well as the Cardinal de Bourbon, had been forced to leave Spain in consequence of their political opinions. Her cousin, Ferdinand VII., had allowed her, since last year, the means of living at Paris in a manner becoming her rank.

25. At Wicklow, aged 95, Peter La Touche, esq. He was the youngest of those three brothers, who, as successors to their venerated father, in the well-known Bank in Castle-street, Dublin, were for so many years at the head of the commercial interest in that city.

26. At Kingston-upon-Thames, aged 74, the hon. Mrs. Lisle, aunt to the marquis Cholmondeley.

29. Aged 60, Joseph Remnant, esq. of Bloomsbury.

30. At Pilmore House, Durham, in his 62nd year, Gordon Skelley, esq. late a lieutenant-col. in the army.

*Lately.* Lieut.-col. Strickland, of the Royal Marines.

At the seat of his uncle, sir Charles Mill, bart. Charles, son of the late John Barker, esq.

In Harley street, aged 68, the lady Harriet Anne Barbara, wife of the right hon. John Sullivan, and aunt to the earl of Buckinghamshire, the Marchioness of Bute, and viscountess Goderich. She was the second daughter (and twin, with Henrietta Countess of Guildford who died in 1794) of George third earl of Buckinghamshire, by Albinia daughter and co-heiress of Lord Vere Bertie.

At Genoa, Louisa Amelia, wife of major-gen. sir H. C. Bunbury, bart. K. C. B.; and cousin to lord Holland. She was the eldest daughter of gen. the hon. Henry Edward Fox, by Mary Anne, daughter of William Clayton, esq.; was married to sir Henry April 4. 1807, and, of several children, has left four sons surviving.

At Naples, W. I. Honeyman, esq.

At La Fleche, aged 83, the Rev. Thomas Sedgwick Whalley, D. D. late of Mendip Lodge, Somerset. He was the last surviving son of the rev. John Whalley, D. D. master of Peter-house, and regius professor of divinity at Cambridge. The gentleman now deceased was of St. John's College in that University, B. A. 1767, M. A. 1774; and was presented to the Rectory of Hagworthingham, in Lincolnshire, in 1772, by Dr. Keene, then bishop of Ely. He published in 1778, 8vo. "Edwy and Edilda, a tale," a second edition, with plates, 1794; "The Fatal Kiss, a poem, written in the last stage of an atrophy, by a beautiful young lady," 1781, 4to.; "Verses addressed to Mrs. Siddons," 1782, 4to.; "Mont Blanc, a poem," 1788, 4to.; "The Castle of Montval, a tragedy," 1781, 8vo. second edition, 1799; "Poems and Translations," 8vo.; "Kennet and Finelia, a legendary tale," 1809, 8vo.

At Paris, the dowager duchess of Rohan.

At Madras, aged 30, R. Orlando Bridgeman, advocate-gen. of Bombay.

At Paris, Frances, wife of col. the hon. Count Henry Dillon, uncle to viscount Dillon.

At Dieppe, miss Georgiana Drewe, daughter of the late lady Susan Douglas, by her second husband John Drewe, esq. and niece to the earl of Dunmore.

At Bath, major-gen. Ambrose, of the Austrian service, and Chamberlain to the emperor of Austria.

## DECEMBER.

1. At Parkerswell House, near Exeter, in her 88th year, Mrs. Gifford, mother of the late lord Gifford, master of the rolls.

7. In his 82nd year, William Taylor, esq. of Sandford House.

8. At Torquay, aged 19, Charlotte Frances, eldest daughter of the hon. Lindsey Burrell, grand-daughter to lady Willoughby d'Eresby, and niece to the countess of Clare and lord Gwydir.

9. At Suncombe House, B. Keene, jun. esq. eldest son of B. Keene, esq. of Westoe Lodge, Cambridgeshire.

11. In Edinburgh, aged 92, Mrs. Murray, of Henderland.

— At Workington Hall, J. Curwen, esq. M.P. Mr. Curwen was born in

## DEATHS—DEC.

July 1756; he was a member of the respectable family of M'Christen, of the Isle of Man, "who," says Lysons, "were, for several generations, deemsters, or judges, of that island." At the age of about twenty Mr. Curwen, then Mr. Christian, married Miss Taubman, of the Isle of Man, by whom he had issue one son. On her death, Mr. Curwen married his cousin, Miss Curwen, only daughter of the late Henry Curwen, esq. of Workington Hall, and last of the family of that name; Mr. Curwen therefore added Curwen to his name of Christian in 1790, by the king's sign manual. By his second marriage he had three sons, Henry, William, and John, and two daughters, all living, except William. Mrs. Curwen died in 1820. Mr. Curwen began his political career in 1796, in which year he was returned to parliament for the city of Carlisle, after a warm struggle; and he retained his seat till 1812. In 1816, on the death of Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Curwen was prevailed upon to quit his retirement, and again offer himself for Carlisle. He was elected after a sharp struggle with the late sir Philip Musgrave, bart. In June 1818, Mr. Curwen, in conjunction with sir James Graham, bart. was re-elected for Carlisle, without any other impediment than that opposed by the silly pretensions of Mr. Parkins. At the general election which followed the death of George the third, in 1820, Mr. Curwen, to the public surprise, once more presented himself to the Freeman of Carlisle, and was at first very coolly received, but was returned. At the Cumberland election, which shortly followed, Mr. Curwen declared himself a candidate for the county representation, and succeeded in ousting lord Morpeth, without a contest. In 1826, he was again returned for Cumberland, and met with no opposition. Mr. Curwen was in early life actuated by a just sense of the importance of rural improvement. This incessantly engaged

his attention. Mr. Curwen was particularly attentive to assist that general law of nature, by which animals and vegetables reciprocally interchange their substance or qualities with each other; on this circumstance he founded the necessity and propriety of his "soiling system"—that is, by confining the animals to the spot where they are fed; by which means a more abundant quantity of dress is collected and prepared to be returned to the partly exhausted soil, whence the food has been produced. Hence Mr. Curwen was called "the Father of the Soiling System." He also studied, and successfully practised the means of rendering the food of cattle more nutritious, by preparing it for their use by steaming, in preference to simple boiling, thereby retaining the saccharine qualities of the roots, &c., which would, by boiling, be extracted and lost.

11. In Cavendish-square, aged 76, William Phillips, esq.

18. In his 42nd year, Joseph Rebell, director of the gallery, and first professor of landscape-painting, at Vienna. His forte lay in views of coast and river scenery, in which branch of his art he may justly rank among the most eminent landscape-painters the present age has produced in any country.

20. At Clifton, lady Sawyer, wife of admiral sir Herbert Sawyer, K.C.B.

25. Aged 73, John Beevor, esq. major in the army, uncle to sir T. B. Beevor, bart.

— At Hargham, Juliana-Betina, wife of the rev. Henry Howard, and sister to sir T. B. Beevor, bart.

— At the Quinten, near Oswestry, F. R. West, son and heir of F. R. West, esq. M.P. for the Boroughs of Denbigh, Holt, Ruthin, &c.

28. At Eaglehurst, in his 40th year, the right hon. George-Frederick Augustus Lambert, Viscount Kilcourseie, son and heir-apparent to the earl of Cavan.

**FINANCE ACCOUNTS**  
**FOR THE YEAR ENDED 5TH JANUARY, 1828.**

**CLASS.**

- I. --- PUBLIC INCOME.**
- II. --- PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.**
- III. --- DISPOSITION OF GRANTS.**
- IV. --- PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT.**
- V. --- UNFUNDED DEBT.**
- VI. --- TRADE AND NAVIGATION.**

## FINANCE ACCOUNTS

## PUBLIC INCOME OF THE UNITED

An Account of the ORDINARY REVENUES and EXTRAORDINARY  
Kingdom of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND,

HEADS OF REVENUE.	GROSS RECEIPT.			Repayments, Allowances, Discounts, Drawbacks, and Bonuses of the Nature of Drawbacks, &c.		
ORDINARY REVENUES.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Customs .....	21,009,052	10	4½	1,069,639	14	6½
Excise .....	22,224,443	15	8½	2,231,217	7	10
Stamps .....	7,275,552	16	4½	255,046	13	4½
Taxes, under the Management of the Commissioners of Taxes..	5,092,078	9	5½	8,361	18	5
Post Office .....	2,278,412	14	7½	88,055	10	9½
One Shilling in the Pound, and Sixpence in the Pound on Pensions and Salaries, and Four Shillings in the Pound on Pensions .....	63,842	11	7½	..	..	..
Hackney Coaches, and Hawkers and Pedlars .....	72,254	14	11	..	..	..
Crown Lands .....	317,087	0	7	..	..	..
Small Branches of the King's Hereditary Revenue .....	9,172	11	7	..	..	..
Surplus Fees of Regulated Public Offices .....	65,995	14	0½	..	..	..
Poundage Fees, Pells Fees, Casualties, Treasury Fees, and Hospital Fees .....	9,896	8	0	..	..	..
TOTALS of Ordinary Revenues.....	58,417,729	7	2½	3,652,343	3	11
OTHER RESOURCES.						
Money received from the East India Company, on account of Retired Pay, Pensions, &c. of his Majesty's Forces serving in the East Indies, per Act 4 Geo. 4, c. 71.....	60,000	0	0	..	..	..
From the Commissioners for the Issue of Exchequer Bills, per Act 57 Geo. 3, c. 34, for the Employment of the Poor ....	272,877	0	10	..	..	..
Money received from the Trustees of Naval and Military Pensions .....	4,245,000	0	0	..	..	..
From several County Treasurers, and others in Ireland, on account of Advances made by the Treasury for improving Post Roads, for building Gaols, for the Police, for Public Works, employment of the Poor, &c.....	172,983	17	9½	..	..	..
Imprest Monies, repaid by sundry Public Accountants, and other Monies paid to the Public .....	378,788	13	7½	..	..	..
Money brought from the Civil List on account of the Clerk of the Hanaper .....	2,500	0	0	..	..	..
Repayment on account of Money advanced out of the Consolidated Fund, in the year 1825, for Silver Coinage .....	199,634	5	2	..	..	..
From the Bank of England, on account of Unclaimed Dividends .....	19,158	13	8	..	..	..
TOTALS of the Public Income of the United Kingdom..	63,768,671	18	3½	3,652,343	3	11

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, }  
6th March, 1828.



# APPENDIX TO CHRONICLE. 271

FOR THE YEAR 1828.

KINGDOM, FOR THE YEAR 1828.

RESOURCES, constituting the PUBLIC INCOME of the United for the Year ended 5th January, 1828.

NETT RECEIPT within the Year, after deducting REPAYMENTS &c.			TOTAL INCOME, including BALANCES outstanding 5th Jan. 1827.			Charges of Collection, and other Payments out of the Income, in its Progress to the Exchequer.			PAYMENTS into the EXCHEQUER.			BALANCES and BILLS Outstanding on the 5th January 1828.			Rate per Cent for which the Gross Receipt was ad- ded.		
£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
19,939,392	15	10	20,519,778	11	7½	2,225,620	1	6½	17,894,405	4	1	399,753	6	0½	7	1	10
19,993,226	7	10½	20,995,324	11	8½	1,513,780	17	1½	18,438,707	4	7½	1,042,836	9	11½	5	11	3
7,020,506	4	0½	7,298,894	17	0	191,657	14	11½	6,811,226	8	0	296,110	14	0½	2	13	8
5,083,714	11	0½	5,186,874	14	10½	315,850	1	7½	4,768,273	6	3	102,751	6	11½	5	10	6
2,190,337	3	10	2,384,138	6	1	742,404	8	5½	1,463,000	0	0	178,733	17	7½	30	8	11
63,842	11	7½	66,960	4	10½	1,447	9	9	62,409	9	10½	3,103	5	3	2	5	4
72,254	14	11	72,631	12	11	9,765	2	6	62,689	0	0	177	16	5	13	10	3
317,027	0	7	341,803	14	9½	264,846	11	9½	..	..	..	76,937	3	0½	14	3	8
9,172	11	7	12,973	1	9½	3,214	2	10	4,973	7	11	4,765	11	0½	13	4	8
65,995	14	0½	65,995	14	0½	..	..	..	65,995	14	0½	..	..	..	..	..	..
9,896	8	0	9,896	8	0	..	..	..	9,896	8	0	..	..	..	..	..	..
54,765,326	3	3½	56,955,271	17	8½	5,268,486	10	6½	49,581,376	2	9½	2,105,209	4	4½	6	15	9
60,000	0	0	60,000	0	0	..	..	..	60,000	0	0	..	..	..	..	..	..
272,877	0	10	272,877	0	10	..	..	..	272,877	3	10	..	..	..	..	..	..
4,245,000	0	0	4,245,000	0	0	..	..	..	4,245,000	0	0	..	..	..	..	..	..
172,983	17	9½	172,983	17	9½	..	..	..	172,983	17	9½	..	..	..	..	..	..
378,788	13	7½	378,788	13	7½	..	..	..	378,788	13	7½	..	..	..	..	..	..
2,500	0	0	2,500	0	0	..	..	..	2,500	0	0	..	..	..	..	..	..
199,634	5	2	199,634	5	2	..	..	..	199,634	5	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
19,158	13	8	19,158	13	8	..	..	..	19,158	13	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
60,116,328	14	4½	62,306,214	8	9½	5,268,486	10	6½	54,932,518	13	10	2,105,209	4	4½	..	..	..

GEO. R. DAWSON.

# 272 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1828.

## PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.

An Account of the PUBLIC EXPENDITURE of the United Kingdom, exclusive of the Sums applied to the Reduction of the National Debt, in the year ended 5th January, 1828.

EXPENDITURE.	—	—
<i>Payments out of the Income in its Progress to the Exchequer.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Charges of Collection .....	3,066,456 13 5½	
Other Payments .....	1,302,029 17 1½	
Total Payments out of the Income, prior to the Payments into the Exchequer.....	.. ..	5,268,486 10 6½
<i>Payments out of the Exchequer.</i>		
Dividends, Interest, and Management of the Public Funded Debt, four Quarters to 10th October 1827, exclusive of 5,704,706½ s. 10d. issued to the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt .....	27,566,601 7 0	
Interest on Exchequer Bills .....	673,246 12 3	
Issued to the Trustees of Naval and Military Pensions, &c. per Act 3 Geo. 3, c. 51 .....	2,214,260 0 0	
Ditto - - Bank of England, per Act 4 Geo. 4, c. 22 .....	585,740 0 0	
Civil List .....	1,057,000 0 0	28,239,847 19 3
Pensions charged by Act of Parliament on Consolidated Fund, four Quarters to 10th October 1827 .....	365,908 15 1½	
Salaries and Allowances .....	80,896 1 5½	
Courts of Justice .....	148,477 8 7½	
Mint .....	14,750 0 0	
Bounties .....	2,056 13 8	
Miscellaneous .....	245,459 9 11	
Ditto - Ireland.....	303,199 19 0	
For the purchase of the Duke of Athol's Interest in the Public Revenues of the Isle of Man .....	131,200 0 0	
Towards rebuilding London Bridge, per Act 7 Geo. 4, c. 40..	120,000 0 0	
Army .....	7,876,682 8 2½	
Navy .....	6,414,727 4 0	
Ordnance .....	1,014,403 0 0	
Miscellaneous .....	2,863,237 19 5	
Lottery Prizes .....	193,014 0 0	19,069,060 11 7½
Bank of England, for Discount and Management in the Funding 8,000,000l. Exchequer Bills.....	36,267 1 3	
By the Commissioners for issuing Exchequer Bills, per Act 3 Geo. 4, c. 86, for the employment of the Poor .....	551,900 0 0	
Advances out of the Consolidated Fund in Ireland, for Public Works.....	437,753 19 9	
		1,218,065 1 0
TOTAL .....		59,068,778 10 2½
Surplus of Income paid into the Exchequer, over Expenditure issued thereout .....		1,132,225 14 2½
		60,201,003 4 4½

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, }  
24th March 1827. }

GEO. R. DAWSON.

# APPENDIX TO CHRONICLE. 273

## DISPOSITION OF GRANTS.

An Account showing how the MONIES given for the SERVICE of the United Kingdom of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, for the Year 1827, have been disposed of; distinguished under their several Heads; to 5th January, 1828.

SERVICES.	SUMS Voted or Granted.			SUMS Paid.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
NAVY .....	6,125,850	0	7	5,790,791	18	0
ORDNANCE .....	1,649,972	0	0	1,420,000	0	0
FORCES.....	8,153,228	19	4½	6,996,906	13	3½
Royal Military College.....	13,229	3	7	13,000	0	0
Royal Military Asylum.....	28,046	17	0	16,454	1	3
Civil Contingencies, for the year 1827 .....	290,000	0	0	273,957	1	8
Works and Repairs of Public Buildings.....	27,000	0	0	15,768	7	3
Works executing at the Royal Harbour of George the Fourth, at Kingstown (formerly Dunleary).....	20,000	0	0	—		
Works for the accommodation of the two Houses of Parliament .....	25,160	0	0	19,083	9	3
To complete the Expense of erecting the new Courts of Justice at Westminster.....	18,612	0	0	7,290	13	11
Salaries and Allowances to the Officers of the Houses of Lords and Commons .....	21,000	0	0	21,000	0	0
Expense of the Houses of Lords and Commons .....	16,000	0	0	16,000	0	0
To make good the Deficiency of the Fee Fund in the Departments of the Treasury, Secretaries of State, Privy Council, and Committee of Privy Council for Trade .....	101,182	0	0	69,258	8	3
Contingent Expenses and Messengers Bills in the Departments of the Treasury, Secretaries of State, Privy Council, and Committee of Privy Council for Trade.....	75,823	0	0	72,122	0	0
Salaries of certain Officers, and the Expenses of the Court and Receipt of Exchequer ...	5,700	0	0	5,700	0	0
Salaries or Allowances granted to certain Professors in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, for reading Courses of Lectures .....	958	5	0	958	5	0
Salaries of the Commissioners of the Insolvent Debtors Court, of their Clerks, and the Contingent Expenses of their Office; and also the Expenses attendant upon the Circuits .....	14,540	0	0	7,524	19	6
Salaries of the Officers, and the Contingent Expenses of the Office for the Superintendence of Aliens, and also the Superannuations or Retired Allowances to Officers formerly employed in this service .....	4,932	0	0	4,932	0	0

## 274 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1828.

SERVICES.	SUMS Voted or Granted.			SUMS Paid.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
To pay the usual Allowances to Protestant Dissenting Ministers in England, poor French Protestant Refugee Clergy, poor French Protestant Refugee Laity, and sun- dry small Charitable and other Allowances to the Poor of St. Martin's in the Fields, and others.....	5,912	7	10	2,687	13	6
Expense of printing Acts of Parliament, and Bills, Reports and other Papers for the two Houses of Parliament .....	80,000	0	0	26,806	7	2
Expense of printing under the direction of the Commissioners of Public Records.....	7,500	0	0	2,088	0	0
To defray the probable Expense of providing Stationary, Printing, and Binding for the several Public Departments of Govern- ment, including the Stationary Office .....	95,990	0	0	80,000	0	0
Extraordinary Expense of the Mint, in the Gold Coinage .....	50,000	0	0	50,000	0	0
Loss and Expense in the Re-coinage of the Irish Silver Tokens, and the Irish Copper Coin .....	20,343	0	0	20,343	0	0
Extraordinary Expense that may be incurred for Prosecutions, &c. relating to the Coin of this Kingdom .....	5,000	0	0	—		
Extraordinary Expense in the Department of the Lord Chamberlain, for Fittings and Furniture to the two Houses of Parliament	19,628	0	0	17,429	9	9½
Expense of Law Charges .....	12,000	0	0	12,000	0	0
To pay Bills drawn from abroad by his Ma- jesty's Governors and others, for the Ex- penses incurred under the Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade; and in con- formity to certain Orders in Council for the Support of Captured Negroes, Free Amer- ican Settlers, &c. ....	30,000	0	0	12,500	0	0
To defray the Amount of Bills drawn or to be drawn from New South Wales .....	120,000	0	0	120,000	0	0
To indemnify certain Proprietors of Slaves in the United States of America, under the Treaty concluded at Ghent, and the Con- vention signed at St. Petersburg and Lon- don .....	50,000	0	0	45,379	9	4
The following SERVICES are directed to be paid without any Fee or other Deduction whatsoever:						
For defraying the CHARGE of the CIVIL ESTABLISHMENTS undermentioned, for the year 1827; viz.						
Of the Bahama Islands.....	3,040	0	0	3,040	0	0
Of Nova Scotia.....	10,645	0	0	10,645	0	0
Of New Brunswick in America .....	5,100	0	0	2,500	0	0

# APPENDIX TO CHRONICLE.

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SERVICES.	SUMS Voted or Granted.			SUMS Paid.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Of the Island of Bermuda in America .....	4,000	0	0	3,000	0	0
Of Prince Edward Island in America .....	2,820	0	0	1,500	0	0
Of the Island of Newfoundland .....	12,461	0	0	7,000	0	0
Of Sierra Leone .....	13,874	1	8	1,537	15	0
Of the Civil and Military Establishments of the Settlements on the Gold Coast .....	34,800	15	8	11,000	0	0
Expense of the British Museum .....	12,877	0	0	12,877	0	0
Expense of Works executing at Port Patrick Harbour .....	7,000	0	0	7,000	0	0
Expense of Works executing at Donaghadee Harbour .....	8,000	0	0	8,000	0	0
Expense of Buildings at the British Museum Expense of Buildings at the Offices of the Privy Council, and of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade .....	12,000	0	0	12,000	0	0
Expense of Repairs and Works to be executed at Windsor Castle .....	36,250	0	0	18,269	3	7
In aid of the Expense of erecting Churches, and providing Residences for Bishops in the West Indies.....	100,000	0	0	100,000	0	0
Expense of the Commissioners for the Har- bours and Roads of Howth and Holyhead.	8,000	0	0	—		
To make Compensation to the Commissioners appointed by several Acts for inquiring into the Collection of the Revenue in Ireland, and into certain Revenue Departments in Great Britain, for their assiduity, care, and pains in the execution of the Trust reposed in them by Parliament .....	17,979	0	0	—		
To make Compensation to the Commissioners appointed by his Majesty for inquiring into the nature and extent of the Instruction afforded by the several Institutions in Ire- land established for the purpose of Educa- tion, for their assiduity, care, and pains in the execution of the Trust reposed in them	6,000	0	0	6,000	0	0
Expense of the Establishment of the Peniten- tiary House at Milbank, from 24th of June 1827 to 24th of June 1828 .....	7,000	0	0	7,000	0	0
Charge of Retired Allowances or Superannua- tions to Persons formerly in Public Offices or Departments, or in the Public Service...	20,000	0	0	10,000	0	0
To enable his Majesty to grant Relief to Toulonese and Corsican Emigrants, Dutch Naval Officers, St. Domingo Sufferers, and others who have heretofore received Allow- ances from his Majesty, and who from Ser- vices performed or Losses sustained in the British Service have special claims upon his Majesty's Justice and Liberality .....	17,250	12	6	1,112	2	3
Expense of the National Vaccine Establish- ment .....	14,970	0	0	8,260	0	0
For the Support of the Institution called "The Refuge for the Destitute" .....	3,000	0	0	3,000	0	0
For the Relief of the American Loyalists.....	4,000	0	0	4,000	0	0
	5,200	0	0	3,000	0	0

## 276 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1828.

SERVICES.	SUMS Voted or Granted.			SUMS Paid.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Expense of confining and maintaining Criminal Lunatics .....	3,422	4	0	3,422	4	0
For his Majesty's Foreign and other Secret Services .....	53,000	0	0	46,000	0	0
Expense attending the confining, maintaining, and employing Convicts at Home and at Bermuda .....	112,746	0	0	94,600	0	0
Salaries and Incidental Expenses of the Commissioners appointed on the part of his Majesty under the Treaties with Spain, Portugal and the Netherlands, for preventing the illegal Traffic in Slaves.....	18,000	0	0	—		
Expense of the Missions and Special Commissions to the New States of America ...	50,000	0	0	17,025	9	11½
Salaries of Consuls General, and Consuls, their Contingent Expenses, and Superannuation Allowances to retired Consuls .....	100,870	0	0	45,522	6	5½
Expense of Emigration from the United Kingdom .....	20,480	0	0	20,480	0	0
Expense of certain Colonial Services (formerly paid out of the Extraordinaries of the Army).....	2,442	10	0	2,442	10	0
Expense of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in certain of his Majesty's Colonies .....	16,182	0	0	16,019	10	0
Expense in the year 1827 of improving the Water Communication between Montreal and the Ottawa, and from the Ottawa to Kingston .....	56,000	0	0	—		
Charge of providing Stores for the Engineer Department in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, Bedding and Clothing for the Convicts, Clothing and Tools for the liberated Africans at Sierra Leone, and Indian Presents for Canada .....	49,000	0	0	49,000	0	0
For defraying the CHARGE of the following Services in IRELAND, for the year 1827; which are directed to be paid Nett in British Currency :						
Protestant Charter Schools of Ireland .. . . .	18,500	0	0	18,500	0	0
Association for Discountenancing Vice .....	9,000	0	0	6,668	9	3
Society for the Education of the Poor.....	25,000	0	0	25,000	0	0
Foundling Hospital .....	34,000	0	0	34,000	0	0
House of Industry .....	23,000	0	0	15,000	0	0
Richmond Lunatic Asylum .. . . .	6,900	0	0	6,900	0	0
Hibernian Society for Soldiers' Children.....	7,500	0	0	7,500	0	0
Hibernian Marine Society .....	1,800	0	0	1,800	0	0
Female Orphan House .....	1,831	0	0	1,831	0	0
Westmorland Lock Hospital.....	3,500	0	0	3,500	0	0
Lying-in Hospital.....	2,770	0	0	2,770	0	0
Doctor Stevens's Hospital.....	1,700	0	0	1,700	0	0
Fever Hospital, Cork Street, Dublin .....	4,210	0	0	4,210	0	0

SERVICES.	SUMS Voted or Granted.			SUMS Paid.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Hospital for Incurables.....	465	0	0	465	0	0
Roman Catholic Seminary at Maynooth .....	8,928	0	0	6,696	0	0
Royal Cork Institution.....	1,500	0	0	1,500	0	0
Royal Dublin Society .....	7,000	0	0	7,000	0	0
Royal Irish Academy .....	300	0	0	300	0	0
Board of Charitable Bequests .....	700	0	0	700	0	0
Linen Board .....	10,000	0	0	10,000	0	0
Board of Works .....	16,810	0	0	6,711	5	3
Printing, Stationary, and other Disbursements of the Chief and Under Secretaries Offices and Apartments, and other Public Offices in Dublin Castle .....	15,886	0	0	11,446	16	4
Publishing Proclamations and other Matters of a Public nature.....	5,800	0	0	4,193	11	2
Printing Statutes .....	3,500	0	0	—		
Criminal Prosecutions .....	33,579	0	0	33,579	0	0
Nonconforming, Seceding and Protestant Dissenting Ministers.....	14,360	6	0	9,865	2	11
Salaries to Lottery Officers .....	944	0	3	931	8	4½
Inland Navigations .....	4,748	0	0	4,748	0	0
Police and Watch Establishments of the City of Dublin .....	24,300	0	0	24,300	0	0
Commissioners of Judicial Inquiry .....	7,324	0	0	5,510	4	3
Record Commission .....	3,487	0	0	2,000	11	2
Public Works in Ireland.....	20,000	0	0	17,000	0	0
	18,245,360	3	5½	15,951,361	6	1
To enable his Majesty to provide for any additional Expense which may arise on ac- count of his Majesty's Forces in Portugal .	500,000	0	0	—		
To pay off and discharge Exchequer Bills, and that the same be issued and applied towards paying off and discharging any Exchequer Bills charged on the Aids or Supplies of the years 1826 and 1827, now remaining unpaid or unprovided for.....	23,200,000	0	0			
To pay off and discharge Exchequer Bills, issued pursuant to several Acts for carrying on Public Works and Fisheries, and for building additional Churches, outstanding and unprovided for .....	593,200	0	0	20,900,700	0	0
	42,538,560	3	5½	36,852,061	6	1

# 278 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1828.

## PAYMENTS FOR OTHER SERVICES,

Not being part of the Supplies granted for the Service of the Year.

	Sums Paid to 5th January, 1828.			Estimated further Mis- cellaneous Payments.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Grosvenor Charles Bedford, Esq. on his Salary for additional trouble in preparing Exche- quer Bills, pursuant to Act 48 Geo. 3, c. 1.	150	0	0	50	0	0
Expenses in the Office of the Commissioners for issuing Exchequer Bills, pursuant to Acts 57 Geo. 3, c. 34 & 124, and 3 Geo. 4, c. 86 .....	2,000	0	0			
Expenses in the Office of the Commissioners for inquiring into the Collection and Ma- nagement of the Revenue.....	2,000	0	0			
Expenses incurred in the passing of the Act 5 Geo. 4, c. 90, for building additional Churches in Scotland .....	1,155	12	1			
By Interest on Exchequer Bills; viz.						
£. 20,000,000 per Act 6 Geo. 4, c. 2, 1826	42,651	15	9			
10,500,000 per Act 6 Geo. 4, c. 70, 1826	50,000	0	0			
10,000,000 per Act 7 Geo. 4, c. 2, 1827	253,734	15	3			
13,000,000 per Act 7 Geo. 4, c. 50, 1827	353,000	0	0			
	701,692	3	1	50	0	0
				701,692	3	1
TOTAL Payments for Services not voted .....				701,742	3	1
Amount of Sums voted .....				42,538,560	3	5½
TOTAL Sums voted, and Payments for Services not voted ...				43,240,302	6	6½



# APPENDIX TO CHRONICLE. 279

## WAYS AND MEANS for answering the foregoing Services:

	£.	s.	d.
Trustees for the Payment of Naval and Military Pensions, and Civil Superannuations, per Act 3 Geo. 4, c. 51 .....	4,155,000	0	0
East India Company, per Act 4 Geo. 4, c. 71.....	60,000	0	0
Money remaining in the Exchequer on the 5th day of January 1827, charged upon the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland for Services, and which could not be claimed .....	354	0	8
Money remaining in the Exchequer, which had been directed to be issued to sundry Persons prior to the 5th day of January 1820, and which not having been paid remains as Out Cash in the Chests of the four Tellers of the Exchequer... ..	5,924	13	0½
Sum to be brought from the Consolidated Fund, per Act 7 & 8 Geo. 4, c. 42 .....	11,600,000	0	0
Interest on Land Tax redeemed by Money .....	12	18	0½
Duty on Sugar, Pensions, and Personal Estates, per Act 7 & 8 Geo. 4, c. 7.....	3,000,000	0	0
Surplus Ways and Means, per Act 7 & 8 Geo. 4, c. 7.....	81,754	1	0
Unclaimed Dividends, &c. after deducting Repayments to the Bank of England, for deficiencies of Balance in their hands.....	22,993	2	1
Repayments on account of Exchequer Bills issued pursuant to two Acts of the 57th year of his late Majesty, for carrying on Public Works and Fisheries in the United Kingdom .....	242,877	0	10
Exchequer Bills; viz. 7 Geo. 4, c. 2.....£.10,000,000	0	0	19,168,915 15 7½
7 & 8 Geo. 4, c. 41.....13,800,000	0	0	
7 & 8 Geo. 4, c. 70.....500,000	0	0	
	24,300,000	0	0
TOTAL Ways and Means.....	43,468,915	15	7½
TOTAL Sums voted, and Payments for Services not voted ...	43,240,302	6	6½
SURPLUS Ways and Means .....	228,613	9	1

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers,  
26th February, 1828. }

GEO. R. DAWSON.

# 280 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1828.

## PUBLIC

AN Account of the State of the PUBLIC FUNDED DEBTS of GREAT  
January, 1828, including the Debt

### DEBT.

	1. CAPITALS.		2. CAPITALS redeemed and transferred to the Commissioners.		3. CAPITALS UNREDEEMED.	
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
<b>GREAT BRITAIN.</b>						
Debt due to the South Sea } at £. 3 per cent	3,662,784	8 6	-	-	3,662,784	8 6
Company .....						
Old South Sea Annuities .....	4,574,870	2 7	701,000	0 0	3,873,870	2 7
New South Sea Annuities .....	3,128,330	2 10	374,500	0 0	2,753,830	2 10
South Sea Annuities, 1751 .....	707,600	0 0	58,500	0 0	649,100	0 0
Debt due to the Bank of England .....	14,686,800	0 0	-	-	14,686,800	0 0
Bank Annuities, created in 1726. . . . .	1,000,000	0 0	434	1 0	999,565	19 0
Consolidated Annuities.....	369,138,418	13 5	11,893,258	15 6	357,245,159	17 11
Reduced Annuities.....	133,254,182	5 6	6,366,989	3 3	126,887,193	2 3
Total at £. 3 per cent..	530,152,985	12 10	19,394,681	19 9	510,758,303	13 1
Annuities .. . . . at £. 3½ per cent..	15,062,449	13 9	773,438	0 0	14,289,011	13 9
Reduced Annuities .. . . . do. ....	73,373,495	19 0	5,854,256	16 9	67,519,239	2 3
New £. 4 per cent Annuities .....	145,696,842	11 3	137,030	2 2	145,559,812	9 1
Annuities created 1826, at 4 per cent.....	8,560,000	0 0	-	-	8,560,000	0 0
Great Britain.....	772,845,773	16 10	26,159,406	18 8	746,686,366	18 2
<b>IN IRELAND.</b>						
Irish Consolidated £. 3 per cent Annuities	2,209,276	17 7	11 17 10		2,209,264	19 9
Irish Reduced £. 3 per cent Annuities ....	418,338	11 7	2 10 0		418,336	1 7
£. 3½ per cent Debentures and Stock .....	14,393,426	5 10	898,794	17 6	13,494,631	8 4
Reduced £. 3½ per cent Annuities .....	1,958,025	11 7	366,957	1 11	1,591,068	9 8
Debt due to the Bank of Ireland, at £. 4						
per cent.....	1,615,384	12 4	-	-	1,615,384	12 4
New £. 4 per cent Annuities .....	10,446,659	18 6	205	0 3	10,446,454	18 3
Debt due to the Bank of Ireland, at £. 5						
per cent.....	1,015,384	12 4	-	-	1,015,384	12 4
Ireland.....	32,056,496	9 9	1,265,971	7 6	30,790,525	2 3
Total United Kingdom.....	804,902,270	6 7	27,425,378	6 2	777,476,892	0 5

### STOCK.

Note.—The above Columns, 1 and 2, show the Totals of Debt of the United Kingdom, after deducting the Stock directed to be cancelled by various Acts of Parliament, and by redemption of Land Tax, amounting to .....

£. s. d.  
484,597,051 11 10

# APPENDIX TO CHRONICLE. 281

## FUNDED DEBT.

BRITAIN and IRELAND, and of the CHARGE thereupon, at the 5th of created by 7,500,000*l.* raised in 1824.

C H A R G E.						
		IN GREAT BRITAIN.		IN IRELAND. (In Brit. Currency)		TOTAL ANNUAL CHARGE
		£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£. s. d.
Sinking Fund.	The Annual Sum of £5,000,000, directed to be issued per 4 Geo. 4, c. 19, towards the reduction of the National Debt of the United Kingdom .....	4,840,000	0 0	160,000	0 0	
	Annual Interest on Stock standing in the names of the Commissioners .....	809,865	0 10	44,309	18 11	
	Long Annuities .....	9,193	4 8	—		
		5,659,058	5 6	204,309	18 11	
Due to the Public Creditor.	Annual Interest on Unredeemed Debt .....	24,350,830	7 8	1,140,070	6 10	
	Long Annuities, expire 1860 .....	1,331,458	14 0	—		
	Life Annuities payable at the Exchequer, English .....	25,203	19 2	—		
	Do. .. Irish .....	35,476	18 7	7,038	0 9	
		25,742,969	19 5	1,147,108	7 7	
Annual Interest on Stock transferred to the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, towards the Redemption of Land Tax, under Schedules C. D. 1 and D 2, 53 Geo. 3, c. 123.....		9,425	18 9	—		
Management.....		277,991	19 4	796	8 1	
The Trustees of Military and Naval Pensions; and Civil Superannuations .....		2,800,000	0 0	—		
		34,489,446	3 2	1,352,214	14 8	35,841,660 17 10

## ABSTRACT.

	CAPITALS.	CAPITALS transferred to the Commissioners.	CAPITALS surrendered.	ANNUAL CHARGE.			
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	Due to the Public Creditors.	MANAGEMENT.	SINKING FUND.	TOTAL.
Great Britain .....	772,845,773 16 10½	26,159,406 18 8	746,666,368 18 2½	£. s. d. 25,759,495 19 3	£. s. d. 277,991 19 4½	£. s. d. 5,639,658 5 7	£. s. d. (a) —
Ireland.....	32,056,496 9 9	1,265,971 7 6	30,790,525 2 3	1,147,108 7 7½	796 8 1½	204,309 18 11½	—
	804,902,270 6 7½	27,425,378 6 2	777,476,892 0 5½	26,899,504 5 10½	278,788 7 6	5,863,968 4 6½	—
The Trustees of Military and Naval Pensions and Civil Superannuations .....				2,800,000 0 0	—	—	—
				29,699,504 5 10½	278,788 7 6	5,863,968 4 6½	35,841,660 17 10½

Purchased with the Sinking Fund (including £6,149,945 17s. 4d.)	£. s. d.
Non-assented £ 4 per cents, vested in the Commissioners as £ 3½ per cents, 5 Geo. 4, c. 45.....	23,372,428 5 10
Transferred for Life Annuities .....	2,949,438 0 0
Stock Unclaimed, 10 years and upwards .....	220,816 1 7
Purchased with Unclaimed Dividends .....	568,500 0 0
Transferred for Redemption of Land Tax under Schedules C. D. 1, and D. 2 .....	314,197 18 9
Total transferred to the Commissioners, as above .....	27,425,378 6 2

(a) Chargeable with £ 617,536 19s. 0d. Life Annuities, per 48 Geo. 3, c. 142.

Do with the sum of £ 71,300 Annuities for a Term of Years to the Trustees of the Waterloo Fund, per 59 Geo. 3, c. 34, payable by sundry Half-yearly Instalments.  
Also with the Payment of £ 125,445 17s. 4d. (by Quarterly Instalments) being part of £ 6,149,945 17s. 4d. Non-assented £ 4 per cents vested in the Commissioners as £ 3½ per cents, per 5 Geo. 4, c. 45.

National Debt Office, 9th February, 1928.

S. HIGHAM, Compt. Gen.

## UNFUNDED DEBT.

AN Account of the UNFUNDED DEBT of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, and of the Demands outstanding on the  
5th January, 1828.

	Provided.		Unprovided.		TOTAL.	
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
Exchequer Bills, exclusive of £.75,200 issued for paying off £.4 per cents, the payment of which is charged on the Sinking Fund .....	3,012,650	0 0	24,534,200	0 0	27,546,850	0 0
Sums remaining unpaid, charged upon aids granted by Parliament.....	2,467,836	17 8½	- - -	- - -	2,467,836	17 8½
Advances made out of the Consolidated Fund in Ireland, towards the Supplies which are to be repaid to the Consolidated Fund, out of the Ways and Means in Great Britain .....	252,759	3 4½	- - -	- - -	252,759	3 4½
TOTAL Unfunded Debt, and Demands outstanding.....	5,733,246	1 1½	24,534,200	0 0	30,267,446	1 1½
Ways and Means .....	6,065,296	9 9	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
SURPLUS Ways and Means .....	332,050	8 7½	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Exchequer Bills to be issued to complete the Charge upon the Consolidated Fund..	- - -	- - -	6,617,800	17 10½	6,617,800	17 10½

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, 20th February, 1828.

GEO. R. DAWSON.

## FOREIGN TRADE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

**An Account of the VALUE, as calculated at the Official Rates, of all IMPORTS into, and of all EXPORTS from, GREAT BRITAIN, during each of the three Years ending the 5th January 1828; stated exclusive of the Trade with Ireland.**

YEARS ending 5th January.	VALUE OF IMPORTS into Great Britain, calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation.		VALUE OF EXPORTS FROM GREAT BRITAIN, calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation.				VALUE of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom, Exported from Great Britain, according to the Real and Declared Value thereof.			
	£.	s. d.	Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom.	Foreign and Colonial Merchandise.	TOTAL EXPORTS.					
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.		
1826.....	42,660,954	8 4	46,453,021	17 1	9,155,305	5 0	55,608,327	2 1	38,077,330	9 0
1827.....	36,038,951	8 1	40,332,854	0 6	10,066,502	12 11	50,399,356	13 5	30,847,528	1 7
1828.....	43,467,747	7 7	51,276,448	4 8	9,806,247	10 11	61,082,695	15 7	36,396,339	6 8

Inspector General's Office, Custom House, }  
London, 24th March 1828. }

WILLIAM IRVING,  
Inspector General of Imports and Exports.

## TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

AN Account of the VALUE of all IMPORTS into, and of all EXPORTS from, the United Kingdom of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, during each of the three Years ending the 5th January 1828 (calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation, and stated exclusive of the Trade between Great Britain and Ireland reciprocally).

YEARS ending 5th January.	VALUE OF IMPORTS, calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation.	VALUE OF EXPORTS, calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation.				VALUE of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom Exported therefrom, according to the Real and Declared Value thereof.						
		Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom.		Foreign and Colonial Merchandise.			TOTAL EXPORTS.					
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.			
1826.....	44,208,807	6	5	47,150,689	12	11	9,169,494	8	3	38,870,945	11	11
1827.....	37,686,113	11	7	40,965,735	19	9	10,076,286	11	5	31,536,723	5	2
1828.....	44,887,774	19	2	52,919,280	8	0	9,850,728	2	11	37,182,857	3	2

Inspector General's Office, Custom House,  
London, 24th March 1828.

WILLIAM IRVING,  
Inspector General of Imports and Exports.

## TRADE OF IRELAND.

An Account of the Value of all Imports into, and of all Exports from IRELAND, during each of the three Years ending the 5th January 1828 (stated exclusive of the Trade with GREAT BRITAIN).

YEARS ending 5th January.	VALUE OF IMPORTS into Ireland, calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation.	VALUE OF EXPORTS FROM IRELAND. calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation.			VALUE of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom, Exported from Ireland, according to the Real or Declared Value thereof.
		Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom.	Foreign and Colonial Merchandise.	TOTAL EXPORTS.	
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
VALUE, exclusive of the Trade with Great Britain.	1826... 1,547,852 18 1½	697,667 15 10	14,189 3 3	711,856 19 1	793,615 2 11½
	1827... 1,647,162 3 6	632,881 19 3	9,783 18 6	642,665 17 9	689,195 3 7½
	1828... 1,430,020 11 7	942,832 3 4	24,480 12 0	967,312 15 4	785,517 16 6



## NAVIGATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

NEW VESSELS BUILT.—An Account of the Number of VESSELS, with the Amount of their TONNAGE, that were built and registered in the several Ports of the BRITISH EMPIRE, in the Years ending the 5th January, 1826, 1827, and 1828, respectively.

	In the Years ending 5th January.					
	1826.			1827.		
	Vessels.	Tonnage.		Vessels.	Tonnage.	Tonnage.
United Kingdom.....	975	122,479		1,115	118,363	93,144
Isles Guernsey, Jersey, and Man .....	28	1,550		24	2,171	1,894
British Plantations .....	536	80,895		580	86,554	50,771
TOTAL .....	1,539	204,924		1,719	207,088	145,809

VESSELS REGISTERED.—An Account of the Number of VESSELS, with the Amount of their TONNAGE, and the Number of MEN and Boys usually employed in Navigating the same, that belonged to the several Ports of the BRITISH EMPIRE, on the 31st of December, in the Years 1825, 1826, and 1827, respectively.

	On 31st Dec. 1825.				On 31st Dec. 1826.				On 31st Dec. 1827.			
	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.		Vessels.	Tons.	Men.		Vessels.	Tons.	Men.	
United Kingdom .....	20,087	2,298,836	146,703		20,469	2,382,069	149,894		19,035	2,130,605	130,494	
Isles Guernsey, Jersey, & Man .....	508	28,505	3,773		499	29,392	3,665		480	30,533	3,701	
British Plantations .....	3,579	214,375	15,039		3,657	224,183	14,077		3,675	279,362	17,220	
TOTAL .....	24,174	2,542,216	165,535		24,625	2,635,644	167,636		23,199	2,460,500	151,415	

NAVIGATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.—*continued.*

VESSELS EMPLOYED IN THE FOREIGN TRADE.—An Account of the Number of VESSELS, with the Amount of their TONNAGE, and the Number of MEN and BOYS employed in Navigating the same (including their repeated Voyages) that entered Inwards and cleared Outwards, at the several Ports of the United Kingdom, from and to all Parts of the World (exclusive of the intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland) during each of the Three Years ending 5th January, 1828.

YEARS ending 5th January.	SHIPPING ENTERED INWARDS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, From Foreign Ports.									
	BRITISH AND IRISH VESSELS.			FOREIGN VESSELS.			TOTAL.			
	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.	
1826 ....	13,503	2,143,317	123,028	6,981	959,312	52,722	20,484	3,102,629	175,750	
1827 ....	12,473	1,950,630	113,093	5,729	694,116	39,838	18,202	2,644,746	152,931	
1828 ....	13,133	2,086,898	118,680	6,046	751,864	43,536	19,179	2,838,762	162,216	

  

YEARS ending 5th January.	SHIPPING CLEARED OUTWARDS FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM, To Foreign Ports.									
	BRITISH AND IRISH VESSELS.			FOREIGN VESSELS.			TOTAL.			
	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.	
1826 ....	10,843	1,793,842	109,657	6,085	906,066	47,535	16,928	2,699,908	157,192	
1827 ....	10,844	1,737,425	105,198	5,410	692,440	37,305	16,254	2,429,865	142,503	
1828 ....	11,481	1,887,682	112,385	5,714	767,931	41,598	17,195	2,655,503	153,983	

## LIST OF GENERAL ACTS

*Passed in the SECOND Session of the EIGHTH Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland—9 Geo. IV. 1828.*

- I. An Act for applying a sum of money for the service of the year 1828.
- II. An Act for raising the sum of 12,000,000 by Exchequer bills, for the service of the year 1828.
- III. An Act for the regulating of his majesty's royal marine forces while on shore.
- IV. An Act for punishing mutiny and desertion; and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.
- V. An Act for continuing to his majesty for one year certain duties on personal estates, offices, and pensions in England, for the service of the year 1828.
- VI. An Act to indemnify such persons in the United Kingdom as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments, and for extending the time limited for those purposes respectively until the twenty-fifth day of March 1829.
- VII. An Act to continue for one year, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, so much of certain Acts of the parliament of Ireland as relate to the lighting, cleansing, and watching of cities and towns, for the lighting, cleansing, and watching of which no particular provision is made by any Act of parliament.
- VIII. An Act for fixing, until the twenty-fifth day of March 1829, the rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers and others on quartering soldiers.
- IX. An Act to enable the justices of the peace for Westminster to hold their sessions of the peace during term and the sitting of the court of king's bench.
- X. An Act for applying certain sums of money to the service of the year 1828.
- XI. An Act to exempt vessels propelled by steam from the penalties which vessels are liable, under various Acts, for having fire on board in the Ports, harbours, rivers, canals, and lakes of Ireland.
- XII. An Act to indemnify witnesses who may give evidence, before the lords spiritual and temporal, on a bill to exclude the Borough of Penryn from sending members to serve in parliament.
- XIII. An Act for further regulating the payment of the duties under the management of the commissioners of stamps on insurances from loss or damage by fire.
- XIV. An Act for rendering a written memorandum necessary to the validity of certain promises and engagements.
- XV. An Act to prevent a failure of Justice by reason of variances between records and writings produced in evidence in support thereof.
- XVI. An Act to repeal so much of several Acts as empowers the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt to grant life annuities.
- XVII. An Act for repealing so much of several Acts as imposes the necessity of receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper as a qualification for certain offices and employments.
- XVIII. An Act to repeal the stamp duties on cards and dice made in the United Kingdom, and to grant other duties in lieu thereof; and to amend and consolidate the Acts relating to such cards and dice, and the exportation thereof.
- XIX. An Act for applying a sum of money out of the consolidated fund for the service of the year 1828.
- XX. An Act for prohibiting, during the present session of parliament, the importation of foreign wheat into the Isle of Man; and for levying a duty on meal or flour made of foreign wheat imported from the Isle of Man into the United Kingdom.

## LAW CASES AND NARRATIVES.

## CONSPIRACY.

*The King v. Robert Bolton and Another.*

This was an indictment for a conspiracy to defraud the Sun fire-office, by making a false representation of a loss by fire.

Bolton carried on the business of a spice and coffee dealer in Little Eastcheap, and he had a private residence at Kennington; the other defendant, William Briggs, was a servant in his employ. Mr. Bolton had effected in the Sun fire-office an insurance of 4,000*l.* on his stock in trade, consisting of coffee, almonds, spices, and other articles. On the evening of the 10th of May, 1826, a fire broke out in the upper part of the premises in Little Eastcheap. The Sun fire-office was apprised of it the next morning, and their surveyor, having gone to the premises to make the usual inspection and ascertain the amount of loss, remarked that the injury done to the premises appeared to be very small, and expressed some surprise at hearing the extent of damage of the goods as stated by Mr. Bolton. The latter, however, repeated that considerable damage had been done, partly by a great number of persons having rushed into the premises from the street, partly by almonds, ginger, &c. having been injured by the water. Mr. Bolton, after some delay, gave in a claim to the amount of 281*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.* The office, having

considered this an exorbitant demand, made some resistance, and the matter was eventually referred to arbitration. The arbitrators reduced the sum from 281*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.* to 180*l.*; which was paid by the insurance office to Bolton. Shortly after, a letter was received by the insurance-office from the defendant Briggs, stating that the writer was about to leave Mr. Bolton's service in a few days, and expressing his regret that he had ever had any thing to do with the business connected with the fire. Upon the receipt of this letter the directors caused a further investigation to be made respecting the loss alleged to have been sustained by Mr. Bolton in consequence of the fire, and the result of that investigation led to the indictment against the two defendants.

The following evidence was given:—

Thomas Darwin stated, that, on the evening of the 10th of May, 1826, between eight and nine o'clock, he was in Little Eastcheap, opposite the warehouse of the defendant Bolton, when he heard an alarm of fire. Witness and another man endeavoured to effect an entrance at the lower part of the defendant's premises, but, not succeeding, they got in at the next house, and ascended to the roof of Bolton's premises. On breaking into it, they found in the back room of the attic a cask of almonds. Witness procured some water and extinguished the fire.

The cask containing the almonds was only partly burnt, but, on witness taking it up, it broke to pieces. There were some empty casks in the room, but the fire did not extend to them. The floor was burnt in the space where the cask of almonds stood, but no where else; and it was not burnt through. The almonds in the cask weighed about three hundred pounds. They were worth about 7*l.* per cwt. No damage was done to either of the other floors. Mr. Bolton came home the same evening between ten and eleven o'clock. On being told of the fire, he did not appear to be alarmed, and expressed no concern about it.

Three other witnesses gave similar evidence, adding, that ten or twelve persons from the street made their way into the warehouse when the alarm of fire was given, but did no damage, and committed no plunder.

Mr. James Toplis, the surveyor of the Sun fire-office.—I went to Mr. Bolton's warehouse the morning after the fire, about ten o'clock. Mr. Bolton was not there at the time. I went with Briggs to the room where the fire had happened, and saw there the remains of burnt almonds, and some empty casks at a little distance. There was a hole in the floor, which appeared to have been not burnt, but chopped. On going into the second floor, I saw the remains of what had fallen from the attic, but nothing else. I inquired of Briggs what articles had been damaged by the fire. He said nothing but the almonds in the cask. Bolton afterwards came in. I had discovered that the almonds had been bleached, and I told him I thought that would vitiate his policy. On in-

quiring of him as to the damage done, he referred me to Briggs, saying he (Bolton) had not been in the attic for six months before. The next morning I went to the warehouse again, and saw Briggs. I went with him to the second floor, and there found a quantity of damaged goods, consisting of almonds, arrow-root, ginger, &c. I told him it was impossible those articles could have been damaged by the fire. He said they had been damaged by the water, and that, at the time of the fire, they were in the back attic. They were wet, and appeared to be damaged articles.

Benjamin Hall stated, that, on the evening of the 10th of May, he had been bleaching almonds for Mr. Bolton in the back attic: a hole was made underneath the cask to put in the sulphur. On coming down stairs, witness was met by Mr. Bolton, who asked him what he had been doing; and, on being told by witness, he said he would not have the sulphur put underneath at present. Witness said, "If you will let me do it now, I will go up stairs and see that no fire happens;" a fire having happened a few days before in the same room when a similar process was going on. He objected, and witness told him, that, if he would not let him do it then, he would not do it at all. He then said Briggs should do it. There were in the upper part of the house a few old carraway seeds, a cask of damaged marmalade, and some old olives. On the ground floor there was some old ginger, a quantity of arrow-root, some Valentia almonds, and other unsaleable articles. The whole might, perhaps, have been worth about 50*l.* Witness was at Mr.

Bolton's warehouse the morning after the fire, when Mr. Bolton requested him and Briggs to assist him in getting a quantity of arrow-root and other articles taken up to the second floor, saying he intended to make a good job of it. Witness objected, and Mr. Bolton then procured the assistance of a soldier, who with Briggs carried the articles up to the second floor front room. Briggs afterwards took a few buckets of water up stairs. Mr. Toplis came about ten o'clock the same morning, after the water had been taken up. The burnt almonds were mixed with those that had been taken up by Briggs and the soldier. Briggs took Mr. Toplis up stairs, and, while he was there, a cart came up to the warehouse. It contained a cask of damaged almonds, and a cask of burnt ginger. The men, who brought the cart, (which had come from Mr. Bolton's house at Kennington), were told by Mr. Bolton to take the cart to the bottom of Botolph-lane, and wait till Mr. Toplis was gone. The cart was afterwards brought to the warehouse, and the goods it contained were taken up to the second floor, and thrown amongst the other articles. Mr. Bolton afterwards told Briggs, that, if he would swear that those goods were damaged by the water used for extinguishing the fire, he would make him a present of 20*l*. Briggs acceded to this proposal, but, after the arbitration, Mr. Bolton said to Briggs, "In consequence of your not sticking to me in this affair, I have had 100*l*. knocked off by the arbitrators, and therefore I shall give you nothing." Mr. Bolton offered witness a sovereign for his trouble, saying, it had been allowed by the arbitrators; but witness threw it

down, telling him it was neither his to give nor the witness's to receive.

Other witnesses, and particularly one Pearson, confirmed several of the facts thus deposed to.

Mr. Brougham addressed the jury on the part of the defendant Bolton, and called witnesses to discredit some of those who had been examined for the prosecution.

Lord Tenterden summed up, and observed that, if the jury, taking the whole of the evidence adduced on the part of the prosecution, were satisfied that the witnesses had spoken the truth, there could be no doubt that the case against the defendants had been completely made out.

The jury pronounced a verdict of *Guilty*.

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#### OLD BAILEY, FEB. 22.

William Jones, a young man, twenty-two years of age, was arraigned upon an indictment, for the wilful murder of Betty Jeffs, widow; and also upon a second indictment charging him with having stolen a coat, the property of George Holding.

He pleaded guilty to the latter charge, and not guilty to the former.

Mr. Adolphus stated the case to the jury.—A gentleman, of the name of Lett, was the proprietor of a house, No. 11, Montagu-place, Bedford-square, which he had left in the care of the deceased, who was a confidential servant. At seven o'clock on the night of the 31st of December, this poor woman was seen alive for the last time, standing on the steps of the door. On the following morning, when some tradesmen, who were employed about the house, arrived, they pulled the bell as usual, but no person an-

swered. Being unable to obtain admission, they became alarmed, and, at length, by getting over the area railing, they effected an entrance into the house through a window. They immediately commenced a search, and, upon going into the servants' hall, the woman was seen lying dead on the floor, her throat cut, and her body strained as if she had been struggling with her murderer. There was no instrument of death near her, so that she could not have terminated her own existence. Her throat was cut through the windpipe, and there were several marks of violence upon her body. There was a mark on her face, as if it had been forcibly pressed down by a hand, while the act was committing. There was also the mark of a shoe on her body, as if a foot had been pressed upon her when dying; and there were other appearances about her, from which the medical gentleman, who had examined the body, would tell them, that it was impossible she could have done the deed herself. There was a mark of blood, as if from a finger, on one of the posts; one of the deceased's pockets was turned inside out, the other seemed to have been overlooked, and had a sovereign in it. There was also the mark of a finger on her thigh. The drawers throughout the house had been ransacked. A bundle of linen was found, stained with blood. Two silver spoons and a watch, which had been in her possession, were missing, and had never since been found. But the most important circumstance in the case was this,—that, near the body, was found the lower part of a razor-case. This razor-case, it would be proved, was not the property of Mr. Lett, and of course

not that of the woman: and this circumstance led to inquiry. The deceased was a widow, and had been married to two husbands. She had a son by her first husband, who was a manufacturer of artificial feathers, residing in Cursitor-street. The prisoner had been living in the neighbourhood of the Cobourg Theatre, with a woman named Mary Parker, but whom he (Mr. Adolphus) would, for convenience, call Charlotte, as that was the name by which the witnesses were accustomed to hear her spoken of. The prisoner passed by the name of Edwards, and lived with this woman in a state of extreme poverty. He, a day or two before the 1st of January, had borrowed a razor of a Mrs. Williams, who had four razors, which had belonged to her husband. Two of these were in one case; another had no case, and the fourth was in a single case. It was the one in the single case which the prisoner borrowed. As soon as this woman saw the case found near the deceased, she recognized it at once as that which she had lent to the prisoner. Further, the razor, which had been in that case, was found in the prisoner's possession, and no case belonging to it could be found, except the one in question. It would also be shown, that, shortly before the murder, the prisoner was in great poverty, had no money, and lay in bed, only a morning or two previously, in want of a sixpence to procure a breakfast. In a day or two after, he was seen with money in his possession, displaying a crown-piece, treating a person to gin, and taking his woman to the Olympic theatre. The prisoner's father having died recently, Charlotte observed him one morning in grief, and having learned the cause, she

asked him who had informed him of it. He told her she did not know the person. This would be important, because it was only through the deceased, who had mentioned it to her son, that he could have learnt it. At nine o'clock on the night of the murder, the deceased called the pot-boy, who was going round with beer, and took a pint from him, which was double her usual quantity, and looked as if she had somebody with her to share it. It would be further shown, that a washerwoman, who had been taking linen from Mr. Sergeant Bosanquet's house, in a cart, heard a scream at about half-past nine o'clock, which was also heard by the man who drove the cart. The horse was then just put in motion, and they took no further notice of it, until they were apprised of the murder by the public prints, when they immediately recollected the circumstance. The fact, however, would be shaken as to the time, by the watchman, who said he saw Mrs. Jeffs at the door, talking to a man and woman, at half-past ten o'clock on that night. But the time was not very material. It would be for the prisoner to account for his time, the mode in which it was passed after seven o'clock, when he and Charlotte went out together; she going to Fleet-street, to pursue her nightly avocation, and parting from him at the corner of Bride-lane; from which she saw no more of him until twelve o'clock.

The following were the principal witnesses:—

Paul Dent.—On the 1st of January I was directed to go to the house of Mr. Lett, in Montagu-place. I rung the bell, but could get no admittance, and then I and a man named Bonnicke went

round through the next house (No. 12) to the back area of No. 11. We got in through the window, and opened the door to Hawkins, judge Holroyd's butler. We then examined the rooms up stairs, and found nobody. The bed had not been used. As it was getting dark, we procured a light from the next house, and, on going into the servants' hall, found the body of the deceased. The head was next the window, about four yards from it. The body was lying on the right side. The right arm was under the body. The left hand was clinched. The feet were placed straight on the floor, as if she had been standing on them, with her knees up. Her throat was cut, and there was a great quantity of blood on the floor, all on one particular spot. I don't think the body was ever moved, after the throat had been cut. I observed a razor case, and a pair of scissors on the floor near her, on the right side. The left pocket was drawn outside her clothes.

Cross-examined.—I observed a little work-box on the table with thread and cotton in it. There were two chairs, one on each side of the table, as if people had been sitting in them. I think I had gone into eight or nine rooms, including the drawing rooms. I searched the rooms a second time, about an hour afterwards, with the officers. To the best of my knowledge there was something displaced in every one of them. The drawers seemed to have been rifled over in the front room. The things in the wardrobe were chiefly gloves and gaiters. In the cupboard, between the front and back bed room, there were two or three boxes with feathers, and some of the feathers had been taken out.



In all the bed-rooms the things had been disturbed and turned over.

Alex. Bonnicke and Thomas B. Hawkins, servant to Mr. Justice Holroyd, gave a similar description of the state of the house.

Samuel Furzeman, one of the constables of St. Giles's.—He was sent for, on the 1st of January, to the house, No. 11, Montagu-place. Got there a little after six. Up two pair of stairs in a drawer witness found a glove with marks of blood, which appeared to be fresh upon it. In another drawer was part of a newspaper also stained with fresh blood. In the two-pair back room he found a bundle. Did not observe blood upon it that night. He locked up the rooms and kept the keys, until the coroner's jury sat upon the body, and then made fresh observations. Saw blood on several of the papers which were about the feathers, and also on some linen. After the inquest, the keys were left in the possession of Mr. Robinson. In consequence of information witness received, he went to 35, Mitre-street, on Tuesday the 8th, to look for a person of the name of Jones. Gardiner and Salmon accompanied him, and, in the course of the search, they stated the purpose for which they came. In the back room he saw Salmon take up a shirt collar, which was now produced. Witness found a razor in the table drawer, which he now produced. It had been in the same state ever since. It had one or two small notches, and the edge appeared to be turned. There was a stain upon it; could not say by what it was occasioned: found a new umbrella there: could find no sheath for the razor: found the prisoner on the 13th in the city Compter, where he passed by the name of Edwards. When he

was brought out, witness laid hold of his left hand, and asked him, what his name was? He said Edwards. Witness said, "No, it is Jones." He first said, "No, it is not;" and then said, "Yes, it is." Witness looked at his left thumb. He had a cut on it near the nail. Asked how long it had been done? he said, six weeks. Witness said, it appeared to him to be a fresh cut, and asked him how he had done it? He said in cutting wood with a knife. He had a blue frock coat on. He took it off, and said, "You see what a situation I am in; I have not a bit of shirt to my back." Witness asked him, what he had done with it? He said he had pawned it at Mr. Turner's, Bridges-street, Strand, on the Saturday preceding; which was the fact. His coat appeared to have been sponged very recently in the sleeves, outside and inside, between the hand and the elbow. It was also sponged in the front. He said it had been sponged by the person who had lent it to him. Witness thought he said it was Mrs. Williams's son who had sponged it. On Monday, the 14th, they took him before the magistrates at Bow-street: whence he was taken to the House of Correction. On Monday, the 28th, witness went to the House of Correction and searched his waistcoat, and found a stain on the right-hand pocket, but could not say by what it had been occasioned. Witness had had the waistcoat in his possession ever since.

The boxes of feathers, the umbrella, and waistcoat were here produced, and the witness was directed to point out to the court where he saw the marks of blood upon the papers containing the feathers.

Cross-examined.—A person was

examined on this charge previous to my search after the prisoner. That person was Mr. Knight, son of the deceased. He was discharged. I examined the inside of the handle of the razor. The spot upon the blade looked as if it had been wiped. The handle appears to have been washed. I did not suspect the prisoner until three or four days after the murder. I have acted from that time to the present hour under a strong impression which might have influenced my judgment upon what I saw. With reference to the cut, I am of opinion that it was done much more recently than the prisoner stated. Upon opening the wound, I found it fresh and red. When at the Compter, I did not make any inquiry respecting the sponging of the coat. It was my opinion that the waistcoat had been recently washed, but I made no remark at the time. I took it from the prisoner. I cannot say whether the trousers of the prisoner had been sponged also, but some parts of them appeared cleaner than others. I then asked Jones where he had been living. He answered, without hesitation, that he had been living with a girl named Charlotte Berry, in Mitre-street. The prisoner acknowledged also that he had been previously living in Windmill-street, and in Wootton-street, all of which I found to be true. I knew that the prisoner had gone by the name of Edwards, and that he had a reason for so doing.

Mr. Samuel Plumb, surgeon.—On the evening of the 1st of January I was sent for to Montagu-place. The deceased was lying on her back. The windpipe was divided: and the wound was not such as the deceased could

have inflicted on herself. Her eyes were open, her hands clinched, and there was a strong expression of horror in the countenance. I saw the marks of knuckles upon the left collar bone, and on the left cheek I saw what appeared to me the mark of dirt, occasioned as I judge from the sole of a dirty shoe. I saw two slight marks of blood upon her right thigh, and also a single spot of blood upon her left thigh. I do not think that those marks of blood were occasioned by the wounds in the throat.

By Mr. Justice Bayley.—I think that the division of the cartilage would have rendered the edge of a razor unfit for use. I saw the prisoner at Bow-street, and, at the second examination, I examined his finger, but I could not assert at that distance of time when the cut was inflicted. I think I could judge of a wound any time within three or four weeks. I examined the backs of the hands of the deceased, and found blood upon them both. The marks appeared to be of another bloody hand.

James George Robinson.—I am not aware that any property is missing belonging to Mr. Lett. There was considerable property belonging to Mr. Lett upon the premises which might have been carried away.

George Gardiner, pot boy of the Gower Arms, Gower-street.—I knew the deceased Mrs. Jeffs. Saw her last about nine o'clock on the night of the 31st of December, when I went with a pint of beer to her. She was talking to a man with a white apron, who was standing upon the mat in the hall. I did not see the face of the man whom I saw with the deceased. He had on a blue coat. The man was of a middle size.

Mr. Justice Bayley.—Look at the prisoner, and say if he resembled that man.

The witness could not say that the prisoner was the man. The coat, which the man had on, was such as gentlemen wear, not such as grooms wear.

Elizabeth Evans, laundress, examined.—I was at No. 12, Montagu-place, on the night of the 31st of December, about half-past nine o'clock. Heard a loud scream, proceeding as I should think from No. 11. The man, who was with me, thought the cry proceeded from a boy, and I thought it came from a bad woman.

Wm. Cracknell was in the cart with the last witness, when the scream was heard. He looked round, and could see no one about.

James Harmah, a watchman.—I was calling half-past ten o'clock on the night of the 31st of December, when I saw a man and woman talking to Mrs. Jeffs outside the door. Mrs. Jeffs had the door half way open in her right hand, and a candlestick in her left. The man and woman came down the steps. They bid Mrs. Jeffs good night, and, when I walked a little way, I saw Mrs. Jeffs shut the door. I am the regular watchman for that beat, but I was not on duty the first night of the new year. The man had on a blue coat, I did not observe that he had any apron on.

John Knight.—Knew the prisoner at the bar. His name is William Jones. The prisoner was on intimate terms with my family. He was in the habit of coming to my house, when my deceased mother used to visit me. The prisoner called with me at Montagu-place, and saw my mother in July last. I had seen my mother on De-

cember 30th, in good health and spirits.

Elizabeth Williams.—She lived in Valentine-row, near the Coburg Theatre. Charlotte Edwards lodged with her, as also did the prisoner Jones. He had passed under the name of Edwards, and lived with Charlotte as his wife from the 29th of October to the 29th of December. The witness has two children, the eldest of whom is a girl, aged 14. When the prisoner lived in Mitre-street, she supplied him with the loan of a razor, by her little girl. She had four razors, a tortoiseshell case, and a black pair. For the black ones there was no case, and Jones got a tortoiseshell-handled razor in the case. [Here the case and the razor with which the murder was perpetrated, were shown, but the witness could identify neither.] They were like those which she had lent, but she could not undertake to swear that they were the same. She saw Jones on the 30th December, between ten and eleven o'clock. He was in company with Charlotte, and expressed his wish that she would send him her razor, together with the loan of a silk handkerchief. Charlotte requested that the child might be sent to borrow a shilling, or even sixpence, as she wanted both fire and food. The girl was allowed to go, but returned unsuccessful. She saw the prisoner subsequently, when he returned home in Charlotte's company. He remained but half an hour, and went out for the purpose, as he alleged, of going to a friend in the city. He was not in the habit of going abroad at that hour, but used to send occasionally to a person named Sells for the loan of a drab coat. She now lent him that belonging to her son; i

colour was dark blue. [The coat which the prisoner had worn was produced, and identified by the witness as that which she lent him.] She saw Jones and Charlotte again on the 31st. There was no conversation about money on that occasion. On the morning of New-year's-day, she was again in their company at Mitre-street. It was about eleven o'clock, and the prisoner was dressing himself to go out. He intended, he said, to borrow money from a friend. On Charlotte's inquiring where the money was to be procured, he replied that he had told her that before. On Jan. 2nd, she saw the prisoner in bed, when he informed her that he had left 2s. for her. Charlotte came in and said, that she could not get a newspaper. He asked her (the witness), whether she would be able to procure him a newspaper. She made inquiry if a Sunday paper would answer his purpose; on which they replied, that they would want a paper of that morning. After this they all breakfasted; she took her breakfast with them on their particular invitation. Charlotte and the prisoner had some angry words, and she breakfasted apart. He told them that he had received intelligence of the death of his father, from a friend. Jones sat without his coat, which lay on a chair in the room, and fell during breakfast with a peculiar sound, as if there was silver in the pockets. The accident appeared to excite his attention. The prisoner then sent out money for a quartern and a half of gin, which the witness and he partook of. Charlotte declined drinking any. On Sunday, she (the witness) went again to Jones's lodgings, and mentioned

that she understood the officers of Bow-street were in search of a person of the name of Jones on a charge of murder (Of his real name she had been previously apprized). Charlotte answered, that it could not be he, as he had committed no murder. He said it was probable his friends were in search of him, and had sent the officers to find him out. Charlotte expressed her fear, that he would be obliged to go home in consequence of this information. The next subject of conversation was the coat, which Charlotte said it would be advisable to have washed. Jones observed, as he was going out, that he would require to be cautious in returning, lest any one should dog him home, and requested that she (the deponent) would not say anything on the matter. She promised to comply with his request, and did not see him any more until in custody.

Mary Anne Williams.—Was 14 years of age, and had been sent to Jones by her mother with a razor case on the Sunday before New-year's-day. Charlotte was in the room the evening on which she brought it. She (Charlotte) was up, but the prisoner was in bed. [Here the case and the razor were again produced, but the child was unable to identify either. On this subject she gave precisely the same evidence as her mother.] They were like those she saw before, although she could not be certain that they were the articles lent.

Mary Parker, the person who had assumed the name of Charlotte Berry, was then called. After some time, she made her appearance, but in a state of such agitation as to be utterly incapable of giving her testimony, until restoratives were used. She seemed

greatly affected on seeing the prisoner, and fainted when placed in the witness box. After she had been in some degree enabled to assume composure, Mr. Adolphus commenced her examination. She was aged twenty-one years, and had passed under the name of Charlotte Berry for the last two years, the period at which she left her father's house. She was acquainted with the prisoner for five months previous to his being taken into custody on the present charge, and occupied the same lodgings with him at the house of Mrs. Williams, for two months. She had since changed her abode. On the evening of December 31, she left home in Jones's company, and walked over Blackfriars'-bridge with him. They parted in Fleet-street, at the end of Bride-lane. At about half-past twelve o'clock that night, they again met in the same neighbourhood, near Poppin's-court. They were in the habit of meeting nightly in Fleet-street, at twelve or one o'clock. When she saw Jones, he was coming from the direction of the Strand. When they had parted, she was destitute of money, and she believed the prisoner had not any either. He was now in possession of money, but did not mention where he had obtained it. He said he met a friend, from whom it was borrowed. He had a few shillings, with which he accompanied her and her companion (another woman of the town) into a wine-vault in Poppin's-court. They drank sixpenny worth of gin, and returned home by one o'clock. In the morning Jones went out at eleven, and came back again at three in the afternoon. On this occasion he brought more money, which, he said, had been borrowed.

He gave her five shillings, three of which she expended in redeeming some clothes formerly pledged, and with the residue she purchased necessaries. While they were at breakfast the next morning, he said he cut his thumb, when in the act of cutting bread and butter. In the morning he and she went out, and had some gin, for which Jones changed a five-shilling piece; after which they went to the Olympic Theatre. The day after, continued the witness, I was washing, but I do not think there was any thing remarkable on his clothes, unless a small stain on his shirt sleeve. He said it was occasioned by some pickle cabbage liquor. In the morning he threw himself on the bed and began to cry. He told me he was informed that his father was dead. During this time Mrs. Williams was in the habit of calling to see us in Mitre-street. On the morning of the 2nd of January, he directed me to get him a newspaper. I tried, but could not get one. In the evening Mrs. Williams came and told us, that the Bow-street officers were after Mr. Jones. After Mrs. Williams went out, I went down stairs and requested Mrs. Stapleton to watch for us while we went out. She did so. I went out first, and Mr. Jones went out soon after. We met near the Surrey Theatre, and walked together some time, and slept in the city. This was on the 6th of January. We slept together the two following nights, and the third night we had no bed, and walked the streets all night. [Here the witness became so dreadfully affected, that it was with difficulty she was prevented from fainting.] About seven o'clock the following Saturday, I heard

that Jones was taken into custody. Mrs. Williams lent some things to Jones, she lent him a razor. I did not notice a case with it. I was shown a razor case at Bow-street, and think it was the one I saw in Wootton-street. I was likewise shown a razor, and believe it to be the one now produced. The razor case I recollect by its being freckled a little, and by this mark (pointing to a mark). We had no money on the 31st of December to purchase us the necessaries of life.

Mr. Plumb recalled and examined by Mr. Justice Bayley.—The deceased could not have committed suicide, from the nature of the wounds.

Mr. Justice Bayley then rose and addressed the prisoner, observing, that the time was now come, when, if he had any observations to make, he might do so.

The prisoner bowed respectfully, and unfolding a paper, in a slow unbroken voice read nearly as follows:—

“ My lord, and gentlemen of the jury,—I feel confident of your attention and favourable consideration of the few words I have now to address to you. If now for the first time you learned the charge against me, my situation would be one sufficiently alarming; but how much more frightful is it in consequence of the spreading throughout the country of details which have excited universal horror. I will mention only one instance of the misrepresentation with which my name has been associated. At the very time when the bill against me was before the grand jury, a man was engaged near the Sessions-house blowing a horn, and circulating the report that I had made a full confession of this murder,

and had committed suicide in the House of Correction. I might complain also of the way in which every little circumstance has been turned to my prejudice, but that I am willing to believe that a desire for justice was a part of the actuating motive. From the first moment when this charge was brought against me, I have denied it. Would that I could with equal truth declare myself guiltless of all other offence, but I feel that I am obliged to make my own misconduct a part of my defence. Whatever may have been my errors, however, the slightest thought of murder never crossed my mind. I owe it to an aged mother and other friends, whose minds have already bled too much for me, to declare that I am guiltless of this charge. Thrown amidst the temptations of the town at an early age, my life was wild and dissolute; dissipation led to crime; and at the time, when the offence with which I am now charged was committed, I knew that a charge of forgery had been made against me, and thus it was that I fled at the approach of the officers. With regard to my examination before the magistrates, I beg to say that many questions were put to me that you, who value the principles of English law and justice, must condemn. I admit, however, that I did make a statement before the magistrate, but it is not true; and thus, in order to avoid suspicion of one crime, I was obliged to confess to others. One of the presumptions against me is, that I was intimately acquainted with the unfortunate Mrs. Jeffs. I solemnly declare, however, that I saw Mrs. Jeffs but three times in my life. The first time I saw her was at the house of her son, Mr.

Knight, in Anderson's-place, Cornwall-road. The second time was at his house in Cursitor-street, when she told me she invited Mr. Knight's daughter and my sister to take tea with her, and she asked me to accompany them. The third time I saw Mrs. Jeffs was when I accompanied Knight's son and his sister to the house in Montagu-place. We saw Mrs. Jeffs upon that occasion but for a short time. I never saw Mrs. Jeffs after the month of July last. Mrs. Jeffs, Knight, and I went together to Montagu-place, when he went into the house, I believe, to ask for money. I saw her upon that occasion, which was some time in last July, and I never saw her after. I took the name of Edwards to avoid detection, knowing that I had unfortunately rendered myself liable to the law, in consequence of what I had done at Mr. Duncomb's. Under such circumstances, I should be more than insane to have gone to Montague-place, where most likely I should have been refused admittance. As to my dress, and the circumstances of suspicion attached to the coat, I am enabled on the clearest proofs to answer that part of the charge. Mrs. Williams has a son employed by a surgeon who resides in Blackfriars-road. That gentleman gave him a coat which was damaged, and the stains upon which were said to be occasioned by blood. In my distress I borrowed this coat, and unfortunately for me, the very worst construction was put upon a circumstance purely accidental. In the same way the blood upon the shirt collar was made use of as a proof against me, and the waistcoat was said also to be stained with blood. As to the stain upon the collar, what becomes

of it when it is proved in evidence that I cut my thumb. So little did the circumstance of cutting my thumb occupy my thoughts, that, when I was questioned about it by the officers, I totally forgot how or when I did it, and returned an answer at random. With respect to the razor sheath, I beg leave, my lord and gentlemen, to draw your particular attention. I trust you will examine this part of the evidence carefully, and say if any one could swear to a razor sheath, of which there are hundreds of a similar make and description sold daily in the metropolis. It is a common razor sheath, and has nothing whatever about it to mark it as peculiar. With respect to the edge of it being notched, I can answer it. One day, when I was alone in Mitre-street, quite unconscious of what I did, I cut the razor sheath bit by bit with the razor, and flung them in the fire. I am most anxious to satisfy you as to where I was on the evening of the 31st of December. Mary Parker and I left home that night, and proceeded together to Blackfriars-bridge. I went to the Adelphi Theatre in the Strand, and remained there until the performances were over. I then joined Charlotte in Poppin's-court, about twelve o'clock. The bells of St. Bride's were then ringing what they call the New year in. It has been said, if I was at the theatre, I could prove the fact, but it was impossible for me to do so, situated as I then was. It is not pretended that I am a hardened murderer, and if not, is it likely I could be cheerful as usual, and have supported a falsehood by bringing Mary Parker to the theatre? My possession of money, soon after the commission of the offence of which I am ac-

cused, is another charge against me; but let me remind you, gentlemen, that a person living the disgraceful and irregular way in which I lived, may be one moment without a farthing, and the next possessed of money. And here, gentlemen, I must do justice to the unhappy woman who lived with me, by declaring that she was totally unacquainted with many of my offences, and that I carefully concealed them from her. There is one point I cannot pass unnoticed, I mean the letters said to be written by me in prison. The first letter I wrote, the second I know nothing about, and the third was written under the impression that I knew a person named Morris, at the White Lion, in Wych-street. As to the second letter, I only entreat that the manner in which it was obtained may be clearly stated. All I can say is, that I deny the letter. Gentlemen, without another remark, I leave my fate in your hands, under the impression that you will throw aside any prejudice that may have been excited in your minds against me. The man, who is dishonest, may not be cruel. The thief may shrink from the crime of murder, and I can with truth declare that this has always been the state of my mind. No propensity to cruelty, or desire to commit violence on any human being, ever formed a part of the many evil inclinations by which I have been influenced. I do solemnly declare before God, that I am innocent of the crime of which I am now accused."

Several witnesses deposed that the prisoner bore a humane character.

After Mr. Justice Bayley had

summed up the evidence, in a charge of two hours, the jury retired for about twenty minutes, and brought in a verdict of—  
*Not guilty.*

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COURT OF KING'S BENCH,  
MARCH 6.

*The King v. Samuel Sutton and others.*

This was an indictment against Samuel Sutton, Charles William Andrews, James P. Anstes, John Edward Despard, Joseph Tindal, George Henry Gibbon, William Wright, and Charles Elton Prescott, for a conspiracy, charging the seven first-named defendants with having unlawfully conspired together, for gain and profit, to cause and procure one Edw. Drake Back to be nominated and appointed to a Cadetship, under the East India Company. Capt. Charles E. Prescott was charged with aiding and abetting the other defendants in the said conspiracy. The defendants, Sutton, Andrews, Tindal, Gibbon, and Wright pleaded guilty. The other defendants pleaded not guilty.

After the jury had been sworn an application was made to the court on the part of the defendant Anstes, that he might be at liberty to withdraw his plea of not guilty, and plead guilty. As that could not be done, the jury being sworn, a verdict of Guilty was recorded against Anstes by his consent.

The Solicitor-general then stated the case to the jury.—This prosecution was instituted by the East India Company, for the purpose of bringing to punishment persons who had been guilty of conspiring to procure a sale of the Company's patronage. A clergy-



man, Dr. Back, residing at Littlehampton, in Sussex, had seen in the Morning Herald newspaper, in August, 1826, an advertisement, announcing that an opportunity was offered to the parents of a respectable youth, under the age of twenty, of procuring a situation of the highest respectability, to go abroad; but that his outfit would require means, without which no application need be made. Dr. Back, having a son desirous of such a situation, wrote a letter to the place to which the advertisement referred, and received an answer. Some correspondence afterwards took place. The negotiation went on to a certain extent and was at length broken off, Dr. Back being dissatisfied with it. Subsequently, in October, 1826, he received a letter requesting him to call on Mr. Wright, at Alsop's-buildings, near the Regent's-park. Accordingly Dr. Back came to London, and, having assumed, for this occasion, the name of Edwards, from motives of delicacy, called upon Mr. Wright under that name. The conversation between Dr. Back and Mr. Wright, upon that occasion, turned entirely on the nature of the employment which Mr. Wright could furnish, and the price that would be required. Mr. Wright stated it was a cadetship to India; that if it was a cavalry cadetship, the price would be 900 guineas; and, if an infantry one, from 600 to 700 guineas. Dr. Back, felt surprised at hearing that so large a sum for the outfit would be requisite, and again abandoned all further negotiation. He remained there till the latter end of January, 1827, and then determined to recommence the negotiation. Consider-

ing, however, that there was something irregular in this mode of proceeding, he thought it right at once to direct a letter to the chairman of the East India Company, telling him all that had taken place, and asking him distinctly and openly, whether this was a proper mode by which the patronage of the East India Company could be obtained. The chairman and deputy-chairman, to whom this letter was addressed, thinking it right that the matter should be sifted to the bottom, sent to Dr. Back a confidential officer in their service. Upon receiving from Dr. Back (whom they found to be a very respectable man) information of the whole of the circumstances, they recommended to him to continue the negotiation; in order that they might trace the different steps of it, and see whether any of the company themselves were actors in the guilt. Dr. Back, for the purpose of continuing the negotiation, as suggested by the company, wrote to Mr. Wright, stating that he was desirous of renewing the negotiation, and, in answer, he received a letter from Mr. Wright, dated the 27th of February, 1827, informing him that there was an opportunity of opening the treaty, but that, as he (Mr. Wright) was going out of town on the following day for a week, and would be absent ten days, he would commission a friend of his to attend to any communication col. Edwards might make, and begged him to address any future communication to him at No. 68, Upper Norton-street. Dr. Back, a short time afterwards, came to town, and addressed a note to Mr. Wright, at No. 68, Upper Norton-street, to which he received an answer from the defendant Gibbons, appointing

a meeting at two o'clock the following day, at 32, Walbrook. The meeting accordingly took place, and that conversation between Gibbons, and Dr. Back assumed the form of a distinct treaty; Gibbons stating the price of the cavalry and infantry cadetships, and the mode in which the business was to be managed. Accordingly, Dr. Back, procured from the East India Company a note of 500*l.*, in order that half of it might be deposited with Gibbons, according to his suggestion. Gibbons then furnished Dr. Back with a printed form of questions to be answered. The paper was sent to Exeter for the purpose of procuring the proper baptismal certificate. The paper, being returned to Dr. Back, was forwarded by that gentleman to Gibbons. Nothing further took place until about the 10th of April, when Gibbons wrote to Dr. Back, requesting him or the young gentleman to meet him (Gibbons) at 32, Walbrook, on the 12th, when he should be prepared to carry the business into effect. Dr. Back attended the appointment, and then produced the 500*l.* bank note, which was cut into halves, the one half being delivered to Gibbons and the other kept by Dr. Back. Upon that occasion a new person was introduced (the defendant Tindal); and, to the surprise of Dr. Back, he found that, in the course of two days, the half of the 500*l.* note had shifted into the hands of that person, who expressed some surprise that the business had not been concluded, and assured Dr. Back that very little further delay would take place, at the same time endeavouring to make an excuse for the delay that had occurred in consequence of the then state of the ministry. Dr. Back was delayed

till the 25th, when it was stated to him that matters would soon be brought to a close. Another person, Mr. Despard, was then introduced, and he expressed great surprise that such a matter as this should have been allowed to be under the care of Mr. Gibbon and Mr. Tindal. "I will," said he, "put you into a way by which you will get it settled soon, for I shall introduce you to a highly respectable East India house, of which Mr. Anstes is the head partner." But before Mr. Despard made his appearance, an application was made to Dr. Back to furnish the remainder of the money. Accordingly, on the same day (25th of April), Dr. Back procured another note of 300*l.*, which was treated in the same way as the 500*l.* note, it being cut into two, and half deposited with each party. This being done, Despard proposed to take Dr. Back to a person who would manage the business immediately, and Dr. Back accompanied him to Great St. Helen's, where the defendant Anstes had a counting-house. To the surprise of Dr. Back, Anstes stated that the half of the 500*l.* had been for some time in his possession, and told him, that, when the half of the 300*l.* was added to it, there would be no difficulty in carrying the negotiation into effect. On the 27th, Dr. Back again attended, according to appointment, at Mr. Anstes's counting-house, where he was informed that nothing had been yet completed. Despard, however, informed him, that he had sent to Regent-street, to have an interview with some person who was to get the appointment. Dr. Back expressed great astonishment at this, and inquired why a new person at this stage of the business should

be introduced, but to this he could get no satisfactory answer. On the following day, Dr. Back called again, and was informed by Despard that the business should be immediately finished; the morning of Saturday was wasting away—Dr. Back called again from time to time, and at last Anstes said, "We will go together to the office of a gentleman named Andrews, in Regent-street" (another of the defendants). When they got there, Mr. Andrews was not at home, and it was arranged that they should call at his private house the following day, which was Sunday; they did so, and saw Andrews: After some conversation, it was arranged that every thing should be completed on the following day; at the same time caution was given that the strictest secrecy should be observed. On the morning of the following Tuesday (1st of May), Dr. Back received a letter from Anstes, requesting that he or the young gentleman alone should attend at Mr. Andrews's office on the following morning. Young Mr. Back accordingly attended early on the following morning, and there saw the defendant Sutton for the first time. The printed form was then put into the hands of the young man by Sutton, with a pencil mark denoting the way in which it should be filled up, and which was to contain the name of the director who had recommended him. As soon as that was done, he was told to repair to the East-India-house, where he would be met by Mr. Sutton and Mr. Andrews. They met first in the Monument coffee-house, where Dr. Back was also present. A discussion arose about the other halves of the notes, the defendants wishing them to be delivered to them, but which Dr.

Back objected to, until the young man had passed. This was agreed to, and the papers, having been filled up, were put into the hands of the clerks of the Cadet office, with a request that they should immediately be sent in to the committee of directors, before whom the young man was to appear. Of course, in the result, the young man was unable to pass, and the whole affair was blown up. The defendant Sutton was afterwards found at a house, called the Ship, near the East-India House, in an extremely agitated state, and declaring that he should be ruined, if the affair became known. This was the outline of the case against the first seven defendants. Captain Prescott was charged with having abused the situation he held, by having had a knowledge of what took place on the part of Sutton, and still giving to Sutton the patronage for the purpose of being disposed of. Prescott and Sutton it appeared had long been friends, and the latter had rendered the former services on some elections. On Thursday, the 26th April, capt. Prescott made an application to colonel Toone, who had been a director for thirty years, in order to lend him the appointment of a cadetship on the Madras station. This was no uncommon circumstance, and the colonel immediately complied. In the appointment of a young man to such a situation, a letter is required by the recommending party, in which he declares that he received the appointment gratuitously, and that he gives it gratuitously to such a one, with whose family and connexions he is well acquainted. Upon this occasion such a letter was written, but instead of being signed, as it ought to have been, by some per-

son who had actually recommended Mr. Back, it was irregularly signed by capt. Prescott himself. Colonel Toone asked him, if he knew the young man and his connexions: the answer was, that he did, that his father was a respectable clergyman in Devon, that the young man wanted only two months of being twenty-two years of age, and was as fine a youth as any in England. Mr. Sutton ought to have signed the recommendatory letter, but, he having signed one only in the February preceding (on which occasion captain Prescott had been the nominating director), probably it was deemed unadvisable that Mr. Sutton's name should be again so soon brought forward. Captain Prescott went to the Cadet-office, to have part of the printed paper filled up; the manner proposed by captain Prescott was stated by Mr. Sharp, the clerk, to be irregular, but captain Prescott requested that it should be adopted, alleging that he had already given colonel Toone as much trouble as he wished to impose upon him. He stated that he only wished him to put his signature to the document, which was then prepared and sent to the colonel for his signature. The colonel returned it in a packet, directed to Mr. Abingdon, the chief clerk, but, the messenger having received previous directions to take it to captain Prescott, it was delivered to that gentleman. Colonel Toone wrote a note to Mr. Abingdon and to captain Prescott, requesting that the young man might not be passed, until he (the colonel) had seen him; and he made an appointment for meeting captain Prescott and the young man at the

East-India House on the Monday following. Captain Prescott, however, did not make his appearance, and notwithstanding he was perfectly aware of what was passing in colonel Toone's mind, he allowed the papers to pass, and the young man to be brought forward for approval.

The Rev. Dr. Edward Back, confirmed all the material parts of the Solicitor-general's statement.

Colonel Toone and the son of Dr. Back, also corroborated many of the facts stated. Other witnesses confirmed the statement as to the manner in which captain Prescott had procured the different papers to be filled up and signed.

Lord Tenterden summed up the evidence. With respect to captain Prescott, if the jury were of opinion that he had a guilty knowledge of the negotiation which was carried on by the other defendants, it would be their duty to convict him upon the whole of the charge; but, if they were not satisfied that he had such guilty knowledge, then they would have to consider the minor charge, namely, that of having, by falsely representing that he was acquainted with Edward Drake Back, and his father and connexions, corruptly endeavoured to carry the negotiation into effect. If they were satisfied that he had made such representation for the purpose charged, it would be their duty to convict him upon that part of the indictment. As to the other defendant Despard, there was no doubt of his guilt.

The jury deliberated in the box for about ten minutes, and then pronounced Despard *Guilty*, and captain Prescott *Not Guilty*.

WESTERN CIRCUIT, SALISBURY,  
MARCH 12.

*The King v. Seymour.*

John Richmond Seymour, Esq., and Charles Macklin, were charged with having attempted to commit an unnatural offence.

Mr. Coleridge stated the case for the prosecution. Mr. Seymour, he said, was a gentleman of rank, fortune, and education. He was a married man, and peculiarly blessed in his family. His lady had borne him a numerous family, and was, in 1825, the mother of five children. The other defendant had been also a married man, and was, at the time in question, in the situation of footman in Mr. Seymour's family; and the question for the consideration of the jury was, whether, upon a certain day, these defendants had met in a room in Mr. Seymour's house for the purpose of committing an abominable offence, and whether they had made any progress towards the commission of the crime.

Phæbe Hopkins was the first witness. She seemed so much affected, as scarcely to be able to stand, and at the request of Mr. Coleridge, who said that her examination would occupy a very considerable time, she was allowed by the judge to sit down. She deposed as follows:—  
“ In July, 1825, I was in the service of Mr. Seymour, at Crowood, as lady's-maid, and assisting in the household work. Mr. Seymour is a married man, and has several young children. I was single at the time; I had been in Mr. Seymour's service two years. In the beginning of July, 1825, Mr. Seymour's establishment consisted of David Bevan, the coachman; Henry Boucher, the butler and valet; and Charles Macklin, the footman. The females in the kitchen were the

cook and kitchen-maid. The head nurse was Maria May. There were two under nursery-maids, Ann Macklin and Hannah Watts; Ann Macklin was the sister of Charles. Hannah Watts and Ann Macklin were young and unmarried, and Maria May a married woman. In consequence of something relating to Mr. Seymour and Charles Macklin, which had been communicated to me on Sunday, the 3rd of July, it was agreed between the servants to watch the parties on the Tuesday following, because on that day Boucher, the valet, usually went to the village of Ramsbury, about a mile and a half from Crowood, and, when Boucher was absent, Charles Macklin used to wait upon Mr. Seymour. The house at Crowood was then under repair, and Mr. Seymour's dressing-room was changed. The room, which he then used, was on the drawing-room floor; the room had two doors; on one side it opened into the bed-room of the kitchen-maid and Ann Macklin, and on the other side, into the passage leading to the principal apartments of the house. There were three steps leading down from Mr. Seymour's room into the servants' room. On Tuesday, the 5th of July, I saw Mr. Seymour and Charles Macklin, between twelve and one o'clock, in Mr. Seymour's dressing room. I had not at that time gone for the purpose of watching, but saw Hannah Watts kneeling on the steps, and looking under the door. She spoke to me, and I went to the door, and looked under. I saw Macklin leaning on the bed, and Mr. Seymour behind him.”

The witness here described, in the most explicit terms, what cannot be repeated.

“ While I was at the door, Bevan

the coachman came, and I left it. On going from the room, I left, I think, Leah Murphy in the room. I had seen in the same morning Hannah Watts, Ann Bailey, and Leah Murphy in the room—a little after one Boucher came home. Mr. Seymour dined that day at Mr. Ashley's, at Sheppard; Bevan went with him. Mr. Seymour's mother and two other ladies dined with Mrs. Seymour, and slept at the house that night. When Boucher was informed of what had taken place, he left the house immediately. On that night a communication was made by me, Ann Bailey, Maria May, and Leah Murphy, to Mrs. Seymour. Next morning I met Mr. Seymour at his bed-room door. He asked me what we had been telling our mistress respecting Macklin. I said he had better ask the men. Macklin was discharged from Mr. Seymour's on the 6th of July (the day following). Boucher returned on the night of the day on which he went away. Some time after, I told Mr. Seymour I wished to leave his service. He begged that I would not do so. He said he hoped I would not go, for the sake of Mrs. Seymour and the family. He said that he had some notion of taking the family to Worthing. He said, 'I wish you all (the servants) to go with me. You shall leave me one at a time, and I shall give you all good characters, and get you good places.' I don't recollect that there was any one present at this time. On another occasion Ann Bailey, Leah Murphy, and myself, told Mr. Seymour, that we did not wish to go with him, as we could not think of staying in his family after what had happened. On leaving the room, Mr. Seymour said to Ann Bailey, 'As for you,

Bailey, you saw nothing.' Bailey replied, "What I have seen would hang any two men in England." Mr. Seymour said, 'I have not had a very good character with you, Bailey, but, notwithstanding, I shall give you a good one.' The family soon after went to Worthing. After we got there, I had a conversation with Mr. Seymour about the occurrence at Crowood. He said that he was going back there for some time to shoot. He returned from Crowood in a day or two, and said that the affair between him and Macklin was so universally talked of in the neighbourhood of Crowood, that he was obliged to return. He said, that Mr. Ritson, Mr. Johnson, and a few other friends, had drawn up a paper, which, if we (the servants) would sign, it would save his house from being burnt down, and his family from ruin. We refused to sign the paper. He said it was a very simple paper, and that he was sure we would not refuse him so small a request, which would do us no harm, and save him from so much misery. We still, however, declined to sign it. Next morning May, Bevan, Murphy, and myself, saw Mr. Seymour in his dressing-room, when he said, he hoped we had agreed to sign the paper which he had read to us the day before. He said that he had spoken to two tradesmen of Worthing who would be present while we signed the paper. I signed the paper in presence of only Mr. Seymour and the two witnesses. While I was signing the paper, a blank paper was thrown over the writing, and I was not able to read what I signed, nor did Mr. Seymour read it to me. When I had signed the paper, Mr. Seymour gave me another, which he had signed himself,

and which was to protect me against any consequences of having signed the former paper. Soon after I received a letter from Boucher, enclosing a copy of an advertisement which had been inserted in a newspaper, and to which my signature was attached, but the contents of the advertisement were different from what I thought I had signed. I proposed to Mr. Seymour to alter it; but he entreated me not to do so. After this, the family returned to Crowood; and May, Murphy, Bevan, and myself, accompanied them. Upon one occasion two gentlemen, of whom one was Mr. Johnson, came to Crowood, and Mr. Seymour told us, that he had brought us to Crowood to tell the gentlemen that we had signed our names to the paper which had been made public. We said, that he had treated us extremely ill, and that we should immediately go for some advice. He entreated us not to do so, and that he would give us all good characters. However, next day we all left, May, Murphy, myself, Bevan, and Boucher."—The witness, in continuation, replied to a vast variety of questions, which seemed to have been put to her in anticipation of some attacks which would be made upon her veracity, or with a view to the next cause in which she was herself indicted, with others, for a conspiracy, to procure the conviction of Mr. Seymour.

The witness was cross-examined at great length, and with much minuteness, by Mr. Sergeant Wilde.—On her cross-examination, she answered a great number of questions relating to the localities and domestic arrangements of Mr. Seymour's house. She said, "I never told, upon any other oc-

casione, more or less than I have told here now. I never saw the offence committed between the parties but once; and never told any one that I had seen it at other times. I never told Mrs. Smith, that I had seen the offence repeated upon the 5th of July, or that I had seen the parties commit the offence twice on the 3rd of July. I never could have told any one that I had seen it, because I did not see it. I recollect attending a meeting of gentlemen at Hungerford, where general Dundas presided. Upon that occasion general Dundas proposed that I should accompany them to examine the room. I at first refused to go, but afterwards consented. General Dundas had promised that I should be met by four of my fellow-servants; but when I arrived, I found, instead of them, four of Mr. Seymour's attornies. There were several gentlemen in the room when I went; and the meeting of gentlemen had deputed two of their number (the Rev. Mr. Hippisley and Mr. Cherry, M.P.) to examine the state of the room with me. Some persons were employed to put the room in the same condition in which it had been on the 5th of July. I complained that they made up the bed as high as the tester. The Rev. Mr. Hippisley and Mr. Cherry then desired me to make the bed as I thought it had been on the 5th of July. I then put on it two mattresses, but whether two beds or no, I can't tell. I was then directed to see if the other parts of the room, and the furniture, were in the same state as on the 5th of July. I looked round within the room, and said, it all seemed to be in the state. I then went out with the gentlemen, and having placed my-

self where I had been on the 5th of July, I found that I could not see two persons in the place which had been occupied by Mr. Seymour and Macklin on the 5th of July. I complained that some alteration had been made, though I could not tell where. But as the room was then circumstanced, it was perfectly impossible for me to see what I had seen on the 5th of July. I looked a great deal, but at last gave it up, saying that it was in vain for me to look any more. I might have said, that there was a mystery in the transaction. The two Mr. Lees were placed in the position in which I stated Mr. Seymour and Macklin to have been. I cannot suggest or surmise any part of the room or of the door in which an alteration may have been made, but I said then, and say now, that an alteration must have been made. When we first knelt on the 5th of July, at the steps of the door, to watch Mr. Seymour and Macklin, neither I, nor any other in my presence, tried if the door was locked, nor did any of us knock at the door, or make any noise to disturb the transaction which we saw going on. I don't know that this room was separated from Mrs. Seymour's bed-room only by a partition or wainscoat. When I signed the paper at Worthing, I said nothing about taking any advice before I signed it. I remained at Worthing six weeks. When I went to the door on the 5th of July, Hannah Watts was there, and had been looking under the door. I never heard Bevan, the coachman, ask Hannah Watts, if she had seen Mr. Seymour's person under the door on the 5th of July. I do not recollect your (Mr. Sergeant Wilde) having asked me at

the last assizes if I heard Bevan put this question to Watts, nor my replying that I had heard Bevan ask the question, and Watts answer it by saying, that she (Watts) had not seen Mr. Seymour's person on the occasion in question. I might have said, at the last assizes, that I did recollect Bevan having, in the kitchen, at Worthing, asked Watts this question. I often heard Watts say so in reply to several persons, but I do not recollect such answer having been given to a question by Bevan. I do not recollect ever having heard Watts say to Bevan, that she (Watts) had not seen Mr. Seymour's person, nor do I recollect Bevan having stated, in reply, that, unless Watts would say that she had seen it, they, the servants, would all be imprisoned as long as they lived. Watts never answered a similar question put by me by saying, that Mr. Seymour had a book in his hand. I do not recollect that I ever asked Watts, if she had seen Mr. Seymour put his hand on Macklin's shoulder, or that she answered, that she had not; or that I replied that she must say she had, or she would 'throw them (the servants) all, and if they came before a jury, they would be all hanged or transported.' I never told Hannah Watts to stick to what I told her; but I told her 'always to deny that she had ever seen it,' she being so young a child. I used the words, 'stick to what I have told you,' in reference to the continuance of the denial of what she had seen. When I looked in the room the second time, there was a book lying on the bed before Macklin. I have written to Bailey once, to Bevan once, and to Leah Murphy once, on the subject of this transaction.



When I left Mr. Seymour's service, I claimed of Mr. Seymour a guinea a year more than I had had the first year, but he said that he could only pay me according to the paper he had received from Mrs. Seymour. I had given warning about six weeks before I left. On the 5th of July the servants were all in the kitchen at dinner-time; the dinner was served up as usual, but I believe that no one ate any thing. Macklin was there, and went to church with me. After supper Mrs. Seymour had requested of us not to say any thing to Macklin for that night.

Mr. Sergeant Wilde. — At the last assizes, when Mr. Seymour was tried for his life, did not the lord chief justice make an observation upon the circumstance of your having sat down to supper with Macklin?

Witness. — Yes.

Mr. Sergeant Wilde. — Did you on that occasion say any thing of this injunction of Mrs. Seymour which you have just mentioned.

Witness. — No; I did not recollect it then, but I do now. Macklin was discharged next morning, the 6th of July, about eleven o'clock. He said to me on going, that we had got him out of the house at last. Not one of the servants ever gave to Macklin, before he left the house, the slightest intimation of the charge against him.

Bevan, the coachman, deposed in express words that he had seen the occurrence of the 5th of July, by looking under the door with the last witness. He added some circumstances of a more disgusting nature than had been stated by Hopkins. He said, that Mr. Seymour on one occasion requested him (witness) to go after Boucher,

the valet, who had left on hearing what had happened on the 5th; that, at the time when Mr. Seymour made the request, he wept copiously; and that upon another occasion Mr. Seymour said, he was a ruined man, and asked witness to blow out his (Seymour's) brains. The witness also detailed a variety of conversations and occurrences intended to establish the defendant's guilt, either by his own admissions, or by the statements which had been made on several occasions by the women and other persons in his family, who had determined on the 3rd of July to watch him and Macklin. As the testimony of this witness coincided to a great extent and in a remarkable degree with what had been given by Hopkins, we omit such particulars as either are the same in the testimony of both witnesses, or as seem at present not to be important.

The witness was cross-examined at great length. Bevan admitted, that, when Macklin charged the servants with having conspired to have him turned out of the house, not a word was said in answer to his charge by any of them as to the real cause of his discharge. He also admitted, that, when before the meeting of magistrates, at which general Dundas presided, he (Bevan) had made some statements different from those which he had at present addressed to the Court. Although he was much less agitated than the preceding witness, yet he exhibited much less consistency in his statement than had been shewn by her.

### *Second Day.*

Henry Boucher deposed as follows:—I am butler and valet to Mr. Tuffinall, M. P. In July,

1825, I filled a similar situation in the family of Mr. Seymour, and had been there from 1821. On Sunday, the 3rd of July, I went to church in the afternoon. Phoebe Hopkins was at church with me. On coming home, a communication was made to me, not by any of the servants who had not gone to church, but by Phoebe Hopkins. On the 5th, I went to Ramsbury about eleven o'clock, and returned at about one. On my return, a communication was made to me by May, Hopkins, and Murphy, in consequence of which I left the house immediately, and went to the house of a friend named Smith. I returned to Mr. Seymour's next day. On my way back I met Macklin, who had been discharged before I met him. On the day after my return, I was with Mr. Seymour in his dressing-room. He said to me, "Do you think, Boucher, I am guilty with respect to the act of that worst of all crimes?" I made no answer. He repeated the question; and I then said I could not think him otherwise, when the servants below were ready to swear that they saw the act. He said, "There are two ways of committing sin." He knelt down and cried, and said that he was not guilty of the act. At this time Bevan had told me what he had seen, and, in the course of the day, I communicated to Mr. Seymour what Bevan told me. Mr. Seymour acknowledged that he had been leaning over Macklin, with one hand upon his shoulder looking at a book of accounts.

[Here, the witness, a strong healthy looking man, became so much affected that he was unable to speak or stand. Salts and cold water were applied to restore him,

but in vain: and, at last, he was carried out of court.]

The Rev. Edward Graves Meyrick deposed—I am vicar of Ramsbury. Crowood is in my parish. In the summer of 1825, I, at the request of several gentlemen of the neighbourhood, called on Mr. Seymour to inform him of the reports which were in circulation about him. It was in August that I first saw him. I told him that reports were prevalent in the neighbourhood of a most disgraceful intimacy between him and his footman. He said, "Oh, you have heard that story have you? I will now tell it you for the last time, and dismiss it from my mind for ever." He said, that an account had been brought in a second time which had been paid before by his father-in-law, general Reeve; that being anxious to ascertain this, he gave one of his account-books to Charles Macklin, whilst he looked over the other himself; that the book, which Charles Macklin was looking in, was placed upon the bed in the dressing-room; that Macklin, thinking he had found the name, called to his master; that he went in consequence, and leant over his shoulder; that his servants looked under the door while he was in that situation, and that from that circumstance the reports arose. I (the witness) replied, that it was in vain to treat this matter in a trifling way; and that he should immediately send for some of the gentlemen of the county, and have his servants examined before them. He then became dreadfully agitated, shed tears, and said that he had the worst set of servants that any man ever had; that there was a vile conspiracy against him; that for the last twelve-months he had

neither been able to change a shirt, or make water, or do any thing whatever without being watched by these servants, and that they had even been base enough to accuse Mrs. Seymour herself. I urged him by every means in my power immediately to take the most decisive steps. Finding that I could not prevail, I offered to ride immediately to Chilton, and bring his friend the rev. Mr. Kitson. I went at Mr. Seymour's request, and returned with Mr. Kitson, and we both remained with Mr. Seymour for about two hours, urging him with the greatest earnestness to call the gentlemen of the county together. He said, he could not make up his mind to do so, and seemed inclined to do any thing rather than what we asked. We returned in the evening, and I saw him at the window, but the servant said, he was not at home. The person whom I saw, when Mr. Seymour was denied, was Boucher.

Cuthbert Johnson, Esq.—I reside at Wallington, in Berkshire, about seven miles from Crowood. I know Mr. Seymour very intimately. In the summer of 1825, after having been in Yorkshire, I heard reports concerning Mr. Seymour, and saw him three or four days after at my own house at Wallington; he said, he supposed I had heard the reports that were in circulation, and added, that he did not wish me to act in the matter, because he had a brotherly affection for me, and that it would grieve him much to see me act in a business of such a nature. I then entreated him to send for Mr. Kitson. Subsequently, on a Sunday, Mr. Kitson and I went by appointment to Crowood. I urged Mr. Seymour to institute

immediately a prosecution against his servants. We went up to look at the dressing-room. I looked under the door. Mr. Seymour said to me that it was useless to look under the door, as, if any thing had happened, they might have seen it. I looked under the door, and could see very plainly about the room. I could see the bed, but not the windows. While I was staying at Crowood, Mr. Seymour said, that a foul conspiracy existed against him,—that he had a set of very bad servants,—that Boucher was a snake in the grass,—that Bevan was a great villain; and that he himself was innocent. I asked him, if there had been any transaction in the dressing-room between him and Macklin, that could have caused the suspicion against him. He said the only thing that he could remember was (here the witness repeated the account which Mr. Seymour gave of the transaction in the dressing-room, and which corresponded exactly, as far as it went, with the account which Mr. Seymour had given of the same transaction to Mr. Meyrick, as detailed in that gentleman's testimony). The witness continued. When I looked under the door I was able to see considerably higher than the bed part of the bed, and, if there had been two persons on it in the manner stated already, I could certainly have seen them. I had a conversation with Mr. Seymour in the hot-house at Crowood. He was excessively agitated, and said that his life had been most unfortunate. A great deal of the conversation between us was strictly confidential.

(Here Mr. Sergeant Wilde said, that, on the part of Mr. Seymour, he released the witness from any

honorary obligation to secrecy, which he might conceive himself to be under.)

Mr. Seymour then went on to say, that there was a distinction in the degrees of the offence, but that he did not think that the gentlemen of the country could understand it. He then clasped his hands together and said, that he would leave the country, and swore solemnly that he was not guilty of the capital offence. He said, that, in leaving the neighbourhood, he had little to regret, as the only person he cared about was myself. (Mr. Johnson here became much affected. He shed tears, and was for some time unable to proceed.) I told him that the servants were much dissatisfied at the advertisement which had been inserted in the Reading paper; and he replied, that it was the same which they had signed. Mr. Kitson and I went next day, by Mr. Seymour's request, to call on Mr. Hippisley and some other gentlemen. We did not go to Mr. Hippisley's, because, in going there, we had seen Charles Macklin, who had been staying with his father-in-law (Stone), within three miles of Crowood. Mr. Kitson, myself, Stone, and Macklin, had a conversation. I said to Macklin that there were very unpleasant reports in circulation relative to him and Mr. Seymour, and that it was the anxious wish of every gentleman in the country to do away with them;—that Mr. Kitson and myself were acting for Mr. Seymour, and wished to know the truth of every thing;—and that we hoped, if there was any thing in the reports, he, Macklin, would not conceal it from us, as we had Mr. Seymour's interest at heart. He said there was nothing,—that the

other servants were jealous of him, but he could not tell why. We asked, if he had been favoured by his master in any particular degree, or had received any presents from him, as clothes or money. He said he had received an old shirt or two, and some trifling things of that sort. I think he said he had received no watch. I urged him particularly to be candid, and asked him if he could appear before a jury of his own countrymen and assert his innocence. He said he could. I perceived that his manner was much embarrassed, and that he appeared uneasy. I said, "don't deceive us, Macklin." He then said, "then, gentlemen, I will tell you the truth, which I have never told any one before. Mr. Seymour put his hand here" (pointing to the lower part of his person). I, witness, asked him how he allowed Mr. Seymour to do so: he replied, that he was angry at it. I asked him, if Mr. Seymour's hands had ever been in his, Macklin's, small clothes; he said, "yes, and more than once." I then turned to Mr. Kitson and Thomas Stone: they appeared to be greatly affected. I asked Mr. Kitson if he thought it would be necessary to proceed to Mr. Hippisley's; he said he thought we had heard quite enough. After this, when Mr. Seymour heard what had taken place, he asked us what we had been doing with Macklin? adding, that we had been cutting his (Seymour's) throat,—that we had, though with the best intentions, been altogether wrong in the course which we had pursued. He said he would go abroad, mentioned his family, and seemed greatly distressed. I told him that our interviews must cease

from that day, but that I should be happy to do any thing in my power in arranging his affairs. He asked me to take charge of some of his horses. He said he should leave the country without regret; and that, although he had been much upon the continent, he had not imbibed any of their bad habits, though he might, if he had chosen. I afterwards received a letter from Mr. and Mrs. Seymour, and went to meet them at Newbury. I went to Newbury, and waited near three hours, but Mr. Seymour did not come. I saw him afterwards at Tymparon. He asked me, if the gentlemen would meet him? and I answered no. He said that he was very sorry for it; and then mentioned that his wife was at Hungerford, and wished much to see me. I offered to walk with him to Hungerford, to meet Mrs. Seymour. He hesitated, and said he hoped I was not going to betray him. I said, that, if I should see his wife, it would be impossible for me to conceal any thing from her, if she questioned me. I think we parted at Tymparon.

Cross-examined by Mr. Sergeant Wilde.—When I saw Mr. Seymour, after having communicated with Macklin, Mr. Seymour said to me, that, by the conversation which I had had with Macklin, I had cut his (Mr. Seymour's) throat.

The Rev. Walter Kitson detailed the conversation between him and Mr. Seymour in Mr. Meyrick's presence. Some correspondence between Mr. Seymour and the witness was then put in. In one of the letters addressed to Mr. Kitson by Mr. Seymour, the latter gentleman protested, in the most solemn manner, that he never had

committed, nor intended to commit, the offence of which he was charged, and no man living entertained a greater abhorrence of the crime than he did. This declaration concluded with the words, "so help me God."

When Mr. Kitson had retired, a surgeon was put into the box, who deposed that he had attended Boucher since his examination; that he had had an apoplectic attack, and was now in extreme danger. To subject him now to any considerable degree of mental excitement, would be followed, in all probability, by a severer attack than that which he had already experienced.

[A witness was called to account for the absence of May, the nursery maid.]

Mr. Sergeant Wilde addressed the jury for the defence. "There are," said the learned gentleman, "some charges against which human nature cannot stand, which are no sooner made, than reason falls prostrate before the terrible accusation." In cases of this kind the conduct of the party accused only shows the extent of his confusion, and the distress and vacillation of his mind. Those who had the misery to lie under imputations so horrible, were deprived of all the resources which remained to criminals of other classes. Whatever their friends may feel at the first opening of the charge, they cannot stand it out. After a certain time, the eye of his nearest friend does not rest upon a man who lies under the blasting influence of so horrible an imputation. Persons of rank, who had been charged with such offences, were usually detected either in places beneath them, or in company with low persons, with whom they

could have had no business, or with people, or in places, or at times, which of themselves constituted a ground of suspicion, and required explanation. But what were the circumstances of this case? Mr. Seymour was in his own house, in his own dressing-room, with his own valet, whose duty it was to attend him: he knew that all the members of his family knew where he was and who was with him; for, having rung his wife's bell, which was answered by Phoebe Hopkins, she it was who was directed by Mr. Seymour to order Macklin to wait upon his master with a lighted candle. Mr. Seymour was a married man, and blessed with a wife gifted with discretion, beauty, accomplishments, and every other attraction which could not only rivet the most delicate affections, but also gratify the appetites which have been implanted in mankind for the wisest purposes. Had the union of Mr. Seymour with his amiable partner been cursed with an unfruitful bed? His wife had presented him five children, and, on the 5th of July, she had an infant at her breast. Was this circumstance to afford a presumption of Mr. Seymour's guilt, or did not human nature cry out from the recesses of every man's heart, that it excited the most irresistible presumption of his innocence? But what was the state of the prosecutors? What were they? An abominable association of men and women, conspiring to watch the secret motions of their master, and gloat by turns upon a scene from which human nature recoiled in abhorrence and disgust. What must the men and women be, and upon what terms must they have lived together, who could have

deliberately agreed to witness such scenes, and make them the subject of their conversation? Having alluded to the conduct of Mr. Seymour's friends, who had, in the first instance, endeavoured to induce Mr. Seymour to prosecute his servants, the learned sergeant said, that, at that time, destitute as he was of the means, which he now possessed, of convicting the servants, if he had come into court, he would have come as a criminal. Nay, more; if the inquiry before the magistrates, which had been proposed, had then taken place, and any of these gentlemen, from a conviction of Mr. Seymour's guilt, had instituted a prosecution against him, and supported it by the evidence which had been then ready, and could not have been at that time contradicted;—it was beyond all question, that he would have been convicted and executed. The learned serjeant proceeded to comment upon the evidence adduced for the prosecution, every part of which he pledged himself to disprove or explain.

Mr. Williams then called and examined Mr. Boswell Lee, who deposed as follows:—In January, 1827, I accompanied Phoebe Hopkins to Mr. Seymour's dressing-room. Mr. Cherry, Mr. Hippisley, and my two brothers were there. It was about two o'clock. We went for the purpose of ascertaining, whether a crime, mentioned by Phoebe Hopkins as having been seen by her, could be visible from the place whence she alleged that she had seen it. She was requested to see if every thing in the room was in the same state as it had been on the 5th of July. She did not object to any part of the furniture except the quantity of bedding on the bed. She was directed to

put the bed into the same state in which it had been. This was not until after she had looked under the door. She was then desired to reduce the size of the bed to what it had been. That was done, and two persons were placed on the spot on which it had been stated that the offending parties were standing on the 5th of July. She then went out to look under the door. She said that she could not see any part of the person in front, and only a small part of the arm of the person behind. When some of the gentlemen asked her how she could have seen on the 5th of July what she could not see in January, she said that there was some mystery about the matter, and that some change had been made. She was directed to examine the door and room, which she did most minutely, but declared that she could not observe the slightest change, though she continued to assert that some change had been made. Having marked with chalk the spot where the persons were placed, I afterwards had a hole bored there by a carpenter.

George Reason deposed that he lived at Ramsbury, near Crowood. He knew the dressing-room so often alluded to. The door of it had been made at his father's shop, about eighteen years ago. It had not been painted nor in any other manner whatever altered during the last nine years: certainly not since the 5th of July, 1825.

Mrs. Lee deposed, that, on the day in question, she had accompanied the mother of Mr. Seymour to Crowood, and dined with Mrs. Seymour. Having been in the dressing-room with Phoebe Hopkins, she (Mrs. Lee) remarked that there was an extraordinary quantity of bedding upon the bed.

John Millington deposed as follows:—I am a civil engineer, residing in Bloomsbury-square, London. On Saturday last, the 8th of March, I visited the house of Mr. Seymour, at Crowood, and minutely examined the dressing-room within and without. Mr. Millington then proceeded to detail a great variety of experiments, which he, in company with other persons, had made in order to ascertain, whether it was, in the then state of the room, possible for a person placed in the situation which Phoebe Hopkins had occupied on the 5th of July, to see persons who were upon the spot on which she had stated that she had seen Mr. Seymour and Macklin. The result of all these numerous experiments, which professor Millington detailed with great minuteness and clearness, was, that he had ascertained, that, even when the condition of the bed, and the position of the eye of the person watching, were much better calculated to facilitate the view of persons upon the chalked spot, they would be perfectly invisible, and therefore that, in what the actual circumstances had been, the parties must have been (if such an expression might be allowed) still more invisible. When the plan of the room had been shewn to Mr. Johnson, that gentleman had stated that the plan was correct, and represented exactly the position of all the objects in the room, except the bed, which was represented in the plan as being in a position more remote from the windows and the door than it had actually occupied. He stated that it should have been brought nearer to a table which stood in the middle of the room. This having been repeated to Mr. Mil-

lington, he stated, that, if the bed were to be placed in the situation required by Mr. Johnson, the difficulties of seeing Mr. Seymour and Macklin in the alleged situation, must have been still greater. The witness was examined at great length by the gentlemen of the jury, as well as by the Court, as to the possibility of any alteration having been made in the door, or the floor, or any other part of the room—an alteration which could diminish the facilities of sight. He explained, in a great variety of ways, and in reference to the several parts, the utter impossibility of any such alteration having been effected, without leaving marks, of which not one existed. To a question near the conclusion of his examination, Mr. Millington replied, that he had not, before making his experiments, received the slightest intimation of the evidence to be adduced upon the trial: that he was a perfect stranger to the parties and to the case, and had merely been requested to make some accurate admeasurements and observations, of which he knew neither the object nor subject, until he had come to the house. He then stated, that it had not only been impossible to see under the door on the 5th of July, the persons alleged to have been placed upon the chalked spot, but that such persons would be invisible, though the door, were wide open, the eye of the spectator being kept in the same position, which it must have been placed in when the door was shut. He said, that having opened the door and raised his eyes along a perpendicular rule, he found, that, in again depressing his eye, he had lost sight of a person placed as Macklin had been sworn to have been, as

soon as his eye was at the height of two feet two inches and a half above the floor.

Mr. Johnson was recalled, and, on being examined by sir Henry Onslow, deposed, that he could most undoubtedly have seen a person placed on the bed in the situation where Mr. Millington had just sworn that he had repeatedly placed a large person, and found that he had been invisible.

To a question, the witness replied — “The impression upon my mind is most unquestionably, that such a transaction as that which has been described would have been perfectly visible from the situation occupied by Phoebe Hopkins on the 5th of July.”

A Juror.—Your examination of the spot was not directed to the ascertaining whether you could see a person in a given position, or if so, what part of that person; but whether generally you could see a man at the other side of the bed?

Witness.—Exactly so.

Juror.—Was there a valance to the bed?

Mr. Johnson.—I do not remember.

Juror.—Nor a carpet on the floor?

Mr. Johnson.—I do not remember.

To Mr. Sergeant Wilde.—The impression upon my mind at the time was, [that the bed was a low bed. I made the observation on a Sunday in the first week of September.

Mr. Sergeant Wilde.—Are you prepared to swear that, at the time when you looked under the door, a person leaning upon the bed could have been seen?

Witness.—I am prepared to swear, that the impression upon



my mind was that he could have been seen.

Mr. Sergeant Wilde.—Will you venture to swear that a person so placed against the bed could have been seen, if the door were wide open, the eye being at the floor?

Mr. Johnson.—My lord, I do not consider that a fair question, and I cannot answer it. The witness at last replied, that he could not swear any such thing, and said, "There are no particular circumstances remaining upon my mind, which induce me to think that the parties could have been seen. It is only a general impression."

A model of the aperture was produced by a carpenter who had made it. It was an eighth of an inch wide in some parts, and an eighth and a sixteenth in the widest.

Mr. Millington, who was called again after the carpenter, deposed, that, if the aperture had been an inch greater all along than it actually was in any part, the power of seeing objects upon the chalked spot would be increased only to a very trifling degree. He added, that more could be seen from the narrowest part of the aperture than from the widest, by reason of the more advantageous position of the former.

Mr. Newton, a surveyer and civil engineer, who had assisted with Mr. Millington at the examination of the room, confirmed the testimony of that gentleman, and repeated most of the experiments which Mr. Millington had detailed before. He said, that, having opened the door, he was obliged to raise his eye to the height of more than a foot above the floor before he could see the person placed nearest the bed. He said, that, while Mr. Millington was

observing outside, the witness continued within to see that the persons who had been placed in the several situations, continued there during Mr. Millington's absence outside. The witness said, as Mr. Millington had before, that, looking under the crevice, he could see a person walking from the window to the bed as far up as the breast and from the feet.

Hannah Watts was next called, and deposed as follows:—In 1825, I lived in the service of Mr Seymour, at Crowood. I had been there from the 23rd of April in that year. On the 5th of July, I and the other servants looked under the door. Leah Murphy was the first person that looked. She called me to look. I looked under the door as she bade me, and more than once. The first time, I saw Mr. Seymour going across the dressing-room with a book in his hand, towards the window. He had come from the part near the door at which I was looking. There was a table in the room, almost at the place from which Mr. Seymour went. The book, which he had in his hand, had blue covers on. When he went towards the window, he was looking in the book: I saw Charles Macklin in the room at this time. When I first saw him, he was at the further side of the room, with his left hand on the bed-post. He appeared as if waiting for something. While I was there, Mr. Seymour did not move. I then left, after having been four or five minutes looking. When I left off, Leah Murphy was in the room. After this, Phoebe Hopkins came into the room and looked under the door, and continued looking for two or three minutes. She then told Leah Murphy to call Bevan, and

continued looking. Bevan came; he looked under the door; I afterwards looked under the door a second time before Phoebe Hopkins. When I looked the second time, I saw Mr. Seymour sitting at the table as if writing, and Macklin standing as before. I saw no part of Mr. Seymour's dress in any but the usual condition. When I discontinued looking the second time, I left Mr. Seymour at the table. There was a person named Bailey in the House, but she was not in the room while I was there. When I went away, I left Hopkins and Bevan in the room. In going, I met Bailey, who was going to that room. I never looked under the door upon any other occasion than the two which I have mentioned, on the 5th of July. I was the under-nursery-maid. I was not, on either occasion when I left the door, desired to go away by any person, but went of my own accord. Phoebe Hopkins did not upon either occasion, desire me to go away.

(Hopkins had sworn, that she had desired this witness to go away, and that the witness had spoken to her in reply, and gone.)

The witness.—I recollect going with the family to Worthing, and being there in the kitchen on one occasion with Hopkins and Bevan. Bevan asked me, if, when I looked under the door, I had seen Mr. Seymour's clothes down; I said that I had not. Bevan said, that I had better say that I had seen them, (stating some other indelicate circumstances), or that Bevan, Hopkins, myself, and the rest of the servants would be imprisoned as long as we lived, and that I should never see my friends again. Hopkins then asked me what I had seen; and I answered that I had

seen Mr. Seymour with a book in his hand. Hopkins then asked me, if I had not seen Mr. Seymour put his hand upon Macklin's shoulder, and I answered that I had not. Phoebe Hopkins then said, that, if I did not say so, and they came before a judge and jury, I should throw them all, and they would be all transported or hanged. I shed tears, and went up stairs. Afterwards Hopkins, the night before she went away to go to Crowood, told me to stick to what she had told me. She told me not to tell any body what I had seen under the door. This was after I had told her, that I had not seen Mr. Seymour put his hand on Macklin's shoulder.

Cross-examined by Mr. Coleridge.—When I saw Mr. Seymour passing across the room, his clothes were not disordered. I once said that they were. The witness here admitted that the preceding answer, as well as another, were directly opposite to the answers which she had given to the same questions when put to her by Mr. Butler, the attorney for the prosecution; but she added, that Mr. Butler had frightened her, and that she had no one to advise or support her (The witness, at the period when she was examined by Mr. Butler, was between fifteen and sixteen years old).

Re-examined by Mr. sergeant Wilde.—Whatever I said to Mr. Butler, was after the servants had told me that if I did not support what they said, we should be all hanged or transported.

Mr. Sergeant Wilde.—Whatever you may have said when Phoebe Hopkins was present, did you ever, to any one else in the world, declare that you had seen Mr. Seymour's shirt?

Witness.—No, never.

Mr. Sergeant Wilde.—Now, young woman, as you will answer to the Almighty, at the day of judgment, for the truth or falsehood of the declaration which you are going to make, did you ever see any of the circumstances that have been alluded to. [The learned sergeant here enumerated them].

Witness.—I never saw them, nor any of them.

In answer to other questions, the witness stated that many attempts had at the same time been made by Phœbe Hopkins to intimidate her and influence her testimony in other ways. She also stated, that she had been upon one occasion posted by Phœbe Hopkins to watch, while the latter opened Mrs. Seymour's writing-desk, and read over her mistress's letters.

Mary Smith contradicted expressly some parts of the evidence of Hopkins. The matters to which the contradiction related were not any part of the present issue, though very closely connected with it, and the witness was called only for the purpose of discrediting the veracity of Hopkins.

John Cheerer then deposed.—I am a short-hand writer. When Mr. Seymour was tried last assizes in the other court, I heard Phœbe Hopkins examined. [The witness here read from his notes the answers which had been given by Hopkins at the last assizes to certain questions which had been again put to her at the present, and her answers to which now were contradictory to those which she had given upon the former occasion.]

Major-general Dundas was then called, as was afterwards Mr. Coverdale, for the purpose of giving an account of the transactions of

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the meeting of magistrates at which general Dundas had presided. It was, however, intimated by the jury, that they had been led to believe that those gentlemen would not be examined. The examination was not persevered in.

The clerk of the indictments proved the acquittal of Mr. Seymour at the Spring assizes of 1827.

The Court having been, at ten o'clock, adjourned to the judge's lodgings, the jury proceeded thither about midnight, and returned a verdict of *Guilty* against both the prisoners.

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BURY ST. EDMUND'S, AUG. 7-8.

*Trial of William Corder for the murder of Maria Marten.*

The indictment charged William Corder with having, on the 18th of May, 1827, murdered Maria Marten, by feloniously and wilfully shooting her with a pistol through the body, and likewise stabbing her with a dagger. The indictment consisted of ten counts.

The first witness called was Ann Marten, the wife of Thomas Marten, who deposed, that she lived at Polstead, and her husband's daughter was Maria Marten. The prisoner was acquainted with Maria intimately. Maria became pregnant in the course of that intercourse, and, about seven weeks before May, 1827, she returned to her father's house accompanied by an infant child, who died about a fortnight afterwards. Corder still continued to come to the house, and admitted he was the father of this infant. He used to converse often with Maria, and, when the child was buried, he said he had carried it to Sudbury for that purpose. She remembered his more than once

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talking about a 5*l.* note, and Maria used to say, he had taken away her bread and her child's. Maria had had a child previously, which was kept by the witness. Corder told Maria, that the parish officers were going to take her up for having bastard children. On the Sunday, before Friday the 18th of May, he came to the cottage, where he stopped half an hour or three quarters, and then went out with Maria; both saying, they were going to Ipswich early on the Monday morning, after sleeping at his mother's house. She returned between three and four o'clock in the morning, and Corder came again on that day, and said they should go to Ipswich on the Wednesday night. They did not, however, go at that time, in consequence of Stoke fair, but fixed Thursday night for the journey, when again there was a disappointment, as he said his brother James was hourly expected to die. On the Friday (the day laid in the indictment), about eleven or twelve o'clock, Corder came, and went up stairs to witness and Maria. To the latter he said, "I am come, Maria—make haste—I am going." She replied, "how can I go at this time of the day, without any body seeing me?" He said, "never mind, we have been disappointed a good many times, and we will be disappointed no more." After they had this conversation, she asked him, "how am I to go?" He replied, "you can go to the Red Barn, and wait till I go to you there in the course of the evening." Maria said, "how am I to order my things?" He replied, he would take the things, carry them up to the barn, and come back to walk with her; adding, that none of his workmen

were in the fields or at the barn, and he was sure the course was quite clear. Maria's things, consisting of a reticule, wicker basket, a velvet one, two pair of black silk stockings, a silk gown of the same colour, a cambric skirt, and other articles of dress, were put into a brown holland bag, which Corder carried away in his hand. She (Maria) then dressed herself in a brown coat, striped waistcoat, and blue trousers, wearing underneath her under female petticoat, white stays, green and red handkerchief, a silk one, and an Irish linen chemise, which the deceased had herself made. Witness had laced on the stays for Maria on that morning, and knew the marks upon them (which she described), as well as those on the shoes which she wore. He assigned as the reason for going on that day to Ipswich, that John Balam the constable came to him on that morning to the stable, saying he had got a letter from Mr. Whitmore, of London, which enclosed a warrant to take Maria and prosecute her for her bastard children. Witness said, "Oh William, if you had but married Maria before this child was born, as I wished, all this would have been settled." — "Well," said he, "I am going to Ipswich to marry her to-morrow morning." Witness said, "William, what will you do, if that can't be done?" He replied, "don't make yourself uneasy, she shall be my lawful wife before I return, or I will get her a place till she can." Maria then went away about half-past twelve o'clock, Corder first desiring witness to look out to the garden, lest somebody should see them going off. They departed by different doors, Maria in man's dress, and with a hat of the prisoner's. She

wore a large comb in her hair, and a smaller one, having also ear-rings. They proceeded together in the direction of the Red Barn, and she saw neither of them again on that day, nor indeed ever saw Maria since. William Corder, when he went away with her, carried a gun in his hand, which he said was charged. Maria had besides a green cotton umbrella, with a bone crook handle, and a button. On the following Sunday morning at nine o'clock, witness next spoke to the prisoner at her own house. She said, "William, what have you done with Maria?" He answered, "I have left her at Ipswich, where I have gotten her a comfortable place, to go down with Miss Roland to the waterside." On asking him how she was to do for clothes, he said Miss Roland had plenty for her, and would not let him provide any for Maria. He also said, he had gotten a license, but it must be sent to London to be signed, and he could not be married under a month or six weeks. He further mentioned that he had changed a check for 20*l.*, and given her the money. On asking him where she dressed, he said she had put her things on in the barn, and that he afterwards put the male attire into the seat of the coach in which they travelled. Witness had a son named George, and she told Corder, that George had mentioned that he (prisoner) had not left the barn so soon as he promised. This he denied, saying he had left it within three-quarters of an hour after he parted from the house. "No," said witness, "you did not, for George saw you later going down the adjoining field with a pick-axe." "No, no," replied he, "that was not me, but Tom Acres, who had been planting trees on

the hill." She was in the habit of seeing Corder repeatedly up to the month of September,—sometimes two or three times in the day, and he invariably said Maria was well, and living comfortably at Yarmouth with Miss Roland. He used to leave Polstead some times for a day or two, when he was in the habit of saying he had been with Maria, who continued very well, and that, at Michaelmas, he meant to take her home to his mother's farm. No letter had ever come from Maria, and when she often spoke to Corder about her not writing, he replied, she could not, because she had got a bad hand. When he left Polstead, he came to take leave, saying he was going to the water side for his health, and would call at Yarmouth to take Maria with him, and be married immediately. She never saw him after, till his arrest, nor had she seen the dead body; but all the articles of dress were shown to her (which the witness subsequently identified as being those worn by the deceased on the day she had last seen her). Maria had always a cough, had a wen on her neck, and had lost a tooth from the upper as well as from the lower jaw. Witness attended Corder's brother's funeral soon after the 18th of May, where she saw the prisoner with Maria's umbrella. After the funeral, she talked to him about the umbrella, which he said was not her's, though it was like it, but Deborah Franks's, and he was going to send it back to her at Ipswich, where she had come over with Miss Roland. He had shown the witness a gold ring, which was, he said, to be for Maria's wedding, and also a brace of pistols which he once brought to the house.

Cross-examined by Mr. Broderick. —Witness was the mother of three children. Maria was her step-daughter, and had an own brother and sister. She was anxious for Maria's marriage to Corder, although Maria said nothing about it. She was gone two months at her last lying-in, and then returned in Corder's gig with the prisoner. The infant died in her arms, and Corder and Maria took it away to be buried: where she did not know, but was told at Sudbury. Maria used to dress a little fine, and her sister, as well as witness and her father, often quarrelled with her about it, which made her mostly very dull. There was no secret about their going to the barn. Corder used openly to snap the pistol close to the fire. She saw him bring ham for Maria. He used to give her money as the weekly allowance for the child; and Maria had a quarterly stipend of 5*l.* from Mr. Matthews, by whom she had a child, and another by a third party. She had never heard from any body but witness, that Maria was exposed to danger by the constables, for having had these children; and this fear kept her within doors. When she went away on the 18th, she was crying and low-spirited. Corder often came to the house with a gun. She had been examined before the coroner. Prisoner called repeatedly to see Maria, and said that, as long as he had a shilling, she should have it. They seemed always to be very fond of each other. She repeated her account of the manner in which Corder and Maria left the house together for the last time, as it had been already given in her examination in chief.

[During the examination of this

witness, the prisoner put on his spectacles, took out a red morocco pocket-book, in which he commenced writing, and looked steadfastly at her. She appeared a decent-dressed country woman, but never returned the prisoner's glance, or took her eyes from the counsel who examined her. About two o'clock he ate and drank with much seeming appetite.]

Thomas Marten, the father of the deceased, corroborated the evidence of the preceding witness, and stated, that he had received two letters, which he gave to a gentleman who had examined him, and he had since searched the Red Barn at Polstead, on the 19th of last April. On lifting up the straw from the barn floor, he saw some great stones lying in the middle of the bay, and an appearance of the earth having been disturbed. On that spot, he poked down the handle of a rake, and turned something up which was black. On getting further assistance, they discovered, a little under the ground, a small round sharp iron, about a foot long, like a hay-spike, and then they came to the body, and near the head found the handkerchief tied round her neck apparently very tight. The body was lying down, though not stretched out. The legs were drawn up, and the head bent down into the earth. He quitted the barn for half an hour, and returned with another person to make a further examination. They let the body alone, until the coroner and the surgeon came, when they cleared the earth entirely from the body; and raised it up from the floor. On examining it in the light, the mouth looked like Maria's, who had a wen on her neck, and had been ailing for a year or two with a

cough. Underneath the body was found a shawl: there were also ear-rings, parts of a stays, of a chemise, and two combs in the hair.

Ann Marten, sister of the deceased, deposed, that she was at home on the 18th of May, when Maria went away with William Corder, and described what then occurred, in nearly the same words as her mother, particularizing each article of her dress. Witness had seen the dead body, when the coroner and jury were present, and was positive it was her sister Maria's. She knew it by the things which were on it, also by her teeth, her mouth, and her features generally. The witness particularly identified the clothes as belonging to her deceased sister, as well as the ear-rings, the combs, &c.

Cross-examined.—Her sister left home on the 18th of May in very low spirits, but she never heard her say, she was anxious to be married to William Corder. Witness and Maria sometimes quarrelled, and there used to be words between her and her step-mother.

George Marten (brother of the preceding witness), a boy about eleven or twelve years of age, deposed, that he saw his sister on the day she last left the house with Corder, who carried a gun in his hand, which he said was loaded, and therefore cautioned witness not to meddle with it. He saw Corder on the same day between three and four o'clock, come from the barn alone with a pick-axe, and proceed homewards through the fields.

Phoebe Stow lived at Polstead, about thirty rods from the Red Barn. She remembered Corder calling about one o'clock one day in May last year, when he said,

"Mrs. Stow, has not your husband got an old spade to lend me?" She lent him one, and he only said a few words, saying he was in such a hurry, he could not then stop and talk to her. The spade was afterwards returned; but she could not say by whom. On a subsequent occasion, Corder again called, when she asked him where was Maria Marten's child. He said it was dead and buried. He also said she would have no more children. Witness said, why not, she is a young woman yet? He replied, "Never mind, Maria Marten will never have more children." "What do you go by?" added witness, "Oh," said he, "she has had several, but I'll be d—d, if she shall have any more." Witness continued, "If you are married, why don't you live with her?" "Oh, no," was his reply, "for I can go to her any day in the year, just when I like." "Perhaps, you are rather jealous," said I, "and when you are not with her, you think somebody else is."—"Oh, no;" said he, "when I am not with her, I am sure nobody else is."

William Pyrke deposed, that he drove the prisoner on the 8th of September, to Colchester, and talked with him about the business of the farm. Maria Marten's name, was mentioned, and he said he had not seen her since May, but spoke very highly of her.

The two following letters, after being identified by Marten as being in Corder's hand-writing, and as those which he received, were then read.

*"London, Bull Inn, Leadenhall Street, Thursday, October 18.*

"Thomas Marten,—I am just arrived at London upon business respecting our family affairs, and am writing to you before I take the

least refreshment, because I shall be in time for this night's post, as my stay in town will be very short, anxious to return again to her who is now my wife, and with whom I shall be one of the happiest of men. I should have had her with me, but it was her wish to stay at our lodgings at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, which she described to you in her letter; and we feel astonished that you have not yet answered it, thinking illness must have been the cause. In that she gave you a full description of our marriage, and that Mr. Roland was Daddy, and Miss Bride's-maid. Likewise told you they came with us as far as London, where we continued together very comfortable for three days, when we parted with the greatest regret. Maria and myself went on to the Isle of Wight, and they both returned home. I told Maria I should write to you directly I reached London, who is very anxious to hear from you, fearing some strange reason is the cause of your not writing. She requested that you would inclose Mr. Peter's letters in one of your own should he write to you, that we may know better how to act. She is now mine, and I should wish to study her comfort as well as my own. Let us know all respecting Mr. Peter, and if you can possibly write by return of post, and direct for W. M. C. at the above inn. Maria wished me to give to Nancy a kiss for her little boy, hoping every possible care is taken of him; and tell your wife to let Nancy have any of Maria's clothes she thinks proper, for she says she have got so many, they will only spoil, and make use of any she like herself. In her letter she said a great deal respecting little Henry, who she feel anxious to hear about,

and will take him to herself as soon as we can get a farm whereby we can gain a livelihood, which I shall do the first I can meet with worth notice; for living without some business is very expensive. Still provisions are very reasonable on the Isle of Wight, I think cheaper than any part of England. Thank God! we are both well, hoping this will find all you the same. We have both been a great deal on the water, and have had some good sea-sicknesses, which I consider have been very useful to us both. My cough I have lost entirely, which is a great consolation. In real truth, I feel better than I ever did before in my life, only in this short time. Maria told you in her letter, how ill I was for two days at Portsmouth, which is seven miles over the water to the Isle of Wight, making altogether one hundred and thirty-nine miles from Polstead. I would say more, but time will not permit. Therefore, Maria unites with me for your welfare; and may every blessing attend you. Mind you direct for W. M. C. at the Bull Inn, Leadenhall-street, London. Write to-morrow if you can: if not, write soon enough for Saturday's post, that I may get it on Sunday morning, when I shall return to Maria directly I receive it. Enclose Mr. Peter's letters, and let us know whether he has acknowledged little Henry. You must try and read my scribble, but I fear you will never make it out. I remain your well-wisher,

"W. C."

"I think you had better burn all letters, after taking all directions, that nobody may form the least idea of our residence. Adieu.  
*For Thomas Marten, Polstead,  
near Stoke by Nayland, Suffolk.*  
"With speed."



*"London, Monday 23rd, 1827.*

"Thomas Marten,—I received your letter this morning, which reached London yesterday, but letters are not delivered out here on a Sunday: that I discovered on making inquiry yesterday. However, I could not get through my business before this afternoon, and I am going to Portsmouth by this night's coach. I have this day been to the General Post-office, making inquiry about the letter Maria wrote you on the 30th of September, which you say never came to your hands. The clerk of the office traced the books back to the day it was wrote, and he said a letter, directed as I told him to you, never came through their office, which I think is very strange. However, I am determined to find out how it was lost, if possible, but I must think coming over the water to Portsmouth, which I will inquire about to-morrow, when I hope to find out the mystery. It is, I think, very odd, that letters should be lost in this strange way. Was it not for the discovery of our residence, I would certainly indict the Post-office, but I cannot do that without making our appearance at a court-martial, which would be very unpleasant to us both. You wish for us to come to Polstead, which we should be very happy to do, but you are not aware of the danger. You may depend, if ever we fall into Mr. P——'s hands, the consequence would prove fatal; therefore, should he write to you, or should he come to Polstead, you must tell him you have not the least knowledge of us, but you think we are gone into some foreign part. I think, if you don't hear from him before long, you had better write and tell him you cannot support

the child without some assistance, for we are gone you know not where. If you tell him you hear from us, he will force you to say where we was, therefore I think it will be best not to acknowledge any thing at all. I inclose 17, and you shall hear from us again in a short time. This will not reach you before Wednesday morning, as I am too late for this night's post. You said your wife did not like to take any of Maria's clothes; she said in her last letter, that her old clothes was at their service—I mean your wife and Nancy; but she shall write again as soon as possible. I must now bid you adieu. The coach will start in about ten minutes. I have been so much employed all this day, that I could not write before. Believe me to be your well-wisher for your future welfare,

"W. M. C."

*"For Thomas Marten, Polstead, near Colchester."*

(Post paid.)

Peter Matthews, Esq.—I generally reside in London. I had known Maria for some length of time before last year: and I had last seen her, I believe, on the 31st of August, 1826. In July last year, I was at Polstead, where I saw Corder, and had a conversation with him respecting a 5*l*. Bank of England note, which I had lost. He said he knew nothing of it. I received this letter from the prisoner:

*"Sunday afternoon, August 26th, 1827.*

"Sir,—In reply to your generous letter which reached me yesterday, I beg to inform you, that I was indeed innocent of Maria Marten's residence at the time you requested me to forward the letter

I took from Bramford, and will candidly confess, that Maria have been with a distant female relation of mine, since the month of May. About five weeks ago, they both went into Norfolk to visit some of my friends. On Friday week, I received a letter from my kindred, who informed that Maria was somewhat indisposed, and that they were then in a village called Herlingby, near Yarmouth. I received an answer by the next post, and enclosed your letter for Maria, which I found reached her perfectly safe, as I took the Yarmouth coach last Wednesday from Ipswich Lamb-fair, and went to Herlingby, when I was sorry to hear that Maria's indisposition was occasioned by a sore gathering on the back of her hand, which caused her great pain, and which prevented her from writing to you, as her fingers are at present immovable. Knowing you would be anxious to hear from her, I particularly wished her to write the first moment she found herself able, which she promised very faithfully to do. I gave her a particular account of our dialogue at Polstead-hall, not forgetting the remarkable kindness I experienced from you, which I shall ever most gratefully acknowledge; and likewise return you my most grateful thanks for your kindness in respect to your enterprise on my account, when in London.—I remain, Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

"W. CORDER."

"P.S. I have already enclosed your letter for Maria in one of my own, which I shall post with this immediately, and beg permission to add, that I am fully determined to make Maria my bride, directly I can settle our family affairs

which will be in about a month or six weeks time. Till that time, Maria wish to continue with my kindred. In concluding, if I can at any time render you any service whatsoever, I shall be most happy to oblige, as I am truly sensible of your generosity."

*"For Peter Matthews, Binfield, near Wokingham, Berkshire."*

Mr. Matthews's examination continued. — I left Polstead on the 9th of August last; Corder on that morning told me, he did not know exactly where Maria Marten was: but he believed she was in the neighbourhood of Yarmouth. On the 19th of November following, I met him accidentally near Somerset-house. I asked, if he had forwarded a letter of mine written to Maria Marten, and forwarded to him in one on the 2nd of September. He said he had. I told him I was surprised at not receiving any letter or any answer at all from the young woman. I asked him, where she then was? He said he had left her in the Isle of Wight. I told him, that her father had written to me once or twice respecting her, and that he was uneasy, not knowing where she was. I inquired of him, if he was married to her? He said, "No;" he had not yet settled his family affairs.

James Lea.—I am a police-officer of Lambeth-street. On the 22nd of last April, I went to Grove-house, Ealing, at about ten o'clock in the morning. As I entered, Corder came into the Hall out of the parlour. I told him, I had a little business with him. The prisoner said, walk into the drawing-room, and we went in. I then told him, I was an officer from London, and was come to apprehend him on a very serious charge,

and he must consider himself my prisoner. He replied, "Very well." I told him the charge was respecting a young woman of the name of Maria Marten, whom he had formerly kept company with. I said, she had been missing for a length of time, and strong suspicions were attached to him. I continued, "I believe you know such a person? It was a young woman you kept company with in Suffolk." He said no; he did not know such a person. I asked him, "Did you never know such a person?" He said no; I must have made a mistake; he was not the person I wanted. I said, "No; I have not made a mistake—your name is Corder; and I am certain you are the person." I told him to recollect himself, I had asked him twice if he knew such a person, and I would ask him a third time. He still said no, he did not; he never knew such a person. I then proceeded to search his person, and took from his pocket a bunch of keys. I took him to the Red Lion, at Brentford. On our way thither, I said the body of the young woman had been found in his Red Barn. He made no remark then. We proceeded some distance, and he asked me, "When was the young woman found?" I told him—"on Saturday morning last." He made no further reply. I then left him at the Red Lion, and returned to his house. When I entered, Mrs. Corder showed me up stairs into a dressing-room. I found in the house a pair of pistols, which he admitted to be his, and likewise a sword.

Robert Offord.—I am a Cutler, residing at Hadleigh, in this county. The prisoner called at my house in the latter part of March

or beginning of April, 1827. He brought a small sword, and said, "Mr. Offord, I have brought a small sword, which I wish to have ground as sharp as a carving-knife, for the use of a carving-knife." He wished to have it done, and he would call for it that night. The witness identified the sword produced by Lea, as the one he had sharpened for Corder.

John Balam.—I am the constable of Polstead. I never had told the prisoner that I had a warrant to apprehend Maria Marten, or that I had a letter from Mr. Whitmore to apprehend her.

Thomas Acres.—I recollect Stoke Fair, in 1827. I know the Red Barn at Polstead, and the thistly lay there. I never went over that field with a pick-axe on my shoulder.

John Lawton.—I am a surgeon, and was present when the coroner's jury went to view the body found in the Red Barn on the 20th of April. It had not been disturbed, except that the earth had been removed from the top of it. It lay in the hole in the barn in which it had been buried, in the right-hand bay of the barn. It was, in parts, much decomposed. I should have said it had been in the ground nine or ten months or more. There were with it stays, flannel petticoat, shift, a handkerchief round the neck, stockings and garters, and high shoes, with portions of a leg-horn bonnet trimmed with black. [Produced a silk handkerchief.] This was found underneath her hips. [The rest of the articles he mentioned were produced and identified; they were nearly indistinguishable as to material or form.] There was part of the sleeve of a blue coat, and the body was in part of a sack. The right-

hand was on the right breast. It was the body of a full-grown young woman. There was an appearance of blood about the face, particularly on the right side. I found the green striped handkerchief round her neck, tied in the usual way, but drawn extremely tight, so as to form a complete groove round the neck. It would have produced strangulation. There was in the neck an appearance of a perpendicular stab, about an inch and a half in length, and extending deep into the neck. There was the appearance of injury having been done to the right eye, and the right side of the face. It seemed as if something had passed in at the left cheek, removing the two last grinders, and then out at the right orbit. A ball so passing would not of itself cause death; but the strangulation, and the stab in the neck, would have been sufficient, with the ball, to produce death. There was an adhesion of the lungs to the membrane which lines the ribs on the right side. This would, in life, cause inflammation; and the person would have complained of cough, with pain in the side. The ribs and the heart were brought by Mr. Nairn, a surgeon, to my house. I then saw where something had penetrated between the fifth and sixth ribs, and there was a stab in the heart which corresponded with the opening in the ribs. I found a corresponding opening in the shift. The sword, which has been produced, appears to fit the wound through the ribs and the opening in the shift. I found one part of the wound wide, and the other narrow, so as to correspond with the sword.

The evidence of two other surgeons was to the same effect.

The mother and sister of the

deceased identified the articles of dress found on the body taken from the Red Barn as being Maria's.

The prisoner, being called on for his defence, advanced to the front of the bar, took out some papers, and read with a very tremulous voice an address of which the material passages were the following:

"It has been well observed that truth is sometimes stranger than fiction. Never was this assertion better exemplified than in this hapless instance. In a few short months I have been deprived of all my brothers, and my father recently before that period. I have heard the evidence, and am free to say that, unexplained, it may cause great suspicion; but you will allow me to explain it. Proceeding, my lord and gentlemen, to the real facts of this case, I admit that there is evidence calculated to excite suspicion,—but these facts are capable of explanation; and, convinced as I am of my entire innocence, I have to entreat you to listen to my true and simple detail of the real facts of the death of this unfortunate woman. I was myself so stupified and overwhelmed with the strange and disastrous circumstance, and on that account so unhappily driven to the necessity of immediate decision, that I acted with fear instead of judgment, and I did that which any innocent man might have done under such unhappy circumstances. I concealed the appalling occurrence, and was, as is the misfortune of such errors, subsequently driven to sustain the first falsehoods by others, and to persevere in a system of delusion. At first I gave a false account of the death of the unfortunate Maria. I am now resolved to

disclose the truth, regardless of the consequences. To conceal her pregnancy from my mother, I took lodgings at Sudbury: she was delivered of a male child, which died in a fortnight in the arms of Mrs. Marten, although the newspapers have so perverted that fact; and it was agreed between Mrs. Marten, Maria, and me, that the child should be buried in the fields. There was a pair of small pistols in the bed-room; Maria knew they were there. I had often showed them to her. Maria took them away from me. I had some reason to suspect she had some correspondence with a gentleman, by whom she had a child, in London. Though her conduct was not free from blemish, I at length yielded to her entreaties and agreed to marry her: and it was arranged we should go to Ipswich and procure a license and marry. Whether I said there was a warrant out against her, I know not. It has been proved that we had many words, and that she was crying when she left the house. Gentlemen, this was the origin of the fatal occurrence. I gently rebuked her; we reached the barn; while changing her dress, she flew into a passion, upbraided me with not having so much regard for her as the gentleman before alluded to. Feeling myself in this manner so much insulted and irritated, when I was about to perform every kindness and reparation, I said 'Maria, if you go on in this way before marriage, what have I to expect after? I shall therefore stop when I can, I will return straight home, and you can do what you like, and act just as you think proper.' I said I would not marry her. In consequence of this, I retired from her, when I imme-

diately heard the report of a gun or pistol, and running back I found the unhappy girl weltering on the ground. Recovering from my stupor, I thought to have left the spot; but I endeavoured to raise her from the ground, but found her entirely lifeless. To my horror I discovered the pistol was one of my own she had privately taken from my bed-room. There she lay, killed by one of my own pistols, and I the only being by! My faculties were suspended. I knew not what to do. The instant the mischief happened, I thought to have made it public: but this would have added to the suspicion, and I then resolved to conceal her death. I then buried her in the best way I could. I tried to conceal the fact as well as I could, giving sometimes one reason for her absence, and sometimes another. It may be said, why not prove this by witnesses? Alas! how can I? How can I offer any direct proof how she possessed herself of my pistols, for I found the other in her reticule. That she obtained them cannot be doubted. All I can say as to the stabs is, that I never saw one; and I believe the only reason for the surgeons talking of them is, that a sword was found in my possession. I can only account for them by supposing that the spade penetrated her body when they searched for the body in the barn. This I know, that neither from me, nor from herself, did she get any stab of this description. I always treated her with kindness, and had intended to marry her. What motive, then, can be suggested for my taking her life? I could have easily gotten over the promise of marriage. Is it possible I could have intended her destruction in

this manner? We went, in the middle of the day, to a place surrounded by cottages. Would this have been the case had I intended to have murdered her? Should I have myself furnished the strongest evidence that has been adduced against me? I might, were I a guilty man, have suppressed the time and place of her death, but my plain and unconcealed actions, because they were guiltless, supplied both. Had I intended to perpetrate so dreadful a crime, would I have kept about me some of the articles which were known to be Maria's? Had I sought her life, could I have acted in such a manner? Had I, I would have chosen another time and place. Look at my conduct since. Did I run away? No! I lived months and months with my mother. I left Polstead in consequence of my family afflictions. I went to the Isle of Wight. It is said, that the passport was obtained to enable me to leave England at any time. No, it was to enable me to visit some friends of my wife's in Paris. Should I have kept her property, had I any thing to fear from their detection? In December last, I advertised in the Times newspaper the sale of my house, and gave my name and address at full length. Did this look like concealment? You will consider any man innocent till his guilt is fully proved."

He was heard with the utmost silence and attention by the court and the jury, and he occasionally drew his eyes from the book and fixed them on the jury-box, as if to ascertain the impression he had made. Towards the close of his address his voice faltered, so as in particular passages to be nearly inaudible. His address, which was delivered between eleven and

twelve o'clock, occupied the court about twenty-five minutes.

Some witnesses were called for the defence, who merely proved that the prisoner treated the deceased with kindness; that she was generally in very bad spirits; and that he was a humane man.

The lord chief baron summed up the evidence: at twenty-five minutes to two the jury retired; and at ten minutes past two, they came back into court, and returned a verdict of *Guilty*.

Corder was executed on the 11th of August. On the preceding evening he made the following confession:

*"Bury Gaol, Aug. 10, 1828.  
Condemned Cell, Sunday evening, half-past eleven."*

"I acknowledge being guilty of the death of poor Maria Marten, by shooting her with a pistol. The particulars are as follows:—When we left her father's house, we began quarrelling about the burial of the child, she apprehending that the place, wherein it was deposited, would be found out. The quarrel continued for about three-quarters of an hour upon this and about other subjects. A scuffle ensued, and, during the scuffle, and at the time I think that she had hold of me, I took the pistol from the side pocket of my velvet jacket and fired. She fell, and died in an instant. I never saw even a struggle. I was overwhelmed with agitation and dismay—the body fell near the front doors on the floor of the barn. A vast quantity of blood issued from the wound, and ran on to the floor and through the crevices. Having determined to bury the body in the barn (about two hours after she was dead) I went and borrowed the spade of Mrs. Stowe; but before I went

there, I dragged the body from the barn into the chaff-house, and locked up the barn. I returned again to the barn and began to dig the hole; but the spade being a bad one, and the earth firm and hard, I was obliged to go home for a pick-axe and a better spade, with which I dug the hole, and then buried the body. I think I dragged the body by the handkerchief that was tied round her neck—it was dark when I finished covering up the body. I went the next day, and washed the blood from off the barn-floor. I declare to Almighty God, I had no sharp instrument about me, and that no other wound but the one made by the pistol was inflicted by me. I have been guilty of great idleness, and at times led a dissolute life, but I hope through the mercy of God to be forgiven.

“W. CORDER.”

In the interval between the perpetration and the discovery of the murder, Corder had advertised for a wife. A woman of respectability, who kept a boarding-school near Ealing, answered the advertisement; and they were married. He was living with his wife and in her house, at the time when he was taken into custody.

SHREWSBURY, AUGUST 2.

(Before Mr. Justice Gaselee.)

*Extraordinary Case of Murder.*

Joseph Pugh, John Cox, the younger, and Robert Cox, were severally indicted, charged with the wilful murder of James Harrison, on the 17th of July, 1827; and John Cox, the elder, and Ann Harris, as accessaries before the fact, with inciting the said Joseph

Pugh, John Cox, and Robert Cox, to commit the murder.

In the early part of last year, considerable depredations took place in the neighbourhood of Drayton, by a gang of sheep-stealers. In consequence of information given by the deceased James Harrison, a man of the name of Thomas Ellson was apprehended and committed to gaol. The apprehension of Ellson, with some further information that was expected from Harrison, would, it was supposed, involve the prisoner John Cox, if not the rest of the family. The elder Cox was the father of the prisoners John and Robert Cox, and Ann Harris was the mother of Ellson. As the trial of Ellson was approaching, it became necessary that Harrison, who was the principal evidence against him, should be removed out of the way, in order to prevent his conviction. He disappeared: after some time it was rumoured that he had been murdered, and Joseph Pugh and Ann Harris were taken into custody. On Pugh being apprehended, he almost immediately offered to confess, and in consequence of information given by him, the body of Harrison was found in a field called Hocknell's Field. This murder was the subject of the indictment.

Henry Holt.—Joseph Pugh pointed out a particular spot in Mr. Hocknell's field, which the witness caused to be dug up, and at the depth of four feet from the surface, a dead body of a man, with the clothes on, was found. Witness had it carefully dug round, and then removed to Drayton poor-house.

John Harrison said, he resided at Market Drayton, and was the father of James Harrison. In last

June, the witness Holt showed witness a body, at the poor-house. Witness knew the clothes. He examined the boots; they were the boots his son had on when he saw him last. Witness knew them by a patch, which he pointed out. Witness examined the body at the poor-house. The hair was left, and he could swear to the hair. It was the body of his son James Harrison.

George Pugh, father of the prisoner Joseph Pugh, said, I live on Little Drayton Common. The last time I saw James Harrison, to the best of my knowledge, was on the 14th of July, 1827; he was in my house when I went to bed; my son Joseph Pugh was there also. I went to bed about eleven o'clock. About one o'clock, I heard a loud whistle two or three times. I then directed my wife to get up and go to the window, and see who it was. Some time after, I heard the noise of feet below stairs. James Harrison and my son had no beds, and when I went to bed, I left them sitting by the fire. When I got up the next morning, I found my son Joseph in the house. My wife asked him how long Harrison had been gone? He replied he did not know, for he never heard him or saw him.

Ann Pugh, the wife of the last witness, deposed to the same effect.

Thomas Ellson.—I come now from Shrewsbury gaol. Last year I was in Stafford gaol, on a charge of stealing potatoes, and was removed to Shrewsbury gaol on suspicion of sheep stealing. I married the daughter of the prisoner, old John Cox. The two young Cox's now at the bar are his sons, and my brothers-in-law. The prisoner Ann Harris is my mother. After my liberation from Shrews-

bury gaol I went to old Cox's at Drayton, and there saw the two young Cox's. Old Cox and his two sons went with me to the Star public-house, where we had some beer together; Robert Cox said to me in the presence of his father and brother, "If it had not been for me and Joe Pugh, you would not have been here now." My mother, Ann Harris, then came in, and I went home with her. While I was at supper in her house that night, Robert Cox came in, and said to my mother, Ann Harris, "D—n your old eyes, if you don't give me some more money, I'll fetch him and rear him up against thy door." The next morning at breakfast-time Robert Cox came again, and my mother gave him 2s., and desired him "never to come bothering her any more." Some time after this I saw Joseph Pugh and young John Cox at my house. Pugh said, he was the man that 'ticed Harrison out of his (Pugh's) father's house, under pretence of going to steal some bacon; he then took him down the town-field by the penfold, and when they got by Dale's barn, told him they were too soon to steal the bacon, and he must go and lay down by Cartwright's stack. John Cox and Robert Cox were waiting at the stack at this time. Pugh said, he then caught Harrison by the wind-pipe, and Robert Cox took him by the legs, and John Cox was digging the grave the while. The last words Harrison said, when he was dying, were—"Oh, Lord, spare my life, and I'll not hurt *Shooler*" (meaning the witness, that being the nick-name he was known by). Pugh said they killed Harrison in the mowing-piece, and then took him into the next field (a ploughed piece) to bury him.



Mr. Justice Gaselee, after taking a review of the arguments offered against the reception of the confessions of Pugh and Ann Harris, decided that they should be received.

Henry Holt was recalled—Joseph Pugh was in my custody on the 30th of June last. I had some conversation with him on this affair. He said to me, that he took Harrison down the Wiper-lane, and there he met John Cox the younger and Robert Cox. He then knelt down upon Harrison, and young John Cox put a twisted string round Harrison's neck, and pulled it till he was dead. Robert Cox stood by, but did not assist. John Cox buried him.

Joseph Taylor.—I was present at the coroner's inquest when young John Cox was called into the room. He said it was he and Pugh that killed him: his brother had nothing to do with it. I went out of the room with young John Cox.

The confession of Ann Harris was then read. It stated, that, when her son, Thomas Ellson, was taken to Stafford gaol, she went to old Cox, and told him they were both done, without Harrison would go off with her Jack, and he had said he would take him and throw him into a coal-pit. Old Cox said, "D—n him, if Trunkee Pugh had his freedom, he would cut his throat in a waggon; but Harrison said he would not go off with Jack without Joe Pugh went off with him, and Joe said, he would not go away, as he had done nothing amiss." Bob Cox asked, if she would give him 2*l.* to get him out of the way, and in a few days after Bob came to her and said, "D—n your eyes, you old b—: give me the money." She afterwards met him at his father's, and

gave him three half-crowns, and sent her father some meat. Cox said, he did not care about her boy being hanged, but it was a hard thing that his boy should suffer. The Wednesday after her son came out of gaol, she said to the Cox's, pray God, Harrison may come back alive, and Robert Cox said, he had taken him to Gloucester and listed him. Old Cox told her she should get some poison to poison Harrison. This was a few days after she had been to Stafford gaol to see her son.

Elizabeth Ellson, daughter of the prisoner old Cox, and sister to the prisoners John and Robert Cox, said, she was wife of Thomas Ellson, and remembered going to see her husband in Stafford gaol. Joseph Pugh and Ann Harris went with her. They had some talk on the road about destroying James Harrison. Harris told Pugh she would give him 5*l.* and a coat to destroy him; and when in the gaol, she told Ellson to be content, as they could not hurt him, and then asked the gaoler, if Harrison did not appear against him, whether he would not get off. Witness remembered being in her father's (old Cox's) house after Harrison was missing; Joseph Pugh was present, and Ann Harris said, she placed a shovel for several nights out at her door. It was fetched, and brought back again, all over blood and hair; and, the night before James Harrison was found, she wanted to go and fetch his bones, and throw them into the well, because, if they did not find them, they could not do any thing.

Mary Bateman, daughter of Ann Harris, remembered being at old Cox's when they were digging for the body. She said to Robert Cox, "Bob they tell me that man was

murdered;" he said, "D—n your bothering, don't bother me." She said they are digging Dale's field now; he replied, "they will never find him, unless Joe Pugh take them to the place." Witness said to him, "They say my mother is concerned in it;" he said, "Your mother is as innocent as the child unborn; but as Thomas says so, I'll swear it." Witness said, "How can you think of swearing against her if she is innocent;" he said, "he did not care, he would." Witness said, "If my mother knows any thing about it, go and shift him (meaning the body). He said, "Joe and Jack murdered him, and threw him over the gate like a horse;" he said, "He never touched him; he sat under the hedge."

The Jury, after a short consultation, returned a verdict finding Joseph Pugh, John Cox, the younger, and Robert Cox, *Guilty*. After a few minutes further consideration, they found both John Cox the elder and Ann Harris *Guilty*.

Mr. Justice Gaselce expressed a wish that the jury would reconsider the case of John Cox the elder, and read over the evidence affecting him.

The Jury having again consulted for a few minutes, found John Cox and Ann Harris *Guilty*.

The Judge then passed sentence of death on all the prisoners, and ordered Joseph Pugh, John Cox, the younger, and Robert Cox, to be executed on the following Monday, and their bodies to be dissected.

The case was altogether most revolting. Pugh, the father, was called to convict his son; Ellson, to convict his own mother and father-

in-law and brothers-in-law. His wife corroborated his evidence against her own father and brothers; and the evidence of Mary Bateman, the daughter of Ann Harris, tended to confirm the testimony which fixed the guilt on her mother.

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GLASGOW, CIRCUIT COURT, SEPTEMBER 18.

Henry Saunders, one of the persons charged with robbing the Greenock Bank, was put to the bar.

Alexander Brymner, depute cashier and teller in the Greenock Bank Company.—There is a particular chest in the bank, of which witness keeps the key. On the 8th of March, at a quarter past nine, evening, he locked it. The contents of the chest were 34,116*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*, including several parcels of Greenock bank-notes to the amount of 28,354*l.* The chest was in the inner safe of the bank; it is an iron chest, and would require three men to carry it. Took the key of the chest with him but did not lock the safe. The outer door keys are left with the porter, Robert Love, who has the locking of the bank doors at night, and had a bed in the bank, close by the safe. Witness returned to the bank at ten on Monday morning, the 10th; and waited till Mr. Thomson came, which was in a few minutes, when Mr. Thomson gave the keys to the porter to open the doors of the safe. He opened the first door, which is wood, but could not open the second door, which is of iron; the porter remained half an hour without being able to open it, and then a smith was sent for. Witness heard something like a ring

fall. The chest was found open, and rifled of its contents.

Alexander Thomson, the cashier, gave similar evidence.

Robert Love, porter to the Greehock Bank Company, has a house adjoining the Bank. There is no door between it and the Bank. He slept in the Bank, and took charge of the keys. The Bank closes generally about ten o'clock; he sometimes goes out after that for a few minutes, but always locks the doors. There is one lock on the outer door; inside there is a stair to the assembly rooms, and a door to the coffee and assembly rooms. When he goes to bed, he generally snips the outer door of the passage, and locks two bank doors, which have two locks and four bolts. There are two other doors inside, through which he passes before he reaches his bed; these he does not lock; leaves the Bank commonly in the morning at or after six o'clock. These two doors lead to the safe as well as to his bed. When he goes out, he locks one of the bank doors. There are two locks on the outer door of the Bank: does not lock the other door. The two locks are different. The Bank is sometimes not otherwise protected till ten o'clock, when it opens. On Sunday morning he seldom leaves it before eight o'clock; takes the keys always home with him, when he leaves the Bank; but does not lock them up. On Saturday, the 8th of March, he locked the door in the usual way. When he got up on Sunday, he quit- ted the Bank at half-past six, and left one of the window-shutters open; did not remove the fastenings; left one door locked, and went home. Went back again at seven or eight in the evening. Found the locks

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in the usual way, and secured the Bank as usual. Got up and left the Bank after six on Monday morning. Was out and in all the morning till ten o'clock. Got the key of the safe from Mr. Thomson, and opened the outer door, but could not open the inner one without a smith. Found the chest open and all the cash gone.

Catherine Wilson, widow.—Her house is to the west-end of the town and opposite the chapel. She occasionally lets lodgings. Two lodgers came to her house on Friday the 23rd of November last. They remained after they came in November, a fortnight and three days; they left her on a Monday. The prisoner is one of the persons who came in November. The person who was with him came back afterwards. The prisoner passed by the name of Richard Eldin, the other passed by the name of Gray. They had no occupation that she knew of. They went out generally early, by six or seven o'clock, when it was dark, whether it was good or bad weather; they said they went to bathe in the sea. When they went to bathe, she sometimes offered them towels, but they refused. They were always in early, and to their bed-room by ten o'clock; they burned lights all night; the fire was also kept in; both went away together from her house, the prisoner said, he was going to New- castle, and the other said, he was going to Paris; they came back on the Friday of the same week, and left her again on the 7th of January. They did not then say where they were going. They conducted themselves as on their former visit. Both slept in the same room. Saw Gray until within three

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weeks after they left her the second time.

A servant maid of Mrs. Wilson gave evidence to the same effect, and that she once heard a noise in the prisoner's room, when late, like the sound of filing iron.

Stewart Waters, waiter, George Inn, Greenock, saw the prisoner at the George Inn, on the 7th of November; he stopped till the 12th. There was a tall man along with him, who had a scar below the right eye, and squinted. They went out at five or six o'clock every morning during the time they were at the inn. Saw him again on the 2nd of March with another person, who was not the same person who was with him before; they went out early in the mornings as before. The prisoner had a whitish portmanteau and a blue camlet cloak.

This evidence was also confirmed.

Robert M'Fadyen, saw the prisoner on the first Sunday of March, about eight o'clock in the morning, near the Bank; saw him, also, on the following Friday.

James Stewart, labourer, about a week before the robbery, saw two men walking in the morning, about day-light, before the Greenock Bank; they had on olive-coloured great coats. Cannot say he ever saw the prisoner.

Mrs. Dougal, wife of Neil Dougal, vintner. Her house is opposite the Bank. Has a window to Cathcart-street, from which the Bank is seen, but it is better seen from a window in Cross-shore-street. Has seen prisoner in her house. He and another person came to her house in the beginning of January, and she showed them into the corner room which has the window to Cross-shore-street. The

person who was with him was shorter, darker in complexion, pitted with small-pox, and squinted. They came frequently, always together, on the Sunday forenoon, after the churches went in. They wanted to read the paper. They came frequently there, till the beginning of March. The last time they were in her house there was a person with them she had never seen before. Thinks this was on Sunday, the 2nd of March. They came at the usual time and stopped till the church came out.

John M'Farlane, horse-setter, St. Enoch's Wynd, Glasgow, and his hostler proved, that M'Farlane has a yellow and black painted gig, and a black mare with four white legs. It was hired on a Saturday in March last, by two gentlemen who said they were going to Hamilton. They hired it again on Saturday the 8th, and said they were going to Paisley. It was brought back next day, about half-past one, by two boys, who left it and went away. The prisoner is not like the man: the witness did not see their faces.

Hugh Ross, Stabler. His stables are in Greenock. M'Farlane's gig with yellow spars, was at his stables on the Saturday week before the robbery, and also on the Saturday before the robbery. It was taken away on Sunday. It came about dusk. It was ordered to be ready between seven and eight on Sunday morning the 9th; but the person did not come for it till half-past eight or rather more. He had seen the same person frequently at the stables with a gig before. The prisoner is the man. He had nothing with him but a parcel which he had left with witness the night before. The prisoner did not appear to be in a hurry to go off.

Agnes M'Millan, servant with Mrs. M'Dougal, Greenock. Mrs. Wilson's house is at the head of a close, opposite the Bank. She has frequently, at and after the new year, seen two men in that close, of whom the prisoner is one. The last time she saw him was at eight o'clock in the morning of the robbery, opposite the Bank. The prisoner was there.

The waiter of the Greenock Coffee-room deposed to seeing a man, dressed as had been described by former witnesses, standing in the lobby of the Bank on the morning of the robbery; and also, to a person, in a state of extreme agitation, going into the Coffee-room, and asking for a sight of the file of the *London Times*, but could not swear to the prisoner being one of them.

A great number of witnesses were called to prove that a person, dressed as described by former witnesses, passed along the road from Greenock to Glasgow; also, that a gig and noddie drove along the road, containing passengers, all dressed as described, and bearing similar marks.

Mrs. Blair, tavern-keeper, Broomielaw, deposed to two persons, of whom the prisoner was one, coming to her house several times from December to March last.

John M'Intyre, noddie-driver, left Glasgow for Hamilton in a chaise and pair, at half-past two on Sunday, the 9th of March, with two persons, of whom the prisoner was one. They had two very heavy travelling bags and a portmanteau: one of the bags was blue. They paid the hire in gold.

The prisoner was afterwards identified, and his luggage spoken to, by people from Douglas-mill,

Gretna-hall, Preston, Ormskirk; and the arrival and departure of the post-chaise with the same luggage from almost all the different stages from Glasgow to Birmingham, was traced, but, except at the above places, the prisoner could not be identified.

Mr. Smith, of Liverpool, proved, that the Bank had got back 20,000*l.* of the notes, but the means or channel by which they were recovered, or the price of their recovery, could not be elicited.

The Advocate Depute declined calling further witnesses, and admitted, that having failed in proving what he intended, he could only ask a verdict of "Not proven."

The Jury returned a verdict of *Not proven*, and Henry Saunders was dismissed from the bar.

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ST. CHRISTOPHER'S, SEPTEMBER 22, 1828.

*Trials for Piracies in the West Indies.*

Before a Special Commission in the Admiralty Court, an indictment was preferred against Joseph Lazaro Buysan, mariner, (Captain of the schooner *Las Damas Argentinas*, captured by his majesty's ship *Victor*, captain Lloyd); Mamerto Sabala, mariner (first lieutenant of the schooner); José Taparoni, mariner (second lieutenant); Ygnasia Gironella, Gravier Jordan, Carlo Pecora, Bautista Moll, Pedro Canales, Juan Martines, Jose Ignatio, Juan Gonsales, Manuel Calderon, Vicente Boas, Peter Noyes, Pedro Alcantara, Pepe Gonzales, Francisco Mannie, Candaladio Auldali, Antonio Rodrigues, Honorio Jose, Juan Rosella, mariners, charging them with having, on the 21st of

July last, on the high seas, within the jurisdiction of the admiralty of England, and distant about two hundred miles from the Canary Islands, piratically and feloniously captured the British brig Carraboo.

The prisoners were arraigned, and the indictment was explained to them in Spanish, by a sworn interpreter. They severally pleaded "not guilty."

Buysan was tried first.

The hon. T. Harper.—Witness was at St. Eustatius on the 21st of August, having been sent there by the commander-in-chief, to claim restitution of a British brig and cargo, reported to have been piratically captured and carried into Saba; he found the brig at anchor at St. Eustatius: and, on going on board, discovered, that the sails were marked "J. Christian, Liverpool;" on looking at her stern, saw the name Carraboo, of Liverpool, distinguishable from the prominence of the letters, although they had been painted over black; after considerable negotiation, the brig and part of the cargo were given up by the authorities at St. Eustatius, being admitted to be presumptively British property; no British register or invoices were found on board. Early in the present month, witness again went to St. Eustatius in his majesty's ship Victor, captain Lloyd; saw a schooner in the channel answering the description witness had received of the vessel which had captured the Carraboo; captain Lloyd gave chase; the schooner ran into the harbour of St. Eustatius, and proved to be Las Damas Argentinas; saw the prisoner at the bar at St. Eustatius on that occasion; he was captain of the schooner; witness stated to the commandant his entire conviction

that she was the identical vessel which had taken the Carraboo, pointing out a private signal which she exhibited, corresponding with the signal under which the Carraboo was sent in: on witness's claiming the schooner as a prize to Captain Lloyd, the prisoner admitted that he did take the Carraboo, and produced a paper, which, he said, justified the capture. [The paper was here shewn to witness, and identified.] Witness stated to the commandant, that this was the register of a vessel called the Divino Imperador, and could not belong to the Carraboo; the schooner Las Damas Argentinas was then given up by the authorities at St. Eustatius, taken possession of by captain Lloyd, and brought here; the prisoner at the bar was the same person, who admitted at St. Eustatius that he had taken the Carraboo. Among the property found on board Las Damas Argentinas, were certain articles, which appeared, from the marks, to belong to the Carraboo; the log-book of the schooner [produced to witness, and identified] was sent on board the Victor by the government Secretary at St. Eustatius; witness was not in the room with the commandant, when the book was produced to him; but the muster-roll and logbook were delivered up as belonging to Las Damas Argentinas; the prisoner produced another paper at St. Eustatius as his commission, as also a paper purporting to be his instructions, and pointed to one as warranting the capture of the Carraboo.

Henry Harrison.—Witness was one of the crew and quarter-master of the schooner Las Damas Argentinas; knew of several vessels captured and plundered by that privateer; knew of the capture of

the British brig Carraboo, having seen the name on her stern; they were cruising some way off Gibraltar, when they saw the Carraboo, at nine in the morning, and came up with her about three; the schooner fired one blank cartridge to bring her to, and afterwards a shot; captain Buysan elevated the gun himself; on the second gun being fired, the brig hoisted English colours, and hove her main-top-sail to the mast; the privateer hoisted French or Mexican colours, not sure which; ran under the brig's stern, hailed her, and asked, where she was from? They answered, from Liverpool, bound to Buenos Ayres. Captain Buysan ordered them to send their boat on board. The boat was lowered away, and the mate and four seamen came on board the schooner. The prisoner told witness to go in the boat with another quarter-master and two officers. Sabala, Cooper, Peter Noyes, and witness, got into the boat and went on board. Mr. Tailleure, a gentleman passenger, was walking on the weather-side of the deck of the Carraboo. Cooper ordered witness to go below, to see what the vessel had in. Mr. Tailleure said, "We won't stand this." Cooper told him they would not take any thing from the vessel, and that he need not be afraid. Witness jumped below. The hold of the Carraboo was very full of cargo. Witness told Cooper she had a general cargo in, and that it was not worth while to overhaul it. Shortly after, the boat came from the schooner with four hands of the Carraboo, and the mate told captain Cook, of the Carraboo, that he was wanted on board with his papers. Captain Cook went on board with his papers. Shortly after, the boat returned to the

Carraboo, and stated, that they wanted the invoices of the goods from Mr. Tailleure. Mr. Tailleure sent them on board. Peter Noyes, quarter-master, made a motion to witness for plundering the vessel. The boat returned, manned with Spaniards, and when witness saw them, he told Mr. Tailleure to get ready to go on board the privateer, as they were going to make a prize of the vessel. Mr. Tailleure appeared thunderstruck. Witness told him to get his clothes and money ready to take with him. When the Spaniards came on board, they ordered the people of the Carraboo to get into the boat. Witness and Peter Noyes were ordered to go into the boat, to return to the privateer; the people and part of the baggage were put in the boat, except two boys left on board the Carraboo; it was then night; they rowed on board the schooner. The crew and passengers of the Carraboo were confined in the main-hold. A prize crew and officers were then picked out, and sent on board the Carraboo; and the Spaniards and the two boys left on board returned to the schooner in the boat. When the Spaniards came on board, they were loaded with the clothing and luggage of the crew of the Carraboo. The schooner then filled her sails and steered away. Witness heard it stated in conversation, that the Carraboo had gone to St. Eustatius; was quite certain that the brig now at anchor in this road was the same vessel taken by the privateer. The officers and passengers of the Carraboo were not confined by day. From the time the schooner parted with the Carraboo to the time she made land, four or five days elapsed. They made the Canary Islands. The pas-

sengers, Mr. Tailleure, Mr. Cartwright, and captain Cook, were all aft. Witness slipped two 4l. pieces into Mr. Tailleure's hand, unknown to his ship's company. Mr. Tailleure said, "I receive this money in the king's name." Witness gave at the time his name to captain Cook, and, at the same time, gave him all the instructions in his power as to the land, and where his vessel was to be found, having understood he was to be landed. There was a French captain and crew of a brig previously captured also on board. The prisoner Buysan gave captain Cook 20l., and the French captain 10l. When five miles from the land, the Carraboo boat was hoisted out, and the people lowered into it. Some of the Frenchmen had clothes, but captain Cook and his ship's company had none. The boat was not leaky, but, as the wind was blowing hard along the land (it was on their quarter), witness, although a sailor, should not have liked to have been put on board the boat, as he did not think that the persons in it were perfectly safe.

Elias Harry Merryman.—Witness was on board *Las Damas Argentinas* when she captured several vessels, and when the British vessel *Carraboo* was taken. Mr. Tailleure, the supercargo, gave witness a statement, making the value of the cargo 28,000l. sterling; when the prisoner heard the value of the cargo, he said to captain Cook, "I think you are a very good prize;" Cook smiled, and said, "no doubt I am a good prize, if you are permitted to take me;" the prisoner replied, that his instructions authorized him to take him. Witness saw all the papers that came from the *Carraboo*, and they were all British, with the

exception of some certificates from the Brazilian Consul in England; by the letter of instructions the *Carraboo* was directed to proceed to Buenos Ayres, and if she could not get there, she was to proceed to Monte Video. After examining the instructions of captain Cook, the prisoner said he would take the brig, and ordered witness to tell certain men to go on board. The witness, by order of Buysan, wrote a letter to Mr. Stiles, an American of Baltimore, who had told witness that he was one of the principal owners of the privateer. The letter stated that the *Carraboo* was a Brazilian vessel, bound from Para to Lisbon, and expressed a wish that the cargo should be taken out at St. Eustatius and sent to St. Thomas's. When the privateer first sailed from St. Eustatius, witness considered the commission good: the privateer had never been at Buenos Ayres.

The commission was then given in evidence. It authorized a cruise for one year from the day of the privateer's sailing from the port of equipment. By endorsements on the back, the command was transferred from Quincy (to whom the commission was originally granted) to Stiles, and from Stiles to Buysan.

The "particular instructions" of the privateer were also read in evidence, and translated.

The judge having briefly summed up the case, the jury retired, and in a very few minutes returned a verdict of *Guilty*.

The other prisoners, named in the indictment with Buysan, were then put upon their trial: and the jury gave a verdict of *Guilty* against all the prisoners, except Honorio Jose, whom they acquitted; and they recommended *Pepe*



Gonzales, who was a boy, to the merciful consideration of the court, on account of his youth.

Sept. 24.—Jose Martines and Manuel Gonzales were convicted of the same offence.

Alfred Cooper, William Ogle, Peter White, Neill M'Niell, Dan. Holland, Thomas Hennesey, Wm. Phillips alias Miller, Wm. Hanton, and Joseph Fleming, were next put to the bar charged with the piratical capture of the brig Carraboo.

The fact of their having been on board the privateer at the time of that capture, and engaged therein, was proved. The witnesses Harrison and Merryman stated, however, that the prisoners had expressed some dissatisfaction at British vessel being taken, and a wish to rise against the Spaniards, if they had an opportunity; and that Neill M'Neill lay sick during the whole of the cruise. The other circumstances given in evidence were similar to those on the previous trials.

The jury returned a verdict of *Guilty*, recommending William Ogle to mercy on account of his youth. Sentence of death was passed upon the prisoners.

On Saturday, the 27th of September, Joseph Lazaro Buysan, Mamerton Sabala, Jose Taparoni, Ygnasia Gironella, Gravier Jordan, Carlo Pecora, Bautista Moll, Pedro Canales, Juan Martines, Jose Ignatio, and Juan Gonzales, were executed.

On the following Monday Manuel Calderon, Vicente Boas, Peter Noyes, Pedro Alcantara, Francisco Mannie, Candaladia Auldali, Antonio Rodrigues, Juan Rosella, Jose Martines, and Manuel Gonzales, suffered the same fate; and on the following day Alf. Cooper,

Peter White, Daniel Holland, Thomas Hennesey, Wm. Phillips, William Hanton, and Joseph Fleming, paid the forfeit of their lives for the same offence.

On each occasion Elias Harry Merryman, Henry Harrison, and the two youths, William Ogle and Pepe Gonzales, were made to follow the carts in which the prisoners were conveyed to the place of execution.

Neill M'Neill, William Ogle, and Pepe Gonzales were pardoned on condition that they served in his majesty's navy for the space of ten years.

Five of the men taken in Las Damas Argentinas, who had joined her in the Canary Islands, after the capture of the Carraboo, were not brought to trial.

Number of prisoners taken	
in the privateer . . . . .	39
Executed . . . . .	28
King's evidence . . . . .	2
Acquitted . . . . .	1
Pardoned . . . . .	3
Not tried . . . . .	5—39

#### CLONMEL.

#### *Trials of the Murderers of Daniel Mara.*

In April 1827, a gentleman of the name of Chadwick was murdered in the open day, at a place called Rath Cannon, in the immediate vicinity of the old Abbey of Holycross. Mr. Chadwick was the member of an influential family, and was employed as land agent in collecting their rents. Mr. Chadwick was not peculiarly rigorous in the exaction of rent, but he was singularly injudicious in his demeanour towards the lower orders. He believed that they detested him; and was despotic and

contumelious in his manners to those whose hatred he returned with contempt. Mr. Chadwick, in order to keep them in awe, set about building a police barrack at Rath Cannon; and it was resolved that Mr. Chadwick should die. The confederacy, into which the lower orders were organized in Tipperary, pronounced his sentence, and one Patrick Grace, who was almost a boy, offered himself as a volunteer to execute it. He proceeded to Rath Cannon; and, without adopting any sort of precaution, and while the public road was traversed by numerous passengers, in the broad daylight, and close to the barrack, in the construction of which Mr. Chadwick was engaged, shot that unfortunate gentleman, who fell instantly dead. Philip Mara was at the time standing beside his employer, Mr. Chadwick, and saw Grace put him deliberately to death. Grace was well aware that Mara had seen him, but did not believe that he would dare to give evidence against him. Mara, however, gave immediate information to a magistrate; Grace was arrested, was tried at the summer assizes of 1827, was convicted upon the evidence of Philip Mara, and was executed near the spot where his crime had been perpetrated.

Philip Mara was removed by government from the country; as, if he had continued to sojourn in Tipperary, his life would have been speedily taken away. He had three brothers, Daniel, Laurence, and Timothy; and their murder was resolved upon. The whole body of the peasantry in the neighbourhood of Rath Cannon, and far beyond it, entered into a league, for the perpetration of this abominable crime; and,

while the individuals who were marked out for massacre were unconscious of what was going forward, scarcely a man, woman, or child, looked them in the face, who did not know that they were marked out for death. They were masons by trade, and were employed in building the barrack at Rath Cannon, on the spot where Chadwick had been assassinated, and where the funeral of Patrick Grace (for so his execution was called) had been performed. The peasantry looked in all probability with an evil eye upon every man who had put his hand to this obnoxious work; but their main object was the extermination of Philip Mara's brothers. On the 1st of October all three were at work, with an apprentice in the mason trade, of the name of Hickey, at the barrack at Rath Cannon. In the evening, about five o'clock, they left off their work, and were returning homewards, when eight men with arms rushed upon them and fired at them; but the fire-arms of the assassins were in such bad condition, that the discharge of their rude musketry had no effect. Laurence, Timothy, and the apprentice, fled in different directions, and escaped. Daniel Mara lost his presence of mind, and, instead of taking the same route as the others, ran into the house of a poor widow. He was pursued by the murderers, one of whom got in by a small window, while the others burst through the door, and with circumstances of great savageness put him to death. The government lost no time in issuing proclamations, offering a reward of 2000*l.* for information which should bring the assassins to justice: but weeks passed over without the communication of intelligence of any kind:

several persons, who were arrested on suspicion, were afterwards discharged, as no more than mere conjecture could be adduced against them. At length, an individual, of the name of Thomas Fitzgerald, was committed to gaol upon a charge of highway robbery, and, in order to save his life, furnished evidence, upon which the government was enabled to arrest the guilty.

On Monday the 31st of March, 1828, Patrick Lacy and John Walsh were placed at the bar, and to the indictment for the murder of Daniel Mara pleaded not guilty. The prisoners at the bar stood composed and firm. Lacy, the youngest, was dressed with extreme care and neatness. He was a tall handsome young man, with a soft and healthful colour, and a bright and tranquil eye. Walsh was a stout, short, and square-built man, with a sturdy look, in which there was more fierceness than in Lacy's countenance; yet the latter was a far more guilty malefactor, and had been engaged in numerous achievements of the same kind, whereas Walsh bore an excellent reputation, and obtained from his landlord, Mr. Creagh, the highest testimony to his character.

The Solicitor-general stated the case. The statement showed that a wide conspiracy had been framed in order to murder Philip Mara's brothers. Fitzgerald and Lacy, who did not reside in the neighbourhood of Rath Cannon, were sent for by the relatives of Patrick Grace; they received their instructions, and were joined by other assassins. The band proceeded to Rath Cannon in order to execute their purpose, but an accident prevented their victims

from coming to the place where they were expected, and the assassination was adjourned for a week. On Sunday, the 30th of September, the day preceding the murder, they met again in the house of a farmer, of the name of Jack Keogh, who lived beside the barrack where the Maras were at work. Here they were attended by Kate Costello, the witness, by whom the destiny of the prisoners was sealed. In the morning of Monday, the 1st of October, they proceeded to an elevation called the Grove, a hill covered with trees, in which arms had been deposited, and overlooking the barrack where the Maras were at work. A party of conspirators joined the chief assassins on this spot, and Kate Costello, a servant and near relative of the Keoghs (who were engaged in the murder), brought them food and spirits. In this ambush they remained until five o'clock in the afternoon, when it was announced that the Maras were coming down from the scaffolding on which they were raising the barrack. It appeared that some of the murderers did not know the persons whose lives they were to take away, and that their dress was mentioned as the means of recognition. They advanced, to the number of eight, and succeeded in slaying one of the three brothers. No sooner was the murder perpetrated, than the assassins proceeded to the house of a farmer in good circumstances, whose name was John Russel. Though he was a man of decent aspect and demeanour, above the lower class of peasants in station and habits, not destitute of education, and accounted very orderly and well conducted, he gave them welcome, and provided them with food. In the room where they

were received, were two other individuals; Mary Russel, the daughter of the proprietor of the house, young, and, in her habitual demeanour, delicate and gentle; and near her, an old woman, in the most advanced stage of life, who from her age and relationship was an object of respect. The moment the assassins entered, Mary Russel rushed up to them, and with a vehement earnestness exclaimed, "did you do any good?" They stated in reply, that one of the Maras was shot; when Peg Russel (the withered hag) lifted her shrivelled hand, and cried out with a shrill and vehement bitterness, "you might as well not have killed any, since you did not kill them all."

The first witness was Fitzgerald. He was a tall, athletic young man, about two or three and twenty. He detailed every circumstance to the minutest point, which had happened during a month's time, with a wonderful accuracy. Far from manifesting any anxiety to conceal or to excuse his own guilt, he, on the contrary, set it forth in the blackest colours. He made himself a prominent actor in the business of blood. The life which he led was as singular as it was atrocious. He spent his time in committing outrages at night, and, during the day, in exacting homage from the peasantry, whom he had inspired with a deep dread of him. He walked through the county in arms, and compelled every peasant to give him bed and board, wherever he appeared. In the caprices of his tyranny, he would make persons who chanced to pass him, kneel down and offer him reverence, while he presented his musket at their heads. Yet he was a favourite with the populace, who pardoned the outrages committed on themselves, on

account of his readiness to avenge the affronts or the injuries which they suffered from others. Villain, as the fellow was, it was not the reward which tempted him to betray his associates. He disclaimed all interest in the cause of justice, and repeatedly stated, that he would not have informed, except to rescue himself from the halter which was fastened round his neck.

He was followed by another accomplice, of the name of Ryan, who was less remarkable than Fitzgerald, but whose statement was equally consistent, and its parts as adhesive to each other as those of the more important informers. They had been left in separate gaols, and had not had any communication, so that it could not be suggested that their evidence was the result of a comparison of notes, and of a conspiracy against the prisoners. This Ryan also alleged that he had informed merely to save his life. These witnesses were succeeded by several, who deposed to minute incidents which went to corroborate the informers; but notwithstanding that a strong case had been made out by the Crown, still the testimony of some untainted witness to the leading fact was requisite, and the counsel for the prosecution felt that on Kate Costello the conviction must still depend. She had not taken any part in the murder. She could not be regarded as a member of the conspiracy; she was a servant in the house of old John Keogh, but not an agent in the business; and if she confirmed what the witnesses had deposed to, it was obvious that a conviction would ensue; while, upon the other hand, if she was not brought forward, the want of her testimony would

produce a directly opposite result.

She was called, and a suspense, far deeper than the expectation which had preceded the evidence of Fitzgerald, was apparent in every face. She did not come, and was again summoned into court. Still Kate Costello did not appear. Repeated requisitions were sent by the Solicitor-general, but without effect; at length every one began to conjecture that she would disappoint and foil the Crown, and the friends of the prisoners murmured "that Kate Costello would not turn against her people;" an obvious feeling of satisfaction pervaded the crowd, and the prisoners exhibited a proportionate solicitude in which hope seemed to predominate. Suddenly, however, the chamber-door, communicating with the room where the witnesses were kept, was opened, and a withered, diminutive woman, who was unable to support herself, and whose feet gave way at every step, was seen tottering towards the table. Her face was covered. A few minutes elapsed before her veil was removed; and then a most ghastly face was disclosed. Her eyes were closed; the lips were like ashes; her breathing was scarcely perceptible; and as her head lay on her shoulder, her long black hair fell down in disorder. Mr. Doherty repeatedly addressed himself to her, and entreated her to answer. She seemed unconscious even of the sound of his voice. At length, with the aid of water, which was applied to her mouth, and thrown in repeated aspersions over her face, she was in some degree restored, and was able to breathe a few words. An interval of minutes elapsed between every question and answer. Her voice was so low as to be

scarcely audible, and was rather an inarticulate whisper, than the utterance of any connected sentence. She was, with difficulty, conducted by the examiner through some of the preliminary incidents, and, at last, was brought to the scene in the grove where the murderers were assembled. It remained that she should recognise the prisoners. The rod, with which culprits are identified, was put into her hand, and she was desired to stand up, to turn to the dock, and to declare, whether she saw in court, any of the men whom she had seen in the grove on the day of the murder. For a considerable time she could not be got to rise from her seat; and when she did, but before she had turned round, and while the rod was trembling in her hand, Walsh cried out with the most vehement gesture—"O God! you are going to murder me! I'll not stand here to be murdered, for I am downright murdered, God help me!" The judge inquired of him of what he complained. Walsh then stated with more composure, that it was unfair, while there was nobody in the dock but Lacy and himself, to desire Kate Costello to look at him, for that he was marked out to her where he stood. This was a just observation; and judge Moore immediately ordered that other prisoners should be brought from the gaol into the dock, and that Walsh should be shown to Kate Costello in the midst of a crowd. The gaol was at a considerable distance, and a good deal of time was consumed in complying with the directions of the judge. Kate Costello sank down again upon her chair. At last the other prisoners were introduced into the dock. It was by this time four o'clock in the morning; the can-

dles were almost wasted to their sockets, and a dim and uncertain light was diffused through the court. The witness rose again, holding the fatal index in her hand; the face of Walsh exhibited the most intense anxiety, as the eyes of Kate Costello rested upon the place where he stood; she appeared at first not to recognise him, and the rod hung loosely in her hand: at last, she raised the rod, and stretched it forth, but, before it was laid on his head, a female voice exclaimed, "Oh, Kate!" This cry, which issued from the crowd, and was probably the exclamation of some relative of the Keoghs, whose destiny depended on that of Walsh, thrilled the witness to the core. After a shudder, she collected herself again, and advanced again towards the dock. She raised the rod a second time, and, having laid it on the head of Walsh, who gave himself up as lost the moment it touched him, she sank back into her chair. Lacy also was identified. The prisoners were found *Guilty*.

Kate Costello, whose evidence was of such importance to the Crown, had acted as a species of menial in the house of old John Keogh, but was a near relation of her master. It is not uncommon among the lower orders to introduce some dependent relative into the family, who goes through offices of utility which are quite free from degradation, and is at the same time treated, to a great extent, as an equal. Kate Costello sat down with old Jack Keogh and his sons at their meals, and was accounted one of themselves. The most implicit trust was placed in her; and on one of the assassins observing, "that Kate Costello could hang them all," another observed, "that

there was no fear of Kate." Nor would Kate ever have betrayed the men who had placed their confidence in her from any mercenary motives. Fitzgerald had stated that she had been at "the grove," in the morning of the day on which the murder was committed, and that she could confirm his testimony. She was in consequence arrested, and was told that she should be hanged, unless she disclosed the truth. Terror extorted from her the disclosures which were turned to such account. When examined as a witness on the trial of Lacy and of Walsh, her agitation did not arise from any regard for them, but, from her consciousness, that, if they were convicted, her own relatives and benefactors must share in their fate.

The trial of Patrick and John Keogh came on upon Saturday the 5th of April, some days after the conviction of Lacy and of Walsh, who had been executed in the interval. They were more immediate agents in the assassination. It had been in a great measure planned, as well as executed by them; and there was a farther circumstance of aggravation in their having been in habits of intimacy with the deceased. When placed at the bar, their appearance struck every spectator as in strange anomaly with their misdeeds. They both seemed to be farmers of the most respectable class. Patrick, the younger, was well clad. He had a blue coat and white waistcoat, of the best materials used by the peasantry: a black silk handkerchief was carefully knotted on his neck. He was lower in stature, and of less athletic proportions than his brother John, but had a more determined and resolute physiognomy. He looked alert,

quick, and active. The other was of gigantic stature, and of immense width of shoulder and strength of limb. He rose beyond every man in court, and towered in the dock. His dress was not as neatly arranged as his brother's, and his neck was without covering, which served to exhibit the hugeness of his proportions. He looked in the vigour of powerful manhood. On the left hand of the prisoners, and near the youngest of them, sat an old man, of a hale and healthful aspect, whose head was covered with a profusion of grey hairs: he was their father. He did not utter a word during the fifteen or sixteen hours that he remained in attendance upon the scene which was going on before him: the appearance of Kate Costello herself, whom he had fostered and fed, scarcely seemed to move him from his tranquillity. She was, as on the former occasion, the pivot of the whole case: and she now showed much more firmness and determination. She exhibited little compunction in bringing her cousins to justice, and laid the rod on the head of her relative without remorse. At an early hour on Sunday morning the verdict of guilty was brought in. The prisoners at the bar received it without surprise, but turned deadly pale. The judge told them that as it was the morning of Easter Sunday (which is commemorative of the resurrection of the dead), he should not then pronounce sentence upon them. They cried out, "A long day, a long day, my lord!" and at the same time begged, that their bodies might be given to their father. This prayer was uttered with a sound resembling the wail of an Irish funeral, and accompanied with a most pathetic gesture. They both swung themselves with a sort

of oscillation up and down, with their heads thrown back, striking their hands, with the fingers half closed, against their breasts. Their father, when his sons, after having being found guilty, were about to be removed, was lifted on the table, and brought near to the dock. He wanted to embrace John Keogh, and stretched out his arms towards him. The latter, whose manliness now forsook him, leaned over the iron spikes to his full length, got the old man into his bosom, and while his tears ran down his face, pressed him long and closely to his heart. They were at length separated, and the sons were removed to the cells appointed for the condemned.

Old John Russell pleaded guilty. He had two sons, lads of fifteen or sixteen, and, in the hope of saving them, acknowledged his crime at the bar.

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EDINBURGH.—HIGH COURT OF JUSTICIARY, DEC. 24.

*Trial of Wm. Burke and Helen M'Dougal, for Murder.*

About twenty minutes before ten o'clock, the prisoners, William Burke and Helen M'Dougal, were placed at the bar. The male prisoner, a native of Ireland, was rather below the middle size, but stoutly made, and of a determined, though not peculiarly sinister expression of countenance. He had high cheek bones, grey eyes sunk in the head, a short snubbish nose, a round chin, hair and whiskers of a light sandy colour, and a complexion of nearly the same hue. The female prisoner was of the middle size, but thin and spare, though of large bone. Her features were long, and the upper half of her face was out of proportion to the lower. She was miserably

dressed, in a small grey-coloured velvet bonnet, very much the worse for the wear, a printed cotton shawl, and a cotton gown.

The Judges present were, the right honourable the lord justice Clerk, and lords Pitmilley, Meadowbank, and Mackenzie. The instance having been called,

Mr. Patrick Robertson and Mr. Cockburn objected to the reading of the indictment, because it was calculated to prejudice the prisoner. It contained charges, they said, the reading of which could not fail to operate against the prisoners and which made no legal part of the libel.

Lord Meadowbank. — I am against novelties; I am against interfering with the discretion of the court.

The indictment was then read as follows:—

“William Burke and Helen M'Dougal, both present prisoners in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, you are indicted and accused, at the instance of sir William Rae of St. Catharine's, baronet, his majesty's advocate for his majesty's interest; That albeit by the laws of this and of every other well-governed realm, murder is a crime of an heinous nature and severely punishable; yet true it is, and of verity, that you the said William Burke and Helen M'Dougal are both and each, or one or other of you, guilty of the said crime, actor or art and part: In so far as, on one or other of the days between the 7th and 16th days of April 1828, or on one or other of the days of that month, or of March immediately preceding, or of May immediately following, within the house in Gibb's Close, Canongate, Edinburgh, then and now or lately in the occupation of Constantine

Burke, then and now or lately scavenger in the employment of the Edinburgh Police establishment, you the said William Burke did wickedly and feloniously place or lay your body or person, or part thereof, over or upon the breast or person and face of Mary Paterson or Mitchell, then or recently before that time, or formerly residing, with Isabella Burnet, or Worthington, then and now or lately residing in Leith Street, in or near Edinburgh, when she the said Mary Paterson or Mitchell was lying in the said house, in a state of intoxication, did, by the pressure thereof, and by covering her mouth and nose with your body or person, and forcibly compressing her throat with your hands, and forcibly keeping her down, notwithstanding her resistance, or in some other way to the prosecutor unknown, preventing her from breathing, suffocate or strangle her; and the said Mary Paterson or Mitchell was thus, by the said means or part thereof, or by some other means or violence, the particulars of which are to the prosecutor unknown, wickedly bereaved of life by you the said William Burke; and this you did with the wicked aforethought intent of disposing of, or selling the body of the said Mary Paterson or Mitchell, when so murdered, to a physician or surgeon, or some person in the employment of a physician or surgeon, as a subject for dissection, or with some other wicked and felonious intent to the prosecutor unknown. (2.) Further, on one or other of the days, between the 5th and 26th days of October 1828, or on one or other of the days of that month, or of September immediately preceding, or of Novem-



ber immediately following, within the house situated in Tanner's Close, Portsburgh, or Wester Portsburgh, in or near Edinburgh, then and now or lately in the occupation of William Haire or Hare, then and now or lately labourer, you the said Wm. Burke did wickedly and feloniously attack and assault James Wilson, commonly called or known by the name of Daft Jamie, then or lately residing in the house of James Downie, then and now or lately porter, and then and now or lately residing in Stevenlaw's Close, High Street, Edinburgh, and did leap or throw yourself upon him, when the said James Wilson was lying in the said house, and he having sprung up, you did struggle with him, and did bring him to the ground, and you did place or lay your body or person or part thereof over or upon the person or body, and face of the said James Wilson, and did by the pressure thereof, and by covering his mouth and nose with your person or body, and forcibly keeping him down, and compressing his mouth, nose, and throat, notwithstanding every resistance on his part, and thereby, or in some other manner to the prosecutor unknown, preventing him from breathing, suffocate or strangle him; and the said James Wilson was thus, by the said means, or part of them, or by some other means or violence, the particulars of which are to the prosecutor unknown, wickedly bereaved of life and murdered by you the said William Burke; and this you did with the wicked aforethought and intent of disposing of or selling the body of the said James Wilson, when so murdered, to a physician or surgeon, or to some person in the employ-

ment of a physician or surgeon, as a subject for dissection, or with some other wicked and felonious intent or purpose, to the prosecutor unknown. (3) Further, on Friday the 31st day of October, 1828, or on one or other of the days of that month, or of September immediately preceding, or of November immediately following, within the house then or lately occupied by you the said Wm. Burke, situated in that street of Portsburgh, or Wester Portsburgh, in or near Edinburgh, which runs from the Grassmarket of Edinburgh to Main Point, in or near Edinburgh, and on the north side of the said street, and having an access thereto by a trance or passage entering from the street last above libelled, and having also an entrance from a court or back court on the north thereof, the name of which is to the prosecutor unknown, you the said William Burke and Helen M'Dougal, did both and each, or one or other of you, wickedly and feloniously place or lay your bodies or persons, or part thereof on the body or person or part thereof, of one or other of you, over or upon the person or body and face of Madgy or Margery, or Mary M'Gonegal, or Duffie, or Campbell, or Docherty, then or lately residing in the house of Roderick Stewart or Stuart, then and now or lately labourer, and then and now or lately residing in the Pleasance in or near Edinburgh; when she, the said Madgy or Margery, or Mary M'Gonegal, or Duffie, or Campbell, or Docherty, was lying on the ground, and did, by the pressure thereof, and by covering her mouth and the rest of her face with your bodies or persons, or the body or person of one or other of

you, and by grasping her by the throat, and keeping her mouth and nostrils shut, with your hands; and thereby, or in some other way to the prosecutor unknown, preventing her from breathing, suffocate or strangle her; and the said Madgy or Margery, or Mary M'Gonegal, or Duffie, or Campbell, or Docherty, was thus, by the said means, or part thereof, or by some other means or violence, the particulars of which are to the prosecutor unknown, wickedly bereaved of life, and murdered by you the said William Burke, and you the said Helen M'Dougal, or one or other of you; and thus you, both and each, or one or other of you, did, with the wicked aforethought intent of disposing of or selling the body of the said Madgy or Margery, or Mary M'Gonegal, or Duffie, or Campbell, or Docherty, when so murdered, to a physician or surgeon, or to some person in the employment of a physician or surgeon, as a subject for dissection, or with some other wicked and felonious intent or purpose to the prosecutor unknown: And you the said William Burke, having been taken before George Tait, esq. Sheriff substitute of the shire of Edinburgh, you did in his presence, at Edinburgh, emit and subscribe five several declarations of the dates respectively following, viz:—The 3rd, 10th, 19th, and 29th days of November, and 4th day of December, 1828. And you, the said Helen M'Dougal, having been taken before the said sheriff substitute, you did in his presence, at Edinburgh, emit two several declarations, one upon the 3rd and another upon the 10th days of November, 1828, which declarations

were each of them respectively subscribed in your presence by the said sheriff substitute, you having declared you could not write: which declarations being to be used in evidence against each of you by whom the same were respectively emitted; as also the skirt of a gown; as also a petticoat; as also a brass snuff-box, and a snuff-spoon, a black coat, a black waistcoat, a pair of moleskin trowsers, and a cotton handkerchief or neck-cloth, to all of which sealed labels are now attached, being to be used in evidence against you the said William Burke; as also a coarse linen sheet, a coarse pillow-case a dark printed cotton gown, a red striped cotton bed-gown, to which a sealed label is now attached; as also a wooden box; as also a plan entitled "plan of houses in Wester Portsburgh and places adjacent," and bearing to be dated Edinburgh, 20th of November, 1828, and to be signed by James Braidwood, 22, Society, being all to be used in evidence against both and each of you, the said William Burke and Helen M'Dougal, at your trial, will for that purpose be in due time lodged in the hands of the Clerk of the High Court of Justiciary, before which you are about to be tried, that you may have an opportunity of seeing the same. All which, or part thereof, being found proven by the verdict of an assize, or admitted by the respective judicial confessions of you the said William Burke and Helen M'Dougal, &c. you ought to be punished with the pains of law, to deter others from committing the like crimes in all time coming."

Dean of Faculty.—We have given in separate defences, which may now be read, beginning with the defences for the male prisoner.

The defences for Burke were then read as follows:—

The panel submits, that he is not bound to plead to, or to be tried upon, a libel, which not only charges him with three unconnected murders, committed each at a different time, and at a different place, but also combines his trial with that of another panel, who is not even alleged to have had any concern with two of the offences of which he is accused. Such an accumulation of offences and panels is contrary to the general and the better practice of the court; it is inconsistent with the right principle, and, indeed, so far as the panel can discover, is altogether unprecedented; it is totally unnecessary for the ends of public justice, and greatly distracts and prejudices the accused in their defence. It is therefore submitted that the libel is completely vitiated by this accumulation, and cannot be maintained as containing a proper criminal charge. On the merits of the case, the panel has only to state that he is not guilty, and that he rests his defence on a denial of the facts set forth in the libel.

The defences for Helen M'Dougal were next read as follows:—

If it shall be decided that the prisoner is obliged to answer to this indictment at all, her answer to it is, that she is not guilty, and that the prosecutor cannot prove the facts on which his charge rests. But she humbly submits that she is not bound to plead to it. She is accused of one murder committed in October 1828, in a house in Portsburgh, and of no other offence. Yet she is placed in an indictment along with a different person, who is accused of other two murders, each of them com-

mitted at a different time, and at a different place, it not being alleged that she had any connection with either of these crimes. This accumulation of panels and of offences is not necessary for public justice, and exposes the accused to intolerable prejudice, and is not warranted, so far as can be ascertained, even by a single precedent.

Their lordships then delivered their opinions consecutively; the substance of which was, that, upon the principle, they repelled the objections and sustained the charges as laid, but, in respect of the statement made on the part of prisoners, that putting them upon their trials on all the three charges at once would prejudice their defence, the court, in the exercise of the discretion which had been appealed to, ordained the public prosecutor to go to trial upon the charges *seriatim*, and to make his election as to which of the three he was to commence with.

The Lord Advocate had previously intimated an intention to desert the diet, *pro loco et tempore*, against Helen M'Dougal; but, on this decision of the court being announced, he stated his determination to proceed with the last charge in the indictment, namely, that for the murder of the woman Campbell, or Duffie, or Docherty, which applied equally to both prisoners; and the trial on this charge proceeded accordingly.

The lord Justice Clerk now asked the prisoners, if they were guilty or not guilty of the third charge?—when they both answered “not guilty.”

The jury were then chosen.

The first witness called was Mr. Braidwood, of the fire establishment, who identified a plan drawn by him of some houses in West

Port, the residence of Burke, and scene of the alleged murder.

Mary Stewart remembered a young man of the name of Michael Campbell coming to her house some time after the harvest—it was before Martinmas. He remained there about two months, and left the house on the Monday before the fast-day. She was lying in the infirmary at this time, but, on returning home, she found a woman in her house, who, Campbell said, was his mother. She said she had come in search of her son, giving her name Madgy or Margery Campbell, and stated that the name of her former husband was Duffie; she said she came from Glasgow. The woman left the house on the morning of Friday, the 31st October. It was Hallowe'en; she said, when she went out, that she was going to see after her son, who had left the house some time before. One Charles M'Lauchlin and Mrs. Campbell went out together; and she never saw her again, until she saw her body in the police office on the Sabbath following. The woman left the house dressed in a black bombazet petticoat, an old mutch, patched striped gown next her waistcoat, and dark printed gown with short sleeves, open before, and in some places sewed with white thread. The witness identified the rags which the poor woman had worn when she left witness's house.

By the Court.—Witness supposed Mrs. Campbell to be between forty and fifty. She was a little, low, broad-set woman. She appeared in good health when she left. Never saw her the worse for liquor.

Charles M'Lauchlin corroborated the former witness. The woman,

represented as Campbell's mother, said, her maiden name was Margery M'Gonegal. She was called Campbell, after a first husband, and sometimes Duffie, after a second. Witness parted with her at the foot of St. Mary's Wynd. Did not think that she had any money; but never heard her complain of want, nor did he know that she begged. Her son paid for her lodging. He saw her dead body in the police office on the 2nd of November.

William Noble, shopman with Mr. Rymer, Portsburgh, knew the prisoner Burke; had seen him come about the shop. A man of the name of Hare also came about the shop. Recollected a little middle-aged woman coming to the shop on Friday the 31st of October, about nine o'clock, asking charity. Burke was in the shop at the time. Burke asked her name; she said it was Docherty, and he replied, that she was some relation of his mother's; but he did not say what his mother's name was. Did not recollect, if they appeared acquainted when they first met. Burke took the woman away with him, saying he would give her breakfast; saw Burke again, in the forenoon, buying some groceries; and, on the Saturday, he came back between five and six in the evening, and purchased an old tea-box. It was taken away to Mrs. Hare's, who came and got it away within half an hour after it had been purchased by Burke.

Ann Black, or Connaway, lived in Wester Portsburgh. Her house consisted of one room. To enter her house you went down a few steps and through a passage. The door to her house was the first you came to, and a little far-

ther in there was a door on the same side—but first there was another passage, at the end of which there was another door leading to a room—a room enclosed by two doors. Burke, the prisoner, occupied that inner room in October. The other prisoner, M'Dougal, lived with Burke. There was a house on the opposite side of the first passage, occupied by a Mr. Law.—Had seen Hare and his wife coming about Burke. During that week of October, a man named Gray and his wife lived a few days in Burke's house. On Friday the 31st of October (Hallowe'en), about mid-day, witness saw Burke pass along the passage, going inward, with a woman following him. She was a stranger, whom witness had never before seen. Mrs. Law was sitting with witness. In the afternoon, about three o'clock, witness went into Burke's house, and found the woman, whom she had seen go in with Burke, sitting at the fire supping porridge and milk. She had her head tied up in a handkerchief, and no gown; they said they had been washing. Was not sure of her having on any thing but a shift and the handkerchief. Witness said to M'Dougal, "I see you have got a stranger;" and she replied, they had got a friend of her husband's, a Highland woman. Had no further conversation at that time, and saw nothing to induce her to suppose that the woman was drunk.—Some time after dark, M'Dougal came and asked witness to take care of her door till she returned. As there was no person in the house, witness's husband, who was sitting at the fire, said he thought there was somebody gone into Burke's. She in consequence took a light, and went

in, when she saw no one there but the woman, who came towards the door, being then the worse for drink. She said, that she was going to St. Mary's Wynd to meet a boy who had promised to bring her word from her son; and asked the name of the land of houses, that she might find her way back, for she had no money to pay for a bed. Witness told her not to go away, for she would not get her way back; and she did not go. She told witness that Burke, whose name she called Docherty, had promised her a bed and her supper. She came into witness's house, and had a good deal of conversation with witness's husband. She said, as Docherty had promised her a bed and supper, she was to stay for a fortnight. She was the worse for liquor; and insisted on calling Burke Docherty, for she said that was the name he called himself to her. She remained in the house for about an hour, and, while there, the prisoner (M'Dougal) and Mr. and Mrs. Hare came in; Mrs. Hare had a bottle, and Hare insisted on drinking; they all tasted, and witness's husband gave them a dram. The stranger partook of it, and so did M'Dougal. They were merry. Hare, Campbell, and M'Dougal were dancing. The woman was quite well; she had hurt her foot, but otherwise she was in good health. Mrs. Campbell remained in the house a long time, refusing to go until Burke came home; he had been out the most of the night. Witness insisted on her going out, but she would not, until Burke went in; and, on witness observing Burke passing to his house, between ten and eleven, she informed Mrs. Campbell, who rose and followed him into his house. Witness did not sleep, in consequence

of the disturbance in Burke's house, which commenced after Mrs. Campbell went in. The disturbance was as if Burke and Hare were fighting. Witness got up between three and four, to make her husband's breakfast, but went again to bed, and rose about eight o'clock. The first thing she then heard was Hare calling for Mrs. Law, who did not answer him. A little while after, a girl, whose name she understood to be Paterson, came and asked for her husband; it turned out that it was Burke she wanted. Witness directed the girl into Burke's house, and said that William (Burke) wanted to speak to her. She went in accordingly, and found there M'Dougal, Burke, Mrs. Law, and young Broggan. Burke had a bottle of spirits in his hand. He filled out a glass, and then dashed out the spirits upon a bed. Witness asked him, why he wasted the spirits; and he replied, he wanted to get more. Witness asked M'Dougal, what had become of the old woman? and she replied, that Burke and she had been too friendly together, and she had kicked her out of the house, asking, at the same time, "did you hear it?" Burke asked, if the witness had heard the dispute between him and Hare? and she said no; he added, it was only a fit of drink, and they were friends enough now. They were all quiet before she got up to make her husband's breakfast, and she heard no more till after eight o'clock. Burke's wife sung a song, while witness was in the house. Observed a bundle of straw at the bottom of the bed; it had lain there most of the summer. Witness left Burke's house a little after ten. Was there again in the afternoon; was asked in by Mrs. Gray.

Burke, Broggan, and M'Dougal were there. At a later hour, near eight o'clock, she went in again with Gray's wife, to see what the latter had told her of; she saw nothing; she was so frightened that she came out without seeing any thing; the straw was turned. Did not see Burke till far on in the night, when it was reported that he had murdered a woman. Witness's husband told Burke, that Gray had seen a corpse in the house, and he had gone for the police; and Burke said he would go and find him. Mrs. Burke laughed very loud, and he said, he defied all Scotland, for he had done nothing he cared about. When he went to the passage, the police apprehended him.

Janet Laurie or Law, lived in October last in the same passage with the panels and Connaway and his wife. Remembered being in Connaway's house about two o'clock on the 31st of October; recollected seeing Burke in the passage, and a little woman following him. They went into Burke's house. Hare and his wife were in Burke's that evening betwixt six and seven o'clock. The little woman was there likewise. Witness remained in Burke's house about twenty minutes; she went to bed about half-past nine o'clock, and during the night heard the noise of dancing and merriment, and of people scuffling. The noise was great; but she was not sensible of any other one's voice but Burke's. This noise lasted for some time, and she fell asleep. In the morning Mrs. Burke came in for the loan of a pair of bellows, and asked, if witness had heard Burke and Hare fighting. Witness asked what she had done with the little woman during the fight; she answered, that she had kicked the

d—d b—h of H—ll to the door, because she had been using too much freedom with William—meaning Burke. She went away, and returned about nine, the conversation having taken place about eight o'clock. Mrs. Burke asked witness to go into her house, which she did, and found there Burke, Broggan, Hare, and M'Dougal, and, before she left the house, Gray and his wife came in. Burke took a bottle which had some spirits in it, and sprinkled the ceiling and about the bed, saying he did so because none would drink it. At the foot of the bed there was a good deal of straw lying; it had lain there for some time. The circumstances of which she spoke took place on Saturday morning, and Burke was taken into custody that evening. Was shown a dead body next day (Sunday) in the police office. She recognised it as the body of the same woman she had seen alive on Friday night.

Hugh Alston lived in the same house in which Burke lived. He was in the flat above the shops, and Burke in that below them. Heard a noise on the 31st of October about eleven o'clock, as he was going along the passage that leads to his own house. His attention was attracted by the cries of a woman, of "murder." Witness went down to the flat on which Burke's house was, halting within a yard of Connaway's door, and then he listened. Heard the noise of two men as if wrangling and struggling, and a woman crying murder, but not in such a manner as to make him consider her in imminent danger.—That continued for about a minute, and then he heard a cry as if a person had been strangled, such a cry as an animal might utter when strangled.—

Heard no noise of struggling. The same female's voice that had cried murder, was struck as by the soft part of the hand, and called "police, for there is murder here." Witness went for the police, but could not find any of them. He was often alarmed by cries, and was afraid of fire, but never thought of murder.—He returned a second time, and heard the sound of the men's voices, who were speaking in a lower tone; the woman had ceased crying, and he went to his own house. He might have heard feet moving on the floor, but he could not say the sound was louder. He was about three yards from the door that leads to Burke's house, when he heard the three remarkable sounds. On the evening of the Saturday, he heard of a body being found, which enabled him to fix the circumstance in his memory.

Elizabeth Paterson lives in Wester Portsburgh; Burke came to her mother's house on Friday, the 31st October. He came about ten o'clock, and asked for her brother David, who not being in, he went away. Next morning she went, at her brother's desire, to ask for Burke, and got a direction to his house from Mrs. Law.

David Paterson, keeper of the museum belonging to Dr. Knox, knows the prisoner by sight. Witness went home on the 31st of October, about twelve o'clock, and found Burke knocking at the door. He said to witness, that he wished to see him at his house, and he accordingly went there with him. He found in it two men, including Burke; there might be more, but he did not recollect of more. There were also two women. After he went in, Burke said, he had procured something for the doctor, and pointed to the head of a bed where

some straw was lying. The observation was made in an under voice, but not in a whisper.—He might be so close to him as to touch him. No observation was made by any of the other persons. Nothing was shown to witness, but he understood, when Burke said, he had procured something for the doctor, that he alluded to a dead body. His words were, he had procured something, or there were something for the doctor, and used the expression “to-morrow.” There was a sufficiency of straw in the corner to have concealed a dead body. M'Dougal was one of the females, and he thought he should know the other. Had no further conversation with Burke about what he had got for the doctor. Witness sent his sister, about nine o'clock next morning, for Burke.—[Witness was here shown Hare and his wife, whom he identified as the other persons that were in the house along with Burke, on the 31st October.]—Burke came next morning about nine, and witness said, if he had any thing to give Dr. Knox, to take it to him, and settle with himself. He meant a subject to dispose of; and Burke went away. He saw him again, in one of Dr. Knox's rooms, in Surgeons' Square, along with Hare, Mr. Jones, Dr. Knox's assistant, and the doctor. Heard either Burke or Hare say they had a dead body or subject, which they were to bring at night, and witness was instructed by Dr. Knox to receive any package which they might bring. Witness and Mr. Jones were in the way about seven o'clock, when Burke, Hare, and a porter named M'Culloch, came with an old tea-chest. It was put into a cellar, the door locked, and witness and Mr. Jones went to Dr. Knox's

house and informed him the men had brought what was expected. The men and the porter followed, or had preceded witness and Jones, for, when he came out, he found them at the end of Newington. Dr. Knox gave witness five pounds, which, to prevent disputes, he was to divide; and having gone to a house and obtained change, he laid the money on a table, and each took his share, leaving the sum to the porter that had been bargained for. Five pounds was not the whole price understood to be paid; the balance was to be paid on Monday, when Dr. Knox saw what had been brought. The price he believed was generally eight pounds, but no bargain was made. On the Sunday morning, lieutenant Paterson of the police, and serjeant-major Fisher, called on him, and he went with them—opened the door of the cellar, and gave the package to them, which had been left the night before. It was given up in the same state in which it had been left the night before. The package was fastened with ropes. He assisted in opening the box; it contained the body of an elderly female, who did not appear to have been interred. The extremities were doubled up on the chest and thorax. The head was pressed down as if for want of room. At the request of the lieutenant of police, he examined the body externally stretched on a table. The face was very livid, and blood flowing from the mouth. In his opinion the appearance of the countenance indicated strangulation or suffocation, by being overlaid. He found no other external marks upon the body that would be supposed to cause death. He was not present at the dissection of the body. The eyes were



not started, nor did the tongue hang out. The head was a good deal pressed down for want of room. Observed no marks about the throat. The lips and nose were dark coloured, and a little stained with blood.

By the Dean of Faculty.—His reason for saying death had been caused by suffocation was, that the blood in a strangled or suffocated person rises to the head, and gives the face a livid appearance. He had seen the man Hare before; and knew that Dr. Knox had dealings with him for the procuring of dead bodies. He also had had dealings with Burke; they seemed to act jointly. Had seen both assume the principal part. They frequently brought subjects which he supposed had not been interred. They frequently brought subjects to the lecture-rooms. Had heard of a class of persons who provided bodies which never had been interred. Had known young men, attending poor patients who died, give information of that fact to Dr. Knox, who handed over the direction to such persons to endeavour to make a purchase. In one instance, a note was given to himself, and he handed it to these men, but the purchase was not made on that occasion.

By a Juryman.—Could not say M'Dougal heard what Burke said in an under tone. The room, however, was small, and all might possibly have heard what was said.

By the Dean of Faculty.—Both of the men were the worse of liquor, when he went to Burke's, but not so much so as not to know what they were doing.

John Broggan was in Burke's house on the afternoon of Hallowe'en. Burke and his wife, and Hare and his wife, were there.

An old woman, a stranger, was also there, whom he left in the house at seven o'clock. He returned to the house about two in the morning, when he found Hare and his wife, besides the prisoner and his wife. Hare and Burke were talking at the window. He fell asleep at the fire-side, beside the women, and Hare and Burke were in the bed. He left Burke's about seven in the evening, and returned again early in the morning. The prisoner and his wife, Hare and his wife, and Mr. and Mrs. Gray were present. Some one asked what had become of the spae-wife, and the female prisoner answered, she seemed to be very 'fashious'—asked for warm and cold water, and flannel, to wash herself with; that the two men began a fighting, when the old woman roared out murder; that she, M'Dougal, gave her a kick, and thrust her out of the house, for an old Irish ——. In the forenoon, he saw W. Burke fling whiskey up to the roof of the house, then into his own bosom, and afterwards upon the bed. Burke crept under the bed, and when he did so, he had a cup with whiskey in his hand. Saw him come out again with the cup in his hand. Burke desired witness to sit down on a chair at the foot of the bed, and not to move off it, until he returned. M'Dougal was then in the house, and must have heard the direction given not to move off the chair. When he left the room, Gray and his wife, and Burke and his wife, were left behind.

Mrs. Gray was acquainted with the prisoners. Had, along with her husband, lodged five nights in their house. Recollected seeing an old woman come there on the night of the 31st October. She seemed

between forty and fifty years of age. She was dressed in a dark printed gown, having a striped bed-gown under it. She gave her name Docherty. Witness proceeded to state, that Burke took her into the room, when he said, that, as witness and her husband had been quarrelling, he insisted on their leaving his house. She said they had not been quarrelling. He, however, insisted on their going out, and said, he would pay for their lodgings that night, and desired them to go to William Hare's. Witness went out with Hare's wife. She returned to the house about nine o'clock, for some of her child's clothes, and found the old woman singing, the other females dancing, and the men drinking. In the early part of the afternoon, the old woman wished to go out, but, being the worse of liquor, Mrs. Burke would not allow her to go. Witness returned to Hare's, but did not go to bed till eleven o'clock. Mrs. Hare and M'Dougal, also Burke and Hare, came, and, after having some supper, went out, and did not again return for the evening. Went to Burke's in the morning, and found there Mrs. Law, Mrs. Connaway, and Mrs. Burke, who said she had turned the old woman out because she had been impudent. The old woman was the worse of liquor the night before. Mrs. Hare forced the liquor on her. Went in the morning to the straw to look for a pair of child's stockings. Burke told her, with an oath, to keep out from them. Saw him throwing spirits throughout the house, saying he wanted the bottle empty to get more. Witness was desired to put on potatoes; she went to gather them from under the bed, and having a pipe in her mouth, Burke desired her to come out, asking,

what was she doing there with a pipe. She, however, gathered the potatoes. Recollected Burke, on going out, desiring Broggan to sit on a chair close to the straw till he returned. Broggan did not stop many minutes after this. Just before it became dark, she discovered a dead body in the house. This was a little before Broggan went out. The body was under the straw at the foot of the bed. From the throwing of the whiskey about, she began to think all was not right, and she lifted up the straw, and the first thing she got hold of was the woman's right arm. The woman was Mary Docherty, whom she had seen the night before. There were no clothes on her. Her husband lifted up the head by the hair, and saw blood on the face and about the mouth. The body was lying on the right side, with the face to the wall. Her husband immediately took up their small bundles and left the house; and, in going up the step, she met Mrs. Burke, to whom he mentioned what he had seen. She told him to hold his tongue; she would give him two or three shillings, and it might be worth 10*l.* per week. Her husband went away, but witness returned to the house with Mrs. Burke, and said to her, that is the woman who was singing last night, and was now dead. Mrs. Burke said to witness, she would give her five or six shillings, if she would hold her tongue; and repeated, that, if her husband would be quiet, it might be worth 10*l.* per week to him. Witness replied, "God forbid that I should be worth money by dead people." Witness's husband gave information to the police. Saw the body at the police; it was that of Mrs. Docherty.

James Gray corroborated the testimony of his wife. Was in Burke's when his wife found a dead body, with its head to the wall, and the feet under the bed. The corpse was covered with straw. He knew it to be the woman he had seen there the night before. He instantly packed up the little things he had, and left the house, but, in going up stairs, he met Mrs. Burke. He asked, "What was that she had in the house?" She said, "What is it?" He replied, "You know, I suppose." She instantly fell on her knees, and implored him not to inform. She offered him four or five shillings, to put him over till Monday, and added, there was not a week afterwards but I might be worth 10*l.* of money. Witness replied, "My conscience will not allow me to do it;" and he heard her repeat nearly the same words over again to his wife. The words used to his wife were to the same effect as those used on the stair to him. She also certainly did say, "She could not help it." Mrs. Burke followed them to the street, where they met Mrs. Hare, who asked them to go into a public-house, and they did go in for some time, after which he went and informed the police.

By the Court.—Turned up the face of the body, which was quite shocking to look at; but he looked little at it after recognising the body. There was some blood on the face.

John M'Culloch proved, that he carried the body to the surgeon's, and received for his trouble, from Paterson, 5*s.* There had been so much trouble in getting the body into the tea-box that it had to be racked.

John Fisher, late serjeant-major of the Edinburgh police, had, on

the information of Gray, searched Burke's house. Burke and his wife contradicted each other as to the time they said the deceased went away. Found a quantity of fresh blood under the bed. Went next morning to a cellar of Dr. Knox's, where a box, containing the body of a woman, quite naked, was found. Gray was sent for, who recognised the body as that of the woman. The body was afterwards taken to the police-office, when it was shown to the witnesses and the prisoners. The latter denied all knowledge of ever having seen the body, either dead or alive. Went back to Burke's house, on the Sunday, and found a dark printed gown.

By the Dean of Faculty.—Hare denied having seen the body, either dead or alive. All the parties denied it.

William Hare.—Having been sworn in the common form, was asked if he were a Catholic? He answered, he was. It was then asked, if he wished to be sworn in any other way? He said, he did not know; he never had taken an oath before, and the form was all one, he supposed.

The examination proceeded.—He had been acquainted with Burke about a twelvemonth. M'Dougal lived with Burke as his wife. Witness lived in the West Port, not far from Burke. Was in a public-house in the West Port, on the forenoon of the 31st October, when they had a gill. He asked witness to go down to his house, to see the *shot* he had got to take to the doctor's. He said he had taken an old woman off the street, and wished witness to go down and see her, and see what they were doing. Understood by the word *shot*, that he was going to murder the woman. He went

down to Burke's house, and found there a strange man and a woman, (their name was Gray), the old woman, and Helen M'Dougal. Witness remained in the house about five minutes, and then went home. Was in Connaway's between eight and nine o'clock, on Hallowe'en night. There were Connaway and his wife, William Burke, and John Broggan, and another lad whom he did not know, the old woman, Helen M'Dougal, and witness's wife. They had some drink there. Burke, Broggan, and the lad went out; but witness remained later, and went into Burke's, leaving the old woman in Connaway's. Was not long there, till Burke himself and the old woman came in. She was so much the worse of drink, as hardly to be able to keep her feet. There was some dancing in Connaway's. At this time, he did not think that any harm was to happen to the old woman that night. When in Burke's, some words took place between him and the witness—and blows ensued. He asked, what had brought him there? and, he replied, he had been invited by M'Dougal. While they were struggling, the old woman ran twice into the passage, and called out, either murder or police. Helen M'Dougal brought her back both times. While witness and Burke were struggling, he (Hare) pushed her over a stool. She got up, so as to rest upon her elbow, but was so drunk as not to be able to regain her feet. She was always calling on Burke to quit fighting, and he did so. Having stood for some minutes on the floor, Burke stood stride legs over her, and laid himself down above her; his breast being on her head, she cried, and then moaned a little. He put hand on her nose and mouth,

and the other under her chin, and stopped her breathing; this was continued for ten or fifteen minutes. He never spoke while this was going on; after he had arisen from above her, he put his arm upon her mouth for some minutes. She appeared quite dead. Witness was sitting all the while on a chair. He stripped the body of the clothes, put it into a corner, doubling it up, and covering it with straw. Witness's wife and M'Dougal, when they heard the first screech of the old woman, ran into the passage, and did not come in again until the body was covered with the straw. Before this, they were lying in the bed; and witness sat at the head of the bed. Did not observe blood on the floor, or on the woman's face at the time. Did not observe the women in the passage cry; but nobody came to the door during the time. Burke had not been above the woman a minute or two, when the women started out of bed and ran to the door. None of them attempted to save or assist the old woman, and they could not have done so without his seeing it. Saw them come again, and Burke go out, when he was absent a few minutes. The women asked no questions, and he made no remark. The women went to their beds again. Neither asked for the woman Docherty. When Burke, returned, he brought the doctor's man with him, a person who lived a little down the West Port. Burke wished the doctor's man to look at the body, but he said, it would do well enough; to get a box, and put it into. The women were in the bed, while the man was in the house, but he could not tell whether they were awake or not. Witness fell asleep himself; he was rather the worse for liquor,

but he knew well enough what he was about. He awoke about seven o'clock in the morning; he found himself on a chair, with his head on the bed. The women were in the bed, and a lad named John Broggan, who was lying beyond his aunt. Burke was at the fire-side. He and his wife got up and went home, when they found Gray and his wife there. Burke called witness into Rymer's shop, and wished him to go with him to Surgeons'-square, which witness agreed to do, after he fed the swine. They went to Surgeons'-square, where Burke inquired for a box, but they did not get one. He said, he bespoke one from Mr. Rymer's shop-boy. This box was brought into the passage by the porter, (M'Culloch), but there was nobody in the house when they went in. They took the box into the house, and waited at the back door till Burke came, who said, "You are worth little that have not put it into the box." Witness assisted to put the body into the box; the porter pressed it down, and observing some of the hair over the side of the box, put it down inside, saying, "It was a bad thing to have it hanging out." The box was roped, and the porter instructed to carry it to Surgeons'-square. Witness and Burke accompanied him, and met the women in the High-School-yards. Could not say whether Burke or the porter went in first. Witness accompanied them. The body was put into a cellar; and witness and Burke proceeded to Dr. Knox's at Newington, but did not go into his house. Mr. Paterson who was to pay the money, took them into a public-house, where he got change, and paid the porter 5s., Burke 2l. 7s. 6d., and witness 2l. 7s. 6d. Un-

derstood that 5l. more was to be paid on Monday. Saw the women both in going to and returning from Newington, but neither of them went into the public-house.

Cross-examined by Mr. Cockburn.—Witness pushed the woman over a stool, and she was so drunk she could not rise. Before that, she had gone to the door, and called, "Police." When Burke got on the old woman, she gave a shriek, which could be heard some short distance. At that time, did not hear any one call for the police. Burke and he were fighting before the woman shrieked. Broggan and the two women were in bed; he was sitting at the side of the bed, and Burke was at the fire. Thinks that it was ten minutes before Burke had murdered the old woman. Never attempted to prevent him; but remained in the house all the time; sat by, and looked at the transaction. Did not go next day to the police, and inform them of it; but, when examined by the police, he denied all knowledge of it. Hare was removed in the custody of the police, to the outer house.

Margaret Laird, wife of Hare, corroborated his evidence. Saw Burke get upon the old woman's breast, when M'Dougal and she ran out to the passage, and remained there some time. She did not cry out, for she was powerless. Thinks it was a quarter of an hour before she came back to the house. Did not see the old woman, nor make any inquiry, as she had a suspicion that she had been murdered. M'Dougal did not ask any question at the time Burke lay down upon the old woman. Witness thinks she was standing near the door. Burke had not lain many minutes on the old woman,

when witness ran out. Had some suspicion of what Burke was about, as she had seen some trick of the same kind done. In the course of the afternoon, M'Dougal came and said to witness, there was a *shot* in the house. She did not say what she meant by a *shot*—but she said that her husband had fetched her from a shop—M'Dougal told her at the same time she used the term *shot*, that it was a woman.—She did not say expressly they were to murder the woman, but witness understood that to be her meaning, as she had heard the term used in such a meaning before.

Mr. Alexander Black, surgeon to the police establishment, examined the dead body of a woman in the Police-office, on Sunday, the 2nd of November. His opinion at the time was, that the woman had died a violent death by suffocation, though he could not be quite positive.

Professor Christison examined the body along with Dr. Newbigging on the 2nd and 3rd of November. Some of the appearances justified the suspicion of strangulation, but the mode of death, he concluded, had been by applying the pressure of the hand under the chin, throwing the head back, and preventing the access of air to the lungs. There were many contusions on the body, and no signs of disease; it was very probable, that the death was caused by violence.

The declarations emitted were then read. Burke described himself as a native of Ireland; that he had been ten years in Edinburgh; was a shoemaker; and lived with Elizabeth M'Dougal, but was not married to her. He accounted for the dead body being

in his house, by saying it was brought there by a porter.

The Lord Advocate contended, that even independently of the evidence of the *socii criminis* altogether, the charge against the prisoner Burke had been fully established.

The Dean of Faculty spoke for Burke: he concluded at four o'clock, and Mr. Cockburn followed on behalf of M'Dougal. At six o'clock the lord Justice Clerk commenced his charge to the jury, which occupied two hours and a half.

The Jury retired at half-past eight, and, after having been inclosed for fifty minutes, returned a verdict finding William Burke *Guilty* of the charge, and Helen M'Dougal, the libel not proven.

The prisoner Burke was then sentenced to be executed on the 28th of January, and his body to be given to the Surgeons for dissection.

#### *Confessions of Burke in the Gaol.*

Present Mr. George Tait, sheriff-substitute; Mr. Archibald Scott, procurator-fiscal; Mr. Richard J. Moxey, assistant-sheriff clerk.

*Edinburgh, 3rd January, 1829.*

Compeared William Burke, at present under sentence of death in the Gaol of Edinburgh, states, that he never saw Hare till the Hallow-fair before last, (November 1827) when he and Helen M'Dougal met Hare's wife, with whom he was previously acquainted, in the street; they had a dram, and he mentioned he had an intention to go to the west country to endeavour to get employment as a cobler, but Hare's wife suggested that they had a small room in their house which might suit him and M'Dougal, and that he might fol-

low his trade of a cobbler in Edinburgh—and he went to Hare's house, and continued to live there, and got employment as a cobbler.

An old pensioner, named Donald, lived in the house about Christmas, 1827; he was in bad health, and died a short time before his quarter's pension was due—he owed Hare 4*l.*; and a day or two after the pensioner's death, Hare proposed that his body should be sold to the doctors, and that the declarant should get a share of the price. Declarant said, it would be impossible to do it, because the man would be coming in with the coffin immediately; but after the body was put into the coffin, and the lid was nailed down, Hare started the lid with a chisel, and he and declarant took out the corpse and concealed it in the bed, and put tanner's bark from behind the house into the coffin, and covered it with a sheet, and nailed down the lid of the coffin, and the coffin was then carried away for interment. Hare did not appear to have been concerned in any thing of the kind before, and seemed to be at a loss how to get the body disposed of, and he and Hare went in the evening to the yard of the College, and saw a person like a student there, and the declarant asked him, if there were any of Dr. Monro's men about, because he did not know there was any other way of disposing of a dead body—nor did Hare. The young man asked what they wanted with Dr. Monro, and the declarant told him that he had a subject to dispose of, and the young man referred him to Dr. Knox, No. 10, Surgeons'-square, and they went there, and saw young gentlemen whom he now knows to be Jones, Miller, and Ferguson,

and told them that they had a subject to dispose of; but they did not ask how they had obtained it; and they told the declarant and Hare to come back when it was dark, and that they themselves would find a porter to carry it. Declarant and Hare went home, and put the body into a sack, and carried it to Surgeons'-square, and not knowing how to dispose of it, laid it down at the door of the cellar, and went up to the room, where the three young men saw them, and told them to bring up the body to the room, which they did, and they took the body out of the sack, and laid it on the dissecting table. That the shirt was on the body, but the young men asked no questions as to that, and the declarant and Hare, at their desire, took off the shirt, and got 7*l.* 10*s.* Dr. Knox came in after the shirt was taken off, and looked at the body, and proposed they should get 7*l.* 10*s.*, and authorised Jones to settle with them; and he asked no questions as to how the body had been obtained. Hare got 4*l.* 5*s.*, and the declarant got 3*l.* 5*s.* Jones, &c. said, that they would be glad to see them again when they had any other body to dispose of.

Early last spring, 1828, a woman from Gilmerton came to Hare's house as a nightly lodger, Hare keeping seven beds for lodgers. That she was a stranger, and she and Hare became merry, and drank together; and next morning she was very ill in consequence of what she had got, and she sent for more drink, and she and Hare drank together, and she became very sick and vomited, and at that time she had not risen from bed, and Hare then said that they would try and smother her, in order to dispose of her body to the doctors. That she was lying

on her back in the bed, and quite insensible from drink, and Hare clapped his hand on her mouth and nose, and the declarant laid himself across her body in order to prevent her making any disturbance, and she never stirred, and they took her out of bed and undressed her, and put her into a chest, and they mentioned to Dr. Knox's young men that they had another subject, and Mr. Miller sent a porter to meet them in the evening at the back of the Castle; and declarant and Hare carried the chest till they met the porter, and they accompanied the porter with the chest to Dr. Knox's class-room, and Dr. Knox came in when they were there; the body was cold and stiff. Dr. Knox approved of its being so fresh, but did not ask any questions.

The next was a man named Joseph, a miller, who had been lying badly in the house. That he got some drink from declarant and Hare, but was not tipsy; he was very ill, lying in bed, and could not speak sometimes, and there was a report on that account that there was fever in the house, which made Hare and his wife uneasy, lest it should keep away lodgers, and they (declarant and Hare) agreed that they should suffocate him for the same purpose, and the declarant got a small pillow and laid it across Joseph's mouth, and Hare lay across the body to keep down the arms and legs, and he was disposed of in the same manner, to the same persons, and the body was carried by the porter who carried the last body.

In May, 1828, as he thinks, an old woman came to the house as a lodger: she was the worse for drink, and she got more drink, of

her own accord, and she became very drunk, and declarant suffocated her; and Hare was not in the house at the time; and she was disposed of in the same manner.

Soon afterwards an Englishman lodged there for some nights, and was ill of the jaundice: that he was in bed very unwell, and Hare and declarant got above him and held him down, and by holding his mouth, suffocated him, and disposed of him in the same manner.

Shortly afterwards an old woman named Haldane (but he knows nothing farther of her) lodged in the house, and she had got some drink at the time, and got more to intoxicate her, and he and Hare suffocated her, and disposed of her in the same manner.

Soon afterwards a cinder woman came to the house as a lodger, as he believes, and she got drink from Hare and the declarant, and became tipsy, and she was half asleep, and he and Hare suffocated her, and disposed of her in the same manner.

About Midsummer, 1828, a woman with her son or grandson, about twelve years of age, and who seemed to be weak in his mind, came to the house as lodgers; the woman got a dram, and when in bed asleep, he and Hare suffocated her; and the boy was sitting at the fire in the kitchen, and he and Hare took hold of him, and carried him into the room and suffocated him. They were put into a herring barrel the same night, and carried to Dr. Knox's rooms.

That, soon afterwards, the declarant brought a woman to the house as a lodger, and after some days she got drunk, and was disposed of in the same manner. That declarant and Hare generally tried if lodgers would drink, and, if they



would drink, they were disposed of in that manner.

The declarant then went for a few days to the house of Helen M'Dougal's father, and, when he returned, he learned from Hare, that he had disposed of a woman in the declarant's absence, in the same manner, in his own house ; but the declarant does not know the woman's name, or any farther particulars of the case, or whether any other person was present or knew of it.

That about this time he went to live in Broggan's house, and a woman, named Margaret Haldane, daughter of the woman Haldane before mentioned, and whose sister is married to Clark, a tinsmith in the High-street, came into the house, but the declarant does not remember for what purpose ; and she got drink, and was disposed of in the same manner. That Hare was not present, and neither Broggan nor his son knew the least thing about that or any other case of the same kind.

That, in April, 1828, he fell in with the girl Paterson and her companion in Constantine Burke's house, and they had breakfast together, and he sent for Hare, and he and Hare disposed of her in the same manner ; and Mr. Fergusson and a tall lad, who seemed to have known the woman by sight, asked where they had got the body ; and the declarant said, he had purchased it from an old woman at the back of the Canongate. The body was disposed of five or six hours after the girl was killed, and it was cold, but not very stiff, but he does not recollect of any remarks being made about the body being warm.

One day in September or October, 1828, a washer-woman had been washing in the house for

some time, and he and Hare suffocated her, and disposed of her in the same manner.

Soon afterwards, a woman, named M'Dougal, who was a distant relation of Helen M'Dougal's first husband, came to Broggan's house to see M'Dougal ; and after she had been coming and going to the house for a few days, she got drunk, and was served in the same manner by the declarant and Hare.

That "Daft Jamie" was then disposed of in the manner mentioned in the indictment, except that Hare was concerned in it. That Hare was lying alongside of Jamie in the bed, and Hare suddenly turned on him, and put his hand on his mouth and nose ; and Jamie, who had got drink, but was not drunk, made a terrible resistance, and he and Hare fell from the bed together, Hare still keeping hold of Jamie's mouth and nose ; and as they lay on the floor together, declarant lay across Jamie, to prevent him from resisting, and they held him in that state till he was dead, and he was disposed of in the same manner : and Hare took a brass snuff-box and a spoon from Jamie's pocket, and kept the box to himself, and never gave it to the declarant—but he gave him the spoon.

And the last was the old woman Docherty, for whose murder he has been convicted. That she was not put to death in the manner deposed to by Hare on the trial. That, during the scuffle between him and Hare, in the course of which he was nearly strangled by Hare, Docherty had crept among the straw, and after the scuffle was over, they had some drink, and after that they both went forward to where the woman was lying sleeping. Hare went forward

first and seized her by the mouth and nose, as on former occasions ; and at the same time the declarant lay across her, and she had no opportunity of making any noise ; and before she was dead, one or other of them, he does not recollect which, took hold of her by the throat. That while he and Hare were struggling, which was a real scuffle, M'Dougal opened the door of the apartment, and went into the inner passage and knocked at the door, and called out police and murder, but soon came back ; and at same time Hare's wife called out, never to mind, because the declarant and Hare would not hurt one another. That whenever he and Hare rose and went towards the straw where Docherty was lying, M'Dougal and Hare's wife, who, he thinks, were lying in bed at the time, or, perhaps, were at the fire, immediately rose and left the house, but did not make any noise, so far as he heard, and he was surprised at their going out at that time, because he did not see how they could have any suspicion of what they (the declarant and Hare) intended doing. That he cannot say whether he and Hare would have killed Docherty or not, if the women had remained, because they were so determined to kill the woman, the drink being in their head ;— and he has no knowledge or suspicion of Docherty's body having been offered to any person besides Dr. Knox, and he does not suspect that Paterson would offer the body to any other person than Dr. Knox.

Declares, That suffocation was not suggested to them by any person as a mode of killing, but occurred to Hare on the first occasion before mentioned, and was continued afterwards because it was

effectual, and showed no marks ; and when they lay across the body at the same time, that was not suggested to them by any person, for they never spoke to any person on such a subject ; and it was not done for the purpose of preventing the person from breathing, but was only done for the purpose of keeping down the arms and thighs, to prevent struggling.

Declares, That, with the exception of the body of Docherty, they never took persons by the throat, and they never leapt upon them ; and declares that there were no marks of violence on any of the subjects, and they were sufficiently cold to prevent any suspicion on the part of the doctors ; and, at all events, they might be cold and stiff enough before the box was opened up, and he and Hare always told some story of their having purchased the subjects from some relation or other person who had the means of disposing of them, about different parts of the town, and the statements which they made were such as to prevent the doctors having any suspicions ; and no suspicions were expressed by Dr. Knox, or any of his assistants, and no questions asked tending to show that they had suspicion.

Declares, That Helen M'Dougal and Hare's wife were no way concerned in any of the murders, and neither of them knew of any thing of the kind being intended. Even in the case of Docherty, and although these two women may latterly have had some suspicion in their own minds that the declarant and Hare were concerned in lifting dead bodies, he does not think they could have any suspicion that he and Hare were concerned in committing murders.

Declares, That none of the subjects which they had procured, as before-mentioned, were offered to any other person than Dr. Knox's assistants, and he and Hare had very little communication with Dr. Knox himself; and declares, that he has not the smallest suspicion of any other person in this, or in any other country, except Hare and himself, being concerned in killing persons, and offering their bodies for dissection; and he never knew or heard of such a thing having been done before.

WM. BURKE.

G. TAIT.

Present, Mr. George Tait, Sheriff-substitute; Mr. Archd. Scott, Procurator-fiscal; Mr. Richard J. Moxey, Assistant-sheriff-clerk; the rev. Wm. Reid, Roman Catholic priest.

*Edinburgh, 22nd January, 1829.*

Compared, William Burke, at present under sentence of death in the Gaol of Edinburgh, and his declaration, of date the 3rd current, being read over to him, he adheres thereto. Declares further, that he does not know the names and descriptions of any of the persons who were destroyed except as mentioned in his former declaration. Declares, that he never was concerned in any other act of the same kind, nor made any attempt or preparation to commit such, and

all reports of a contrary tendency, some of which he has heard, are groundless. And he does not know of Hare being concerned in any such, except as mentioned in his former declaration; and he does not know of any persons being murdered for the purpose of dissection by any other persons than himself and Hare, and if any persons have disappeared any where in Scotland, England, or Ireland, he knows nothing whatever about it, and never heard of such a thing till he was apprehended. Declares, that he never had any instruments in his house except a common table-knife, or a knife used by him in his trade as a shoemaker, or a small pocket-knife, and he never used any of those instruments, or attempted to do so, on any of the persons who were destroyed. Declares, that neither he, nor Hare, so far as he knows, ever were concerned in supplying any subjects for dissection except those before-mentioned; and, in particular, never did so by raising dead bodies from the grave. Declares, that they never allowed Dr. Knox, or any of his assistants, to know exactly where their houses were, but Paterson, Dr. Knox's porter or door-keeper, knew. And this he declares to be truth.

WM BURKE.

G. TAIT.

# PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

## I.—DOMESTIC.

*DESPATCH from the Right Hon. WM. HUSKISSON, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, to Major-General SIR JOHN KEANE, K.C.B., Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, sent down by him in a Message to the Hon. House of Assembly on Friday the 16th November.*

(Copy.)—No. 3.

*Downing-street, Sept. 22.*

SIR,—The act passed by the governor, council, and assembly of Jamaica, in the month of December, 1826, entitled, "An act to alter and amend the Slave-laws of this island," having been referred by his majesty in council to the lords of the committee of privy council for the affairs of trade and foreign plantations, that committee have reported to his majesty in council their opinion that this act ought to be disallowed. The order of his majesty's council, approving that report and disallowing the act, will be transmitted to you by the earliest opportunity.

In obedience to the commands of his majesty in council, I proceed to communicate to you the grounds of his majesty's decision upon this subject.

The privy council did not submit to his majesty their advice that this act should be disallowed without great reluctance. The great import-

ance of the subject has been fully estimated, and his majesty has perceived with much satisfaction the advances which the colonial legislature have made in many respects, to meet the recommendations conveyed to them in lord Bathurst's despatch of the 11th of May, 1826; but, however much his majesty may have been desirous to sanction these valuable improvements in the slave code of Jamaica, it has been found impossible to overcome the objections to which other enactments of this law are open. I am commanded to express to you his majesty's earnest hope, that upon a deliberate review of the subject, the legislative council and assembly will be disposed to present for your assent another bill, divested of those enactments which have prevented the confirmation of the present act.

Among the various subjects which this act presents for consideration, none is more important in itself, nor more interesting to

every class of society in this kingdom, than the regulations on the subject of religious instruction. The 83rd and the two following clauses must be considered as an invasion of that toleration to which all his majesty's subjects, whatever may be their civil condition, are alike entitled. The prohibition of persons in a state of slavery, assuming the office of religious teachers, might seem a very mild restraint, or rather a fit precaution against indecorous proceedings; but, amongst some of the religious bodies who employ missionaries in Jamaica, the practice of mutual instruction is stated to be an established part of their discipline. So long as the practice is carried on in an inoffensive and peaceable manner, the distress produced by the prevention of it will be compensated by no public advantage.

The prohibition of meetings for religious worship, between sun-set and sun-rise, will, in many cases, operate as a total prohibition, and will be felt with peculiar severity by domestic slaves inhabiting large towns, whose ordinary engagements on Sunday will not afford leisure for attendance on public worship before the evening. It is impossible to pass over without remark, the invidious distinction which is made, not only between Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics, but even between Protestant Dissenters and Jews. I have, indeed, no reason to suppose that the Jewish teachers have made any converts to their religion among the slaves, and probably, therefore, the distinction in their favour is merely nominal; still it is a preference, which, in principle, ought not to be given by the legislature of a Christian country.

The penalties denounced upon persons collecting contributions from slaves, for purposes either of charity or religion, cannot but be felt, both by the teachers and by their followers, as humiliating and unjust. Such a law would affix an unmerited stigma on the religious instructor; and it prevents the slave from obeying a positive precept of the Christian religion, which he believes to be obligatory on him, and which is not inconsistent with the duties he owes to his master. The prohibition is, therefore, a gratuitous aggravation of the evils of his condition.

It may be doubtful whether the restriction upon private meetings among the slaves, without the knowledge of the owner, was intentionally pointed at the meetings for religious worship. No objection, of course, could exist to requiring that notice should be given to the owner or manager whenever the slaves attended any such meetings; but, on the other hand, due security should be taken that the owner's authority is not improperly exerted to prevent the attendance of the slaves.

I cannot too distinctly impress upon you, that it is the settled purpose of his majesty's government to sanction no colonial law which needlessly infringes on the religious liberty of any class of his majesty's subjects; and you will understand that you are not to assent to any bill, imposing any restraint of that nature, unless a clause be inserted for suspending its operation until his majesty's pleasure shall be known.

Having thus adverted to this most important branch of the general subject, I proceed to inquire how far the suggestions contained in lord Bathurst's despatch of the

11th of May, 1826, have been followed in the act under consideration.

The council of protection, established under the 33rd clause of this act, cannot be considered as an effectual substitute for the office of a distinct and independent protector. The council in each parish will consist of those individuals, over whom the protector was to exercise his superintendence. Their duties are limited to the simple case of extreme bodily injury, and are to be discharged only "if they think proper." The periodical returns required from the protector upon oath are not to be made by the council of protection, nor are they even bound to keep a journal of their proceedings. No provision is made for executing the duties of the office in different parts of the colony upon fixed and uniform principles, and the number of persons to be united in this trust is such as entirely to destroy the sense of personal and individual responsibility.

In the provisions for the due observance of Sunday, I remark that the continuance of the markets on that day till the hour of eleven is contemplated as a permanent regulation. It is, however, impossible to sanction this systematic violation of the law prevailing in every other Christian country. In the proposals transmitted by lord Bathurst to his grace the duke of Manchester, a temporary departure from this rule was permitted, but only as a relaxation required by peculiar and transitory circumstances.

The clauses denouncing penalties on persons employing their slaves to labour on Sunday, are expressed with some ambiguity, so as to leave it doubtful whether the penalty

will be incurred at any other time than during crop, or for any work excepting that required about the mills. Neither is it clear that an owner, procuring his slaves to work on Sunday by persuasion, or by any other means than those of direct compulsion, would violate the law. I do not perceive that provision is made for those cases of unavoidable necessity, which would create an exception to the general rule.

Punishments inflicted by the domestic authority of the owner are not required to be made the subject of a report to any public officer, nor does the law require that any interval should elapse between the commission of the crime and the infliction of the punishment. The presence of free witnesses at the infliction of punishments is not declared necessary, nor would the law be broken, whatever might be the severity of the punishment, if it were inflicted by any other method than that of whipping or imprisonment. The use of the whip in the field is not forbidden. Women are not exempted from punishment by flogging. Nor is any presumption of guilt to arise, if the slave shall make a "probable, particular, and consistent" charge against his owner, confirmed by the exhibition of his person bearing the marks of recent and illegal punishment.

In all these respects the provisions of this act fall short of the recommendations of his majesty's government. It remains to notice other provisions upon the subject of punishment, which have been originally suggested by the colonial legislature.

The act appears to sanction an unlimited delegation of the power of punishment, so that even a fellow slave might be intrusted with

it, provided that the correction does not exceed ten lashes. In the presence of the owner or manager thirty-nine lashes may be inflicted by his authority—an extent of power which cannot be necessary, and which might probably be the source of serious abuse.

The 37th section of this act authorizes private persons to commit their slaves to prison in the public workhouses of the island, without the warrant of a justice of the peace; and the preceding section, the 36th, enables the gaoler, as well as the owner, to inflict punishment by whipping in prison without trial. It is difficult to perceive the necessity for such an extension of domestic authority, and if unnecessary, it is plainly objectionable.

The fine of 10*l*. for inflicting repeated punishments for the same offence can scarcely be incurred in any case, since no record is to be kept ascertaining the grounds of any particular punishment, and the party accused may impute to his slave whatever offences he may think proper, without the necessity of proving them. The fine on a workhouse-keeper inflicting an excessive number of lashes, is 10*l*.—a punishment which may, in some cases, be entirely disproportionate to so serious an offence.

The complaint, which the slave is authorized to make before any three magistrates, would not, I should fear, be a very effectual means of redress. As they must always be three proprietors of the same parish, there is a manifest danger of the influence of local partialities. As every groundless complaint is to be punished, it is to be feared, that many well-founded complaints will not be preferred. The mere failure of evidence in support of a complaint is surely not

enough to justify the punishment of the party complaining. The owner should be bound to prove that the complaint was malicious or frivolous.

On the subject of marriage, I observe that no security is taken against the possible case of the unreasonable or capricious refusal of the owner to consent. By confining the power of celebrating marriages to the clergy of the Established Church, every other class of religious teachers are deprived of the means of exercising a salutary influence over the minds of their disciples; and probably the Roman Catholic priests may be entitled to say, that such an enactment takes away from them a right which, by the common law, they enjoy in every part of his majesty's dominions to which the marriage act of George II. does not extend. The necessity of undergoing an examination by a clergyman of the Established Church, as to the nature and obligations of the marriage contract, is not very apparent, and might, perhaps, operate as a serious impediment to the formation of such connexions. It is difficult to understand how the range of inquiry respecting the "obligations" of the marriage contract is to be limited, since that expression may be supposed to embrace a large variety of moral and religious considerations, with which the slave population in its present state must be very imperfectly conversant.

I observe that this act does not require that any registry should be kept of the marriages of slaves, nor even that any periodical returns should be made of the number of such marriages.

On the subject of the separation of relatives, the word "family" is left without a definition. It is sus-

ceptible of so many different meanings, that it would seem peculiarly necessary to ascertain the precise sense in which it is used. The rule laid down in this law seems also to require some better sanction. It is simply a direction to the provost-martial; but if he should disobey that direction, it is not provided that the sale should be void. A provision appears to be wanting, for enabling the officer to ascertain whether any particular slave is or is not a member of the family.

The property of slaves is left by this law in an unprotected state. No action is given to them, or to any person on their behalf, for the defence or recovery of it. The single case in which any remedy is provided, is that in which the property of the slave is taken away. No mention is made of that much more important class of cases in which property may be withheld. The slave could not under this law recover a debt, nor obtain damages for the breach of a contract. The mode of proceeding by information for penalties before three justices of the peace, is a remedy to which hardly any one would resort, for the act does not give the amount of the penalty, if recovered, to the injured party, and the slave himself could not make the complaint, except upon the condition of receiving a punishment if the justices should deem it groundless. The slaves are also excluded by the terms of this law from acquiring any interest in land—a restriction which would appear at once impolitic and unnecessary.

On the subject of what has been termed the compulsory manumission of slaves, this act does not profess to adopt the measures suggested by his majesty's government. It is, therefore, needless to institute any

comparison between those measures and the enactments of this law; but upon that subject, I may, perhaps, at no distant period, have occasion to make a further communication to you.

On the subject of gratuitous manumissions, and manumissions effected by voluntary contracts, this act requires that in all cases security shall be given for the maintenance of the slave. In the case of testamentary manumission, the estate of the testator is to be liable to the payment of an annuity of 10*l.* for the support of the slave, if he should become incapable of maintaining himself. These regulations must, of course, operate as a great discouragement to enfranchisements in all cases. Without incurring this inconvenience, an effectual security might have been taken against the abuse of emancipating slaves incapable, from their age or infirmities, of procuring their own subsistence.

It is to be feared that serious inconvenience may arise from the neglect of the proposal, to provide a method by which a slave could ascertain what particular person was entitled to receive the price of his freedom. In the case of plantation slaves, the title is usually the same with the title to the land itself, and cases are stated to have occurred, in which a slave has lost the whole earnings of his life by paying the price of his liberty to the wrong person.

On the important subject of the evidence of slaves, his majesty is graciously pleased to signify his approbation of the advance which has been made towards a better system of law; but, in reference to this subject, I am to observe that this law appears to contemplate the admission of the evidence of slaves,



in those cases of crimes only, in which they are usually either the actors or the sufferers, excluding their evidence in other cases—a distinction which does not seem to rest on any solid foundation. There is not any necessary connexion between the baptism of a witness and his incredibility. The rule, which requires that two slaves at the least shall consistently depose to the same fact on being examined apart, before any free person can be convicted on slave testimony, will greatly diminish the value of the general rule. In some particular cases, such for example as the case of rape, such a restriction might secure impunity to offenders of the worst description. The rejection of the testimony of slaves twelve months after the commission of the crime would be fatal to the ends of justice in many cases, nor is it easy to discover what solid advantage could result from it in any case.

If the owner of a slave is convicted of any crime on the testimony of that slave, the court has no power of declaring the slave free, although it may exercise that power when the conviction proceeds on other evidence. Highly important as it is, to deprive a slave of every motive for giving false evidence against his owner, that object might be secured without incurring the inconvenience of leaving the slave in the power of an owner convicted of the extreme abuse of his authority.

In rejecting the proposal for establishing a record of the names of all slaves sufficiently instructed to be competent witnesses, the colonial legislature appear to have neglected the means of providing a cheap and effectual encouragement to good conduct, and of in-

vesting the religious teachers of the slaves with a powerful and legitimate influence over them.

His majesty has observed with great satisfaction various provisions in this act for the improvement of the condition of the slaves, which originated exclusively with the colonial legislature. Among them I have particularly to advert to the clause requiring the gratuitous baptism of slaves, and to the regulation by which slaves are allowed one day in each fortnight to cultivate their provision-grounds, exclusive of Sundays, except during the time of crop, the smallest number of days to be allowed in one year being twenty-six. It may, perhaps, however, be necessary that some more effectual means should be devised for enforcing obedience to this law.

The enactment requiring a monthly inspection of the provision-grounds, and the delivery of an adequate supply of provisions, when there is not a sufficient quantity of such grounds, is calculated to produce the most beneficial effects, and might be rendered still more valuable by some alteration in the terms of the oath, which are susceptible of a construction remote from the real intention of the framers of the law. Great advantage may be anticipated from the regulations for the support of the mothers and nurses of large families, and for the protection of old and infirm slaves.

The provisions for the prevention of excessive labour contemplate the working the slaves for eleven hours and a half daily out of crop, and place no limit to the continuance of their work during crop-time. Considering the climate in which the labour is to be performed, and that, after the work

of the field is over, there will yet remain to be done many offices not falling within the proper meaning of the term "labour," I should fear that the exertions of the slaves, if exacted up to the limits allowed by this law, would be scarcely consistent with a due regard for the health of the labourer.

The crimes of murder and rape, when committed on the persons of slaves, are most properly made punishable by death: but if these enactments are to be understood not as declaratory of existing laws, but as introductory of new laws, then it is obvious that there are other offences which might be perpetrated on the persons of the slaves, against which the same punishment should have been denounced.

The rules for the prevention of mutilation and other cruelties, however just and valuable in principle, would, I should fear, lose much of their efficacy in practice from the peculiar complexity of the process which is to be observed in bringing the offender to justice. In the cases supposed of the dismemberment or mutilation of a slave, fine and imprisonment would seem a very inadequate punishment.

The rules on the subject of runaways claiming to be free, and respecting slaves carried from place to place for sale, seem well adapted to prevent the recurrence of serious abuses. The provisions of the trial of slaves in criminal cases would also appear to be a material improvement on the former law. I perceive, however, that the evidence of slaves on such trials is to be admitted against slaves. It is not said that such evidence shall be admitted for them, although

of course, this must have been the intention. It is to be regretted that no provision is made for securing the attendance of judges, regularly educated to the legal profession, on slave trials.

It remains to notice those parts of this act which provide for the punishment or the prevention of crimes committed by slaves.

The crime of harbouring runaways may be punished with much more severity, when the offender is a slave, than when he is a free man,—a distinction which reverses the established principle of justice, that the malignity of crimes is enhanced by the superior knowledge and station of the criminal.

In many cases both the nature and amount of the punishment to be inflicted on the offending slave are referred exclusively to the discretion of the court. I am not aware of any necessity for so unlimited a delegation of authority.

Among capital crimes are enumerated rebellion and rebellious conspiracy. As these are terms unknown to the law of England, it is not fit they should remain on the Statute-book without some legislative definition of their meaning.

Felony seems to be generally declared capital, when committed by slaves. The case of the clergyable felonies is not noticed.

The enactments, by which assault or offering violence to a free person are declared capital, are framed with an extreme laxity of expression, and have an appearance of severity which I am persuaded was not really contemplated by the framers of this law.

The definition of the offence of Obeah will be found to embrace many acts, against which it could not have been really intended to

denounce the punishment of death. The definition of the crime of preparing to administer poison is also so extensive as to include many innocent, and even some meritorious, acts. Thus also the offence of possessing materials used in the practice of Obeah, is imperfectly described, since no reference is made to the wicked intention in which alone the crime consists.

The owner of a slave condemned to death or transportation is in all cases to be indemnified at the public expense for the loss of his property. His majesty's government have repeatedly expressed their disapprobation of this rule of law. It weakens the motives for maintaining good domestic discipline, and for preventing the commission of crimes by the authority of the owner. It is unjust to indemnify any man at the public expense for a loss in which his own culpable neglect of duty may have involved him. To the slave it is unjust to deprive his owner of all pecuniary interests in the preservation of his life; and when the crime of the slave is, as it often may be, the direct consequence of the owner's positive misconduct, it is in the highest degree impolitic to relieve the owner from the loss. The power of remitting the sentences of slaves condemned to hard labour for life, is to be exercised only when the slave evinces in every respect a complete reformation of manners. I fear that few men undergo such a total change of character as this under any circumstances, and that a prison is among the last places in which it is to be expected. Independently of this consideration, I apprehend that this clause may in some degree derogate from the power, which, under his majesty's instructions,

you possess, of pardoning offenders, or remitting their punishments.

I have thus explained at length the considerations which have imposed on his majesty's government the necessity of submitting to his majesty their advice that this act should be disallowed. It cannot but be a subject of deep regret to them, that their sense of public duty has prevented their adopting a different course; but I trust that, upon a serious and deliberate review of the subject, the gentlemen of the Legislative Council and Assembly of Jamaica will themselves be disposed to admit, that the decision which has been adopted was inevitable. The preceding remarks will show that this act has not been disallowed upon any slight grounds. The many wise and beneficent provisions which it contains have been fully appreciated, although they have not been thought sufficient to compensate for the irreparable injury which the best interests of the colony might sustain from some of the enactments to which I have particularly referred. Even were the law unobjectionable on every other ground, it would be impossible to surmount the difficulty presented by the clauses for restraining religious liberty.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) HUSKISSON.

*Lieutenant-governor*  
*Sir John Keane, K.C.B., &c.*

The following are the clauses contained in the law which refers to the sectarians:—

83. And whereas it has been found that the practice of ignorant, superstitious, or designing slaves, of attempting to instruct others, has been attended with the most pernicious consequences, and even

with the loss of life: Be it enacted, That any slave or slaves, found guilty of preaching and teaching as Anabaptists, or otherwise, without a permission from their owner and the quarter sessions for the parish in which such preaching or teaching takes place, shall be punished in such manner as any three magistrates may deem proper, by whipping, or imprisonment in the workhouse to hard labour.

84. And whereas the assembling of slaves and other persons, after dark, at places of meeting belonging to dissenters from the established religion, and other persons professing to be teachers of religion, has been found extremely dangerous, and great facilities are thereby given to the formation of plots and conspiracies, and the health of the slaves and other persons has been injured in travelling to and from such places of meeting at late hours in the night: Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the commencement of this act, all such meetings between sunset and sunrise shall be held and deemed unlawful; and any sectarian, dissenting minister, or other person professing to be a teacher of religion, who shall, contrary to this act, keep open any such places of meeting between sunset and sunrise for the purpose aforesaid, or permit or suffer any such nightly assembly of slaves therein, or be present thereat, shall forfeit and pay a sum not less than 20*l.*, nor exceeding 50*l.* for each offence, to be recovered in a summary manner before any three justices, by warrant of distress and sale, one moiety thereof to be paid to the informer, who is hereby declared a competent witness, and the other moiety to the poor of the parish

in which such offence shall be committed; and, in default of payment thereof, the said justices are hereby empowered and required to commit such offender or offenders to the common gaol for any space of time not exceeding one calendar month; provided always, that nothing herein contained shall be deemed or taken to prevent any minister of the Presbyterian Kirk, or licensed minister, from performing divine worship at any time before the hour of eight o'clock in the evening at any licensed place of worship, or to interfere with the celebration of divine worship according to the rites and ceremonies of the Jewish and Roman Catholic religions.

85. And whereas, under pretence of offerings and contributions, large sums of money and other chattels have been extorted by designing men, professing to be teachers of religion, practising on the ignorance and superstition of the negroes in this island, to their great loss and impoverishment: and whereas an ample provision is already made by the public and by private persons for the religious instruction of the slaves: Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the commencement of this act, it shall not be lawful for any dissenting minister, religious teacher, or other person whatsoever, to demand or receive any money or other chattel whatsoever from any slave or slaves within this island, for affording such slave or slaves religious instruction, by way of offering contributions, or under any other pretence whatsoever; and if any person or persons shall, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, offend herein, such person or persons shall, upon conviction

before any three justices, forfeit and pay the sum of 20*l.* for each offence, to be recovered in a summary manner, by warrant of distress and sale, under the hands and seals of the said justices, one moiety thereof to be paid to the informer, who is hereby declared a competent witness, and the other

moiety to the poor of the parish in which such offence shall be committed; and, in default of payment, the said justices are hereby empowered and required to commit such offender or offenders to the common gaol for any space of time not exceeding one calendar month.

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HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, Dec. 14, 1827.—*Report on MR. HUSKISSON'S Despatch.*

The report made from the committee appointed to take into consideration the letter from Mr. Huskisson to the Lieutenant-governor, was as follows:—

“Mr. Speaker,—Your committee, appointed to take into consideration the letter of Mr. Huskisson to the Lieutenant-governor, and to report thereon to the House, have drawn up several resolutions, and have replied to the objections which Mr. Huskisson states to have occasioned the disallowance of the Slave-act by his majesty.

“These resolutions and the reply, your committee recommend to the consideration of the House.

“Resolved—1. That the House have learnt with surprise and disappointment that the Committee of Privy Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations have advised his majesty to disallow the act passed last session, entitled ‘an Act to alter and amend the Slave-law.’

“2. That his Grace the duke of Manchester having, in his speech at the close of last session, declared his opinion, ‘that the mildness and moderation which were evinced throughout the law, and the beneficial alteration produced in the condition of the slave in many

particulars, would be highly satisfactory to his majesty’s government,’ the House rather expected to be honoured with the unreserved commendation of his majesty, than to have their labours contemned, and their sacrifices undervalued and rejected.

“3. That this proceeding on the part of the king’s ministers must shake the confidence of the island in their wisdom and justice, as for several years successively plans of melioration have been pressed upon the House, and it has been earnestly suggested to the House, that the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain generally and anxiously desired the amendment of the Slave-law. With all that respect for the wishes of the king, and of our fellow-subjects, which, as belonging to our common empire, we feel bound to observe, this House maturely weighed the various propositions made through the secretary for the Colonies, and adopted not only all the propositions which seemed to be in the slightest degree beneficial to the colony, but they even conceded in every point that was not positively mischievous, and in some of doubtful, if not of dangerous, tendency. The House does not venture to reproach his

majesty's government with vacillation and caprice in the change of councils, which has led to the disallowance of a law once so eagerly coveted: yet they find it impossible in Mr. Huskisson's despatch to the Lieutenant-governor, to discover any sound reason for the course that had been pursued.

"4. That the House conceive this important error to have been committed by his majesty's government. Instead of comparing the new act with the institutions of Jamaica, the advisers of the Crown have kept in sight the laws and customs of the mother country, and have passed sentence on a law designed for the regulation of slaves, as if it were an act to fetter the minds and resources of a free people. Moreover, his majesty's advisers have altogether neglected the obvious propriety of contrasting the new with the old law. Had they deigned to open the law of 1816, they would have found that it wanted many of those humane provisions which the improved civilization of the slaves enabled the House to introduce into the law of 1826. If it be admitted that the new law falls below the reasonable hopes of the king's ministers, yet it far exceeds the old law in restraints upon the abuse of the master's authority, and in civil rights conceded to the slaves. And had the two acts been judged by their respective merits, and in the same spirit of tenderness to the slaves which the king's government has professed for so many years, it is considered by the House that the act of 1816 would not have been revived.

"5 That the disallowed Slave-act, in the admission of slaves to give evidence in criminal cases, went beyond the expressed recom-

mendation of the king's government; for in the second proposition of the colonial minister sent down to the House by the duke of Manchester at the commencement of the last session, and declared by his grace to have 'received the unqualified approbation of both Houses of parliament,' it is observed, 'that the admission of the evidence of slaves is not to extend to cases where a white person, or of free condition, shall be charged with any capital crime.' However, not only are slaves, by the disallowed act, permitted to give evidence in cases where white and free persons are prosecuted for capital crimes, but their evidence has actually been admitted, in two such cases, during the short operation of the act. In one, the offender, a white man, was convicted, partly on slave evidence, of murder; and in the other, a man of colour was convicted of manslaughter, solely on such evidence.

"6. That the House hear with pain, that 'although this and other valuable improvements are fully estimated by his majesty's privy council, yet it was impossible to overcome the objections to which other enactments of this law are open.'

"7. That for the information of his majesty's government, and the justification of the House to his majesty, the House will proceed to examine the objections which have prevented the confirmation of the act."

The report then enters at great length into the merits and demerits of the case, and concludes with the following:—

"This House have now calmly reviewed the reasons which are given for disallowing the Slave-act

of last session. They cannot pass a new bill, containing the amendments suggested in Mr. Huskisson's despatch, without sacrificing their independence, and endangering the safety of the island. And as the Lieutenant-governor is forbidden to sanction such a bill as the House can consent to pass, the slave popu-

lation must again be governed by the act of 1816. When it shall please his majesty to withdraw the instruction to the governor which limits the legislative power of the Assembly, the House will once more take the slave code into their serious consideration."

## II.—FOREIGN.

### MANIFESTO of the OTTOMAN PORTE.—*Issued in the beginning of January, after the Departure of the Ambassadors.*

"It is well known to almost every person, that, if the Mussulmen naturally hate the infidels, the infidels on their part are the enemies of the Mussulmen; that Russia more especially bears a particular hatred to Islamism; and that she is the principal enemy of the Sublime Porte.

"For these fifty or sixty years past, eager to execute her criminal projects against the Mussulman nation and the Ottoman empire, Russia has constantly taken advantage of the slightest pretexts for declaring war. The disorders committed by the Janissaries, who, thanks be to God! are now annihilated, favoured the progress of the Russians. They gradually invaded our provinces; their arrogance and their pretensions always increased, and they at last conceived they had found the means of easily carrying into effect their plan against the Sublime Porte, by instigating the revolt of their co-religionists, the Greeks, to insurrection. The latter, rallying in the name of their religion, revolted simultaneously. They committed every possible aggression on the Mussulmans, and in concert with the

Russians, who on their part attacked the Ottoman empire, they conspired the extermination of all the faithful, and the ruin of the Sublime Porte, (from which may God preserve us!)

"Thanks to the Divine assistance and to the protection of our holy Prophet, this perfidious plot was discovered a short time before it was intended to carry it into execution. The measures adopted without delay in the capital, put a stop in the beginning to those criminal projects, the accomplishment of which appeared at first so easy. Justice was done by the sword to a great number of rebels of the Morea, of Negroponte, Acarnania, Missolonghi, Athens, and other parts of the continent. The rebels of the Morea, and the islands, had the audacity at the commencement of the troubles to combat the Mussulmans, of whom they killed a great number. They reduced the women and children to slavery, and under the name of the government of Greece proceeded to unheard-of excesses.

"During several years, considerable forces, both naval and military, were sent against them; but our

land-troops, discouraged by the want of pay, did not display the necessary ardour. Our fleet also had no success, in consequence of the long-continued disorganization of the arsenal. The affair was in this way protracted. Other Europeans, beside the Russians, animated by ambition, secretly supplied all kinds of assistance to the rebels as well in deed as in promise, and were thus the principal cause of the prolongation of the troubles. At length, influenced by the Russians, England and France, united with Russia, and under pretext that their commerce was suffering from the long duration of the troubles, they induced by all sorts of artifices the Greeks to renounce their duty as Rayas.

“At different periods it was proposed to the Sublime Porte to cease interfering in the affairs of Greece by giving them an independent form of government, to establish over them a chief, as in Moldavia and Walachia, and to grant them liberty on payment of an annual tribute. Such were nearly the vain propositions made to the Porte. As it is evident that this pretension of liberty tended to nothing less than (from which Heaven defend us!) to cause to fall into the hands of the infidels all the countries of Europe and Asia in which the Greeks are mixed with the Mussulmans—to put by degrees the Rayas in the place of the Ottomans, and the Ottomans in the place of the Rayas,—to convert perhaps our mosques into churches, and to make bells resound in them—in a word, to crush rapidly and easily Islamism—neither reason, law, policy, nor religion, permitted the acceptance of such propositions. The Sublime Porte often returned, both by writing and verbally, the

necessary answers in all the official forms, and according to the tenour of treaties. Though the object of the Franks had been perceived from the beginning, and every thing announced that the sabre alone must at last reply to their propositions; nevertheless, that the repose of Mussulmans might not be troubled, and on the other hand to gain the time necessary for warlike preparations, the Sublime Porte endeavoured to temporise, as much as possible, by satisfactory replies, and by official conferences on the subject of the dishonour and prejudice which the propositions of the three powers would have caused to the empire and the nation.

“This is the occasion to observe, that though the demands made by the Russians at Ackerman, on the subject of indemnities, and particularly with respect to the Servians, were by no means admissible, nevertheless, circumstances being pressing, it was thought proper to acquiesce, right or wrong, and by necessity, in order to seize the opportunity to conclude a treaty for the safety of the Mahometan nation. Hitherto, the greater part of the articles have obtained their execution. The conferences relative to the indemnities and to Servia, were also commenced, and though these two affairs were not of a nature likely to be settled with a good grace, they were, however, taken into consideration as acts of violence.

“Russia, however, did not stop here. The military reforms adopted by the Sublime Porte gave her umbrage; she perceived that this regeneration might one day bring back upon herself the evil which she had prepared for Islamism. From that moment she resolved to



allow no relaxation to Mussulmans. Russia, England, and France, agreed together to establish by force that liberty which we have already described above.

"For a year past, those three powers have simultaneously demanded the liberty of Greece, through the medium of their ambassadors, officially and openly, as a plain matter of concession. To this demand, the Sublime Porte could not, according to law, reason, policy, or religion, subscribe. The Mussulman nation heard it with indignation; and it was quite impossible that it should ever be conceded. The Ottoman government endeavoured to make them renounce their pretensions by all kinds of arguments and replies; but its language produced no effect upon them. Proud of their force, they obstinately and rigidly insisted on the acceptance of their demand, and concluded by sending their fleets into the Mediterranean. They openly prevented the Ottoman and Egyptian squadrons, destined to punish the rebels, from attacking the islands. These two squadrons having entered the port of Navarino, were there tranquilly waiting the orders of the Sublime Porte, when the Russian, English, and French fleets, which unexpectedly entered the same port as friends, began to fire all three together, and all the world knows the catastrophe which resulted therefrom to the Imperial squadron.

"The three powers having thus openly broken the treaties, and declared war, the Sublime Porte was fully entitled to make reprisals, and, in the first place, to deal differently from what it did with the ambassadors, their countrymen, and the ships which were here, but the ministers of the three

courts having sought to justify their governments by declaring, that it was the commanders of the Imperial fleet who had given occasion to the battle, the Sublime Porte, having regard to circumstances, still preserved silence, employing policy for a last effort; at the same time desiring the three ambassadors to desist from their interference in the affairs of Greece. Deaf to the voice of equity, those infidels never ceased from requiring that their demand, such as it was, relative to the liberty of Greece, should be admitted; they might even be said to have become more urgent in their demand; lastly, the hostile views of the Franks against Islamism were openly disclosed. Nevertheless, with the design of gaining time, at least till the summer approached, every possible management was resorted to in the conferences and communications which took place some weeks ago. It was notified in various answers to the ambassadors, that as soon as the Greeks should ask pardon, their faults should be wholly forgotten; that their property, their persons, their estates, should be untouched; that they would be excused the payment of the capitation and the other tributes which they owed since the revolution; that there would be no question of other tributes, but that besides, for the gratification of the three powers, they should be exempt from tribute during one year; in a word, that all the privileges which the quality of Rayas allowed of should be accorded them, but that nothing beyond that limit could be conceded.

"In the course of the conferences, the Sublime Porte earnestly entreated the ambassadors to trans-

mit to their courts these amicable declarations and sincere explications, promising at the same time that the armistice demanded by them should be observed until the reception of the answers. This request had no other effect but to increase their pride and their pretensions. Finally, they declared that they would not consent to any thing less than the according the privileges which were the subject of the conferences, to the Greeks living in what was ancient Greece—that is to say, the Morea, Attica, and the isles of the Archipelago—and they announced their intention of departing all three together.

“Affairs had arrived at this point. If now (which God forbid!) after having seen such conduct and a similar situation of things, we had found it necessary to beat a retreat and yield the point in question—that is to say, the independence of Greece—the contagion would soon have spread through all the Greeks established in Romelia and Anatolia, without the possibility of a stop being put to the evil. They would then all claim the same independence—would renounce their duties as Rayas; and triumphing in the course of one or two years over the generous Mussulman nation, would one day finish by suddenly giving us the law, and, (heaven avert the misfortune!) the evident result would be the ruin of our religion and our empire. Whilst, thanks to God! the numerous provinces of Europe and Asia are filled with an immense Mussulman population, will the holy book and the law permit us, for fear of war, to suffer our religion to be trodden under foot, to deliver ourselves up, that our country, our children, our goods, and our possessions, may be

transferred by infidels from hand to hand?

“Although in the beginning the whole world was in the power of the infidels, nevertheless, on the promulgation of the true religion, God assisting the faithful, the Mussulmans, our brethren, who have appeared and disappeared since the happy time of our great Prophet up to the present day, have never in any war, owing to their sincere devotion and unshaken courage, taken into consideration the numbers of the infidels. Heartily united in defence of religion, how often have they put millions of infidels to the sword? How many states and provinces have they not thus conquered, sword in hand! Wherever we unite like them, and confront the battle for the glory of God, the Most High will enlighten us with his inspirations, and our holy legislator will cover with his tutelary shield; his absent companions will serve us for guides; and no doubt under their auspices we shall gain brilliant victories.

“If the three powers, seeing that we are determined, as in times past, to reject their vain demands, should yield to our answers and explanations, and desist from the Greek affair, good and well. If, on the contrary, they should persist in wishing to compel us by force to admit their demands, even though they should—illustrating the saying ‘all infidels are but one nation’—all league against us, we will recommend ourselves to God, place ourselves under the protection of our holy Prophet, and, united in defence of religion and the empire, all the Vizirs, the Ulemas, the Rajas, perhaps even all Mussulmen, will form only one corps.

“This is not like former contests, a political war for provinces

and frontiers; the object of the Infidels being to annihilate Islamism, and to tread the Mahometan nation under foot. This war must be considered purely a religious and national war. Let all the faithful, rich or poor, great or little, know, that to fight is a duty with us; let them, then, refrain from thinking of their arrears, or of pay of any kind; far from such considerations, let us sacrifice our property and our persons—let us execute zealously the duties which the honour of Islamism imposes on us—let us unite our efforts, and labour, body and soul, for the support of religion until the day of judgment. Mussulmans have no other means of working out salvation in this world and the next.

“We hope that the Most High will deign to confound and scatter every where the infidels, who are enemies of our religion and our empire; and that in all times, in all places, and in all circumstances, he will grant victory and triumph to the Faithful. Our real position being thus known to all Mussulmans, can it be supposed, that inasmuch as they possess faith and piety, they will fail to recognize their duty, that they will fail to unite heart and soul for the maintenance of our holy religion and our country, as well as for their own welfare in this world and in that which is to come?—that they will not readily perform with bravery and zeal the various services in war, and fulfil punctually the duties which our holy law imposes on us? Help comes from God!”

We subjoin the grand vizier's letter to count Nesselrode, and the answer written by the latter by the emperor's order. The first of  
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these documents show how the Porte gave out the assurance of its pacific intentions at the moment when it published the hattî-scheriff of the 20th of December; and the second, how Russia, though affecting to be forced to declare war against the Porte, held out the hopes of shortening its duration, by a speedy restoration of peace.

“LETTER from the GRAND VIZIER to COUNT NESSELRODE, 23rd of Djenazin Ceval, 1243, November 30, (Dec. 12, 1827.)

“Our very illustrious and very kind friend, while we express our wishes for the preservation of your health and the continuance of your friendly sentiments, we remark, that in consequence of the convention of Akerman, happily concluded between the Sublime Porte and the Russian court, by which the relations of reciprocal friendship are still greater confirmed, the very illustrious Ribeaupierre, who had come to Constantinople as Extraordinary Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Imperial Court, has, in the usual form, delivered the letters of his majesty the emperor to the sultan, and his credentials to the grand vizier, and was received on the occasion with all the distinctions and honours due to the friendly and pacific intentions of both parties. Together with the fulfilment of these formalities, care was taken to direct in a suitable manner, all affairs relative to the discussion of the treaties concluded, and to regulate various other matters. Meantime, certain injurious proposals, contrary to the treaties, were pressed upon the Sublime Porte, with respect to which the Russian government has made known, in repeated communications and conferences,

its frank and sincere answers, founded on truth and justice. Lastly, it has repeatedly requested and urged the said minister to announce to the Imperial court the motives of urgent necessity, and the real causes of excuse which guided it, and to wait for the equitable answer that would be returned: but that minister, contrary to all expectation, without regard to the rights of governments and the duty of a representative, has refused to pay reasonable attention to the motives alleged by the Sublime Porte, and, while he prepared to leave Constantinople, asked permission so to do without a motive. Yet it is certain that, as the coming and the residence of the representatives of friendly powers has no object but the maintenance and execution of the existing treaties, it is acting contrary to the law of nations to desire to leave the place of residence, entering into such discussions unconnected with the treaties.

"On this consideration, the said minister was at length informed, that if he were authorized by his court to leave Constantinople in this manner, he had to deliver to the Sublime Porte only a note, containing the motive assigned him, and serving as a proof that by this formality the rights of both parties might be regarded; but he refused this also, so that the nature of his proposal was not free from doubt. The Porte, then, seeing itself obliged to take a middle course between giving its permission and refusing it, the ambassador has in this manner left Constantinople of himself: the present friendly letter has been composed and sent to acquaint your excellency with this circumstance. When you shall learn, on receipt of it, that the

Sublime Porte has at all times no other desire or wish than to preserve peace and good understanding, and that the event in question has been brought about entirely by the act of the said minister, we hope that you will endeavour, on every occasion, to fulfil the duties of friendship."

"LETTER from the Vice-Chancellor, COUNT NESSELRÖDE, to the GRAND VIZIER.

"Very Illustrious Grand Vizier. —I have received the letter which your excellency did me the honour to write to me on the 12th of December, 1827, and laid it before the emperor. Had not my august master thought fit to delay the answer to it, and to leave the Sublime Porte time to change its deplorable resolutions, I should have received orders to reply to your excellency on the very day that I received your letter, that the Ottoman ministry was greatly mistaken if it believed that the conduct of the Russian ambassador at Constantinople was not entirely approved by his imperial majesty. The Sublime Porte could not be ignorant that M. de Ribeaupierre had not ceased to act in the affairs of Greece according to the express commands of his sovereign, as it had before it the obligations which must guide in this respect all the measures of the three Courts; and the Russian ambassador had officially declared that he was the organ of all the views and wishes of the emperor. As little could the Porte deceive itself with regard to the real motives of the proposals made to it for the pacification of Greece, as it was proved to it that according to their tendency the peace which was indispensable for the security of commerce and the repose of

Europe, would be established in those countries upon foundations which, far from affecting the integrity of the Ottoman empire, and merely altering the form of its old rights, would have afforded it great political advantages, means for promoting its internal prosperity, and pecuniary indemnities for the by no means burthensome concessions which it would make. After the Russian ambassador had fully developed those important considerations in all his conferences with the Turkish minister, and in all his official and confidential notes, he was not bound to allege them again in another official note, which was required of him without cause and without object. He was besides acquainted with the resolutions and sentiments of the emperor, and the constant refusals of the Porte. He could not, therefore, agree to wait in the present case for instructions which he must consider as wholly superfluous. In the situation in which the Porte itself had placed him, he had no alternative left but to maintain the dignity of his Court by leaving Constantinople: at the same time giving the Sublime Porte a salutary hint, and leaving it time, by the removal of pernicious and passionate councils, to reflect on the dangers that surrounded it. The emperor sees with grief that the Porte, instead of duly appreciating this truly friendly policy, replies to it by actions which makes its treaties with Russia null and void; that it has violated their principal conditions, impeded the trade of the Black Sea, and at the same time attacked his majesty's subjects; and lastly, has announced to all Mussulmen its resolution to return evil for good, war for peace, and never to fulfil solemn conventions.

After so many hostile measures, continued, notwithstanding the representations and the endeavours of the Courts allied and in amity with Russia, your excellency will not be surprised to learn that I am ordered to reply to your letter of the 12th of December, by the annexed declaration, which will be immediately followed by the march of the Russian troops, which the emperor orders to enter the dominions of the Sultan to obtain satisfaction for his just complaints.

"The more sincere the sorrow of my august master at the necessity of being obliged to have recourse to force, the more agreeable would it be to him to shorten its duration; and if Plenipotentiaries from the Sultan present themselves at the head-quarters of the Commander-in-chief of the Russian army, they will meet with the best reception: that is to say, if the Porte sends them with the sincere intention of renewing and restoring the conventions that subsisted between the two empires, to accede to the terms of the Treaty agreed upon on the 6th of July, 1827, between Russia, England, and France, to provide for ever against the recurrence of such acts as those which have given the emperor just grounds for war, and to make good the losses caused by the measures of the Ottoman government, as well as the expenses of the war, which will be increased in proportion to the duration of the hostilities. The emperor will not, indeed, be able to stop the progress of the military operations during the negotiations to be opened for this purpose, but he feels convinced that with his moderate views they will speedily lead to the conclusion of a durable peace, which is the object of his

most ardent wishes. I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed)

Count NESSELRODE."

"St. Petersburg, 14th (26th) April."—From the *Supplement to the Prussian State Gazette* of April 6.

#### RUSSIAN DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST TURKEY.

*"Manifesto of his Majesty the Emperor.*

"By the Grace of God, we, Nicholas I. Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, &c. &c. &c.

"The Treaty of Bucharest, concluded in the year 1812, with the Ottoman Porte, after having been for sixteen years the subject of reiterated disputes, now no longer exists, in spite of all our exertions to maintain it, and to preserve it from all attacks. The Porte, not satisfied with having destroyed the basis of that Treaty, now defies Russia, and prepares to wage against her a *bellum ad internecionem*—it summons its people in a mass to arms—accuses Russia of being its irreconcilable enemy, and tramples under foot the convention of Akerman, and with that all preceding treaties. Lastly, the Porte does not hesitate to declare, that it accepted the conditions of this peace only as a mask to conceal its intentions and its preparations for a new war. Scarcely is this remarkable confession made, when the rights of the Russian flag are violated, the vessels which it covers are detained, and the cargoes made the prey of a rapacious and arbitrary government. Our subjects found themselves compelled to break their oath or leave without delay

a hostile country: the Bosphorus is closed, our trade annihilated. Our southern provinces, deprived of the only channel for the exportation of their produce, are threatened with incalculable injury. Nay, more: at the moment when the negotiations between Russia and Persia are nearly concluded, a sudden change on the part of the Persian government checks the course of them. It soon appears that the Ottoman Porte exerts herself to make Persia waver by promising powerful aid, arming in haste the troops in the adjoining provinces, and preparing to support, by a threatening attack, this treacherous, hostile, language. This is the series of injuries of which Turkey has been guilty from the conclusion of the Treaty of Akerman up to this day; and this is, unhappily, the fruit of the sacrifices and the generous exertions by which Russia has incessantly endeavoured to maintain peace with a neighbouring nation. But all patience has its limits; the honour of the Russian name—the dignity of the empire—the inviolability of our rights, and that of our national glory—have prescribed to us the bounds of it.

"It is not till after having weighed in their fullest extent the duties imposed on us by imperative necessity, and inspired with the

greatest confidence in the justice of our cause, that we have ordered an army to advance, under the Divine protection, against an enemy who violates the most sacred obligations of the law of nations.

"We are convinced that our faithful subjects will join with our prayers, the most ardent wishes for the success of our enterprise, and that they will implore the Almighty to lend his support to our brave soldiers, and to shed his Divine blessing on our armies, which are destined to defend our liberty, religion, and our beloved country.

"Given at St. Petersburg, the 14th (26th) of April, in the year of our Lord 1828, and the third year of our reign,

(Signed) NICHOLAS.  
(Counter-signed)

The Vice Chancellor  
Count NESSELRODE."

*"Declaration.*

"All the wishes of Russia to remain at peace with a neighbouring nation have proved vain. Notwithstanding her great patience and the most costly sacrifices, she has been obliged to confide to arms the defence of her rights in the Levant, and energetically to impress on the Ottoman Porte respect for existing treaties. It will, however, develop the imperative and just motives which impose on her the melancholy necessity of such a resolution. Sixteen years have passed since the peace of Bucharest, and for the same period we have seen the Porte act contrary to the stipulations of the treaty, evade its promises, or indefinitely delay the fulfilment of them. But too many proofs which the Imperial cabinet will adduce,

irrefragably proves this infatuated hostile tendency of the policy of the Divan. On more than one occasion, particularly in 1821, the Porte assumed, with respect to Russia, a character of defiance and open hostility. For these three months past, it has again assumed this character, by formal acts and measures which are known to all Europe.

"On the same day that the ambassadors of the three Powers, who, by a convention free from all self-interestedness, are united in a cause which is no other than that of religion, and of suffering humanity, expressed, at their departure from Constantinople, an ardent wish that peace might be preserved—on the same day, when they pointed out the easy means of attaining that object, and when the Porte in the same manner most positively expressed its pacific dispositions, on that same day it summoned all nations professing the Mahometan faith, to arms against Russia, denouncing her as the implacable enemy of Islamism, accusing her of a design to overthrow the Ottoman empire; and while it announces its resolution to negotiate for the sole purpose of gaining time for arming, but never intending to fulfil the essential articles of the treaty of Akerman, it declares, at the same time, that it concluded that treaty with no other design than that of breaking it. The Porte knew well that in this manner it also broke all preceding treaties, the renewal of which was expressly stipulated by that of Akerman; but it had already taken its resolutions beforehand, and regulated all its steps accordingly.

"Scarcely had the Sultan spo-

ken with the vassals of his Crown, when the privileges of the Russian flag were already violated, the ships covered by it detained, their cargoes sequestered, the commanders of the ships obliged to dispose of them at prices arbitrarily fixed, the amount of an incomplete and tardy payment reduced to one half, and the subjects of his majesty the emperor compelled either to descend into the class of Rayas or to leave in a body the dominions of the Ottoman government. Meanwhile the Bosphorus is closed, the trade of the Black Sea hindered, the Russian towns, whose existence depends upon it, see destruction before their eyes, and the southern provinces of his majesty the emperor lose the only channel for the exportation of their produce, and the only maritime connexion which can promote the exchange of their commodities, render their industry productive, and favour their manufactures and prosperity. Even the boundaries of Turkey did not limit the expression of these hostile sentiments. At the same time that they were expressed at Constantinople, General Paskewitsch, after the conclusion of a glorious campaign, was negotiating a treaty of peace with Persia, the conditions of which were already accepted by the Court of Teheran. On a sudden, lukewarmness succeeded to the eagerness which had hitherto been shown for the conclusion of a convention which was already approved by both parties in all its particulars. These delays were followed by difficulties, and then by an evidently hostile tendency; and while on the one hand the conduct of the neighbouring parties who hastily arrived manifested this tendency, on the other hand

authentic information, and positive confessions, revealed the secret of the promise of a diversion which was to oblige us to make new efforts.

"Thus the Turkish government in its proclamation announced its intention of breaking its treaties with Russia, while it annihilated them by its actions; thus it announced war for a remote future time, when it had already begun it in fact against the subjects and the commerce of Russia. Where war was just extinguished, it tried to rekindle it. Russia will no longer dwell on the motives which entitle her not to bear such evidently hostile actions. If a State could renounce its dearest interests, sacrifice its honour, and give up the transactions which are the monuments of its glory and the pledges of its prosperity, it would be a traitor to itself, and by disregarding its rights become guilty of disregarding its duties.

"Such rights and such duties appear in a stronger light when they follow the most evident moderation, and the most irrefragable proofs of pacific intentions. The sacrifices which Russia, ever since the memorable epoch which overthrew at the same time military despotism and the spirit of revolution, has imposed on itself, with a view to secure to the world a durable peace,—these sacrifices, equally voluntary and numerous, inspired by the most liberal policy, are known to the world: the history of late years testifies them, and even Turkey, though little disposed duly to appreciate them, and in no wise entitled to pretend to them, has felt their favourable effects: yet it has not ceased to overlook the advantages of its stipulations with the cabinet of



St. Petersburg of the fundamental treaties of Kainardje, Jassy, and Bucharest, which, while they place the existence of the Porte, and the integrity of its frontiers, under the protection of the law of nations, must naturally have an influence on the duration of the empire. Scarcely was the peace of 1812 signed, when it thought that the difficult but eventful circumstances in which Russia then was, might be used with impunity to redouble the violations of its engagements. An amnesty was promised to the Servians; instead of that, an invasion took place, and a dreadful massacre. The privileges of Moldavia and Wallachia were guaranteed, but a system of plunder completed the ruin of those unhappy provinces. The incursions of the tribes which inhabit the left bank of the Kuban were to be prevented by the care of the Porte; but Turkey, not contented with raising pretensions to several fortresses absolutely necessary for the security of our Asiatic possessions—pretensions, the weakness of which it had itself recognized by the convention of Akerman, made them still weaker by favouring, on the coasts of the Black Sea, and even in our vicinity, the slave trade, pillage, and disorders of all kinds.

“Nay, more: then, as now, ships bearing the Russian flag were detained in the Bosphorus, their cargoes sequestered, and the stipulations of the commercial treaty of 1783 openly violated. This took place at the very moment when the purest glory and victory in a sacred cause crowned the arms of his majesty the emperor Alexander, of immortal memory. Nothing hindered him

from turning his arms against the Ottoman empire. But that monarch, a pacific conqueror, superior to every feeling of enmity, avoided even the justest occasion to punish the insults offered him, and would not again interrupt the peace restored to Europe by generous exertions, and with noble intentions, immediately after it had been consolidated. His situation offered him immense advantages: he renounced them to commence, in 1816, negotiations with the Turkish Government, founded on the principle and the wish to obtain, by amicable arrangement, securities for peace, and a faithful adherence to existing treaties, as well as for the maintenance of reciprocal pacific relations,—securities which the emperor's hand might have extorted from the Porte, which was not able to resist him. Such great moderation was not, however, duly appreciated. For five years together, the Divan was unmoved by the conciliatory overtures of the emperor Alexander, and endeavoured to tire out his patience—to dispute his rights—to call in question his good intentions—to defy the superiority of Russia, which saw herself bound solely by the wish of preserving the general peace, and to try her patience to the utmost.

“And yet a war with Turkey would not in any way have embarrassed the relations of Russia with her other allies. No convention containing a guarantee,—no positive obligation,—connected the fate of the Ottoman empire with the conciliatory stipulations of 1814 and 1815, under the protection of which civilized and christian Europe reposed after its long dissensions, and the governments found themselves

united by the recollections of common glory, and a happy coincidence in principles and views. After five years' well-meant endeavours, supported by the representatives of Russia, and equally long evasions and delays on the part of the Porte—after several points of the negotiation relative to the execution of the treaty of Bucharest seemed to be already settled—a general insurrection in the Morea, and the hostile invasion of the chief of a party, unfaithful to his duty, excited in the Turkish Government and nation, all the emotions of blind hatred against the christians in it, without distinction between the guilty and the innocent. Russia did not hesitate a moment to testify its just disapprobation of the enterprise of Prince Ypsilanti. As protector of the principalities, it approved of the legal measures of defence and suppression adopted by the Divan, at the same time insisting on the necessity of not confounding the innocent part of the population with the seditious, who were to be disarmed and punished. These counsels were rejected, the representative of his Imperial Majesty was insulted in his own residence, the chief Greek Clergy, with the Patriarch at their head, were subjected to an infamous capital punishment, amidst the solemnities of our holy religion. All the christians, without any distinction, were seized, plundered, and massacred without trial; the remainder fled. The flame of insurrection, far from abating, spread meantime on every side. In vain did the Russian ambassador endeavour to render the Porte a last service. In vain did he show, by his note of the 6th of July, 1827, a way to safety

and to reconciliation. After he had protested against the crimes and ebullitions of rage, unparalleled in history, he found himself obliged to obey the commands of his sovereign, and to leave Constantinople. About this time it happened that the powers allied with Russia, whose interests equally required the maintenance of general peace, were eager to offer and to employ their services for the purpose of dispelling the storm which threatened to burst over the infatuated Turkish government. Russia, on her part, delayed the remedy of her own just grievances, in the hope that it should be able to conciliate what it owed to itself, with the moderation that the situation of Europe, and its tranquillity, at that time more than ever endangered, seemed to require. Great as these sacrifices were, they were fruitless. All the efforts of the emperor's allies were successively baffled by the obstinacy of the Porte, which, perhaps, equally in error with respect to the motives of our conduct, and the extent of its own resources, persisted in the execution of a plan for the destruction of all the christians subject to its power. The war with the Greeks was prosecuted with increased acrimony in spite of the mediation, the object of which then was, the pacification of Greece. The situation of the Divan, notwithstanding the exemplary fidelity of the Servians, became, from day to day, more hostile towards them; and the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia was protracted, notwithstanding the solemn promises made to the representatives of Great Britain, and even notwithstanding the manifest willingness of Russia, as soon as those promises

were given, to restore its former relations with the Porte. So many hostile measures could not fail in the end to exhaust the patience of the emperor Alexander. In the month of October, 1825, he caused an energetic protest to be presented to the Ottoman ministry; and when a premature death snatched him away from the love of his people, he had just made the declaration that he would regulate the relations with Turkey according to the rights and the interests of his empire.

"A new reign began, and furnished a farther proof of that love of peace which the former government had left as a fair inheritance. Scarcely had the emperor Nicholas ascended the throne, when he commenced negotiations with the Porte to settle various differences which concerned only Russia; and on the 23rd of March and 4th of April, 1826, laid down, in common with his majesty the king of Great Britain, the basis of a mediation which the general good peremptorily called for. The ardent wish to avoid extreme measures guarded his conduct. As his imperial majesty promised himself, from the union of the great courts, a more easy and speedy termination of the war which desolates the East, he renounced on the one hand the employment of every partial influence, and banished every idea of exclusive measures in this important cause. On the other hand, he endeavoured, by direct negotiations with the Divan, to remove a farther impediment to the reconciliation of the Turks and the Greeks.

"Under such auspices the conferences at Akermann were opened. The result of them was the conclusion of an additional conven-

tion to the treaty of Bucharest, the terms of which bear the stamp of that deliberate moderation which, subjecting every demand to the immediate principles of strict justice, calculates neither the advantages of situation nor the superiority of strength, nor the facility of success. The sending of a permanent mission to Constantinople soon followed this concession, on which the Porte could not sufficiently congratulate itself; and the treaty of the 6th of July, 1827, soon confirmed, in the face of the world, the disinterested principles proclaimed by the protocol of the 4th of April.

"While this convention duly recognized the rights and the wishes of an unhappy people, it was to conciliate them by an equitable combination with the integrity, the repose, and the true interests of the Ottoman empire. The most amicable means were tried to induce the Porte to accept this beneficent convention; urgent entreaties called on it to put an end to the shedding of blood.

"Confidential overtures, which unfolded to it all the plans of the three courts, informed it at the same time, that, in case of refusal, the united fleets of the three courts would be obliged to put an end to a contest which was no longer compatible with the security of the seas, the necessities of commerce, and the civilization of the rest of Europe.

"The Porte did not take the least notice of these hints. A commander of the Ottoman troops had scarcely concluded a provisional armistice, when he broke the word he had given, and led, at length, to the employment of force: the battle of Navarin ensued. This was the necessary result of evident

breach of faith, and open attack. This battle itself gave Russia and its allies another opportunity to express to the Divan its wishes for the maintenance of the general peace, and to urge it to consolidate this peace—to extend it to the whole of the Levant, and to establish it on conditions which the Ottoman empire should add to the reciprocal guarantees attending them, and which, by reasonable concessions, would gain for it the benefits of perfect security.

"This is the system—these are the acts—to which the Porte replied by its manifesto of the 20th of December, and by measures which are only so many breaches of the treaties with Russia—so many violations of its rights—so many violent attacks on its commercial prosperity—so many proofs of a desire to bring upon it fresh embarrassments and enemies.

"Russia, now placed in a situation in which her honour and her interests will not suffer her any longer to remain, declares war against the Ottoman Porte, not without regret, after having, however, for sixteen years together, neglected nothing to spare it the evils which will accompany it. The causes of this war sufficiently indicate the objects of it. Brought on by Turkey, it will impose upon it the burden of making good all the expenses caused by it, and the losses sustained by the subjects of his Imperial Majesty. Undertaken for the purpose of enforcing the treaties which the Porte considers as no longer existing, it will aim at securing their observance and efficacy. Induced by the imperative necessity of securing for the future inviolable liberty to the commerce of the Black Sea and the navigation of the Bosphorus, it will be

directed to this object, which is equally advantageous to all the European states.

"While Russia has recourse to arms, she thinks that far from having indulged in hatred to the Ottoman power, or of having contemplated its overthrow, according to the accusation of the Divan, she has given a convincing proof that if she had designed to combat it to the utmost or to overturn it, she would have seized all the opportunities for war which her relations with the Porte have incessantly presented.

"Russia, nevertheless, is very far from entertaining ambitious plans; countries and nations enough already obey her laws; cares enough are already united with the extent of her dominions.

"Lastly, Russia, though at war with the Porte, for reasons which are independent of the convention of the 6th of July, has not departed, and will not depart, from the stipulations of that act. It did not, and could not, condemn Russia to sacrifice her earlier important rights, to endure decided affronts, and to demand no indemnity for the most sensible injuries. But the duties which it imposed upon her, and the principles on which it is founded, will be fulfilled with scrupulous fidelity, and strictly observed. The allies will find Russia always ready to act in concert with them in the execution of the treaty of London, always zealous to co-operate in a work which is recommended to its care by religion, and all the feelings which do honour to humanity, always inclined to make use of its situation only for the speedy fulfilment of the treaty of the 6th of July, not to make any change in its nature and its effects.

"The emperor will not lay down

his arms till he has obtained the results stated in this declaration ; and he expects them from the benediction of him to whom justice, and a pure conscience, have never yet appealed in vain.

"Given at St. Petersburg, 14th (26th) April, 1828."

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ANSWER of the PORTE to the RUSSIAN MANIFESTO.

"Men of sound judgment and upright minds know, and reflection united with experience clearly proves, that the principal means of preserving order in the world and the repose of nations, consists in the good understanding between sovereigns, to whom the Supreme Master, in the plenitude of his mercy, has intrusted, as servants of God, with absolute and unlimited power, the reins of government, and the administration of the affairs of their subjects. It results from this principle that the solid existence and maintenance of this order of things essentially depend upon an equal and reciprocal observation of the obligations established between sovereigns, which ought, therefore, to be respected in common, and scrupulously executed.

"God, all powerful, be praised for this, that the Sublime Porte has, since the commencement of her political existence, observed those salutary principles more than any other power ; and, as the confidence of the Porte is founded on the precepts of the pure and sacred law, and of the religion which Mussulmans observe in peace as well as war, and having never consulted any thing but the law, even in the slightest circumstances, she has never deviated from the maxims of equity and justice, and, as is generally known, has never been placed in the situation of compromising her dignity by infringing, without any legitimate motive, treaties concluded with friendly powers.

"It is equally well known to the whole world, and incontestible, that, with regard to the treaties, conventions, and stipulations, for peace and friendship, concluded under diplomatic forms with Russia, as a neighbouring power, the Porte has constantly exercised the greatest care in respecting the duties and rights of good neighbourhood, and in availing herself of all proper means for consolidating the bonds of friendship between the two nations.

"The court of Russia has, however, without any motive, disturbed the existing peace,—has declared war, and invaded the territory of the Sublime Porte. Russia alleges that the Sublime Porte has caused this war, and has published a manifesto, in which she accuses the Porte of not having executed the conditions of the treaties of Bucharest and Akerman,—of having punished and ruined the Servians after having promised them pardon and amnesty,—of having demanded fortresses in Asia which were essentially necessary to Russia,—of having, without regard to the two provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, punished with death the most distinguished men of Greece,—with having, while publicly declaring that Russia is a natural enemy of the Mussulman nation, endeavoured to provoke to vengeance, and direct against her, the bravery of all the Mussulman people,—of having signed the

treaty of Akerman with mental reservation, seized the cargoes of Russian ships, and instigated the court of Persia to make war upon Russia; and, finally, it is made a subject of complaint, that the pachas of the Porte were making warlike preparations. It is these, and other charges of the same nature, that Russia has brought forward, a series of vain inculpations, destitute of all real foundation. It will be proper to make each the subject of a reply, founded on equity and justice, as well as on the real state of the facts.

“ Though Russia has published that these are the principal motives for the declaration of war, it is, however, generally known, that the war which terminated with the treaty of Bucharest was commenced by herself. In fact, before that war, the Porte had, on just and legitimate grounds, dismissed the Waivodes of Wallachia and Moldavia, and Russia then pretended that these dismissals were contrary to treaties; and though the Sublime Porte represented in an amicable manner things under the real aspect, Russia refused to listen to the reasons advanced; and as she continued to insist in her pretensions, the Sublime Porte, with the sole view of preserving peace, and of maintaining the relations of friendship, did not hesitate to restore the dismissed Waivodes, without paying attention to the consequences of such a condescension. But while Russia declared herself fully satisfied, and under the ministry of Gahib Pacha, then Reis Effendi, officially notified, through the first interpreter, counsellor Fonton, that the differences and difficulties existing on that account, between the two courts, were completely removed, she im-

mediately and unexpectedly, made an attack on the side of Chotien and Bender. According to the regular course, the Sublime Porte demanded explanations from the Russian ambassador, who tried to deceive, and formally disavowed what had taken place, adding that Russia was in a state of peace and friendship with the Sublime Porte; that if war had been intended, the ambassador must necessarily have known it; and that it could only be supposed that the Russian troops had some motive for advancing.

“ When the fact was finally proved, the Sublime Porte was under the necessity of resisting; but having a natural repugnance to war and the shedding of blood, she imposed on herself a sacrifice, and signed the treaty of Bucharest. Russia did not respect the treaty. Among other infractions, instead of evacuating the Asiatic frontier, according to the basis and the tenor of the treaty, she unjustly annulled that article, and regarded with indifference all the well-founded remonstrances of the Sublime Porte. Finally, the Russian plenipotentiaries at Akerman, having altered and misinterpreted the pure sense of the treaty, and being no longer able to answer the convincing arguments of the Turkish plenipotentiaries, declared that a long space of time having elapsed since the article in question had been executed, the fortress claimed could not be given up. To such language the Turkish plenipotentiaries might well have replied, that if the non-execution, in due time and place, of articles officially stipulated, warranted a total renunciation, the other articles, the more or less prompt fulfilment of which was demanded of the Sublime Porte, might also remain *in statu quo*. But

their instructions did not authorize them to hold a language so foreign to the treaties, and so contrary to the law of nations. And their mission restricting them to the consolidation of the bonds of peace, they acceded. Nevertheless the Russian declaration represents this demand of evacuation as having had no foundation in fact; and by pretending that we had already renounced it, evidently deviates from the path of truth.

"It was agreed that the Russian tariff should be renewed every two years, and the other friendly powers have renewed their tariffs according to agreement. The tariff of Russia, however, has undergone no change for twenty-seven years. Since the expiration of the term, the renewal has oft times been proposed to the Russian envoys and *chargés d'affaires* at Constantinople, but the application was always made in vain: Russia refused to do justice to the well-founded demands of the Sublime Porte. The conduct of Russia, as well in words as in actions, in these two affairs of the evacuation and the tariff, showing so strikingly to what degree she respects treaties and the principles of equity, how can she attribute to the Sublime Porte their violation? and how can such an imputation ever be admitted?

"The imperial amnesty promised to the Servians for the part they took in the war with Russia was fully granted after the peace; and as a consequence of the natural clemency of his serene highness, particular concessions assured to them their welfare and their repose. The same nation afterwards disregarded the authority of the Sublime Porte, and dared to revolt separately and by itself. As the Servians are the subjects of the

Sublime Porte, and as the Ottoman government is entitled to treat them according to their conduct, either by punishing or pardoning, the merited chastisement was inflicted, and happiness restored to the country, without the slightest injury to Russia, or infringement of the treaty of Bucharest. This affair of Servia, as well as other like points, distinct from treaties, and even some events of smaller importance, which ought to be classed under natural accidents, always served as motives of complaints on the part of Russia, and she never renounced her embarrassing proceedings. However, the Sublime Porte continued to regard her as a pacific friend, to pay attention to all affairs which could have possibly any analogy with the treaties concluded between the two states, and to observe scrupulously the rules of good understanding.

"Some time before the Greek insurrection, the Russian envoy, baron Strogonoff, pretending that the Sublime Porte had not executed certain stipulations, insisted in a demand for conferences relative to the treaty of Bucharest. Positive answers and conclusive conversations made known to him at different times, that as the articles had already been executed, or being effectively and entirely carrying into execution by the Sublime Porte, while, on the contrary, Russia had yet to prove her amicable fidelity by fulfilling stipulations the accomplishment of which had been deferred on her part, there was of course no occasion for the required conferences. However, as he persisted in exceeding the orders of his court, the opening of the conferences was at last conceded, but on the express condition of not introducing such

objects as might tend to extend the meaning of treaties, or change the tenor of conventions. In the course of the conferences the Russian minister did not fail to raise more than one unreasonable discussion. However, the articles of the above-mentioned treaty were in the course of being examined, one by one, when the Greek insurrection broke out, and it is notorious that the obstacles occasioned by that event were calculated to retard the labour in question.

"The fugitive Ypsilanti then issued from Russia to invade publicly and unexpectedly Moldavia, at the head of a troop of rebels. He spread trouble and disorder through the two principalities. Animated by the chimerical desire of establishing a pretended government for Greece, he excited to revolt the whole of the Greek people, who are tributary subjects to the Ottoman empire from father to son, misled them by his accursed proclamations circulated everywhere, and instigated them to disown the authority of the Sublime Porte.

"Every power being authorized to arrest and punish malefactors within its own territories, and to manage all internal affairs tending to the maintenance of good order, as soon as the flame of rebellion was lit up on every side, the Sublime Porte resorted to suitable measures, sent troops against the rebels to restore tranquillity, crush rebellion, and purge the country, and labour to restore the privileges of the provinces, being far from wishing to annihilate them by the destruction of the malefactors. It is evident that no person whatever had any right to object to these and other measures which the Sublime Porte was obliged to adopt, and which in such a conjuncture could not be

delayed. Nevertheless, the Russian envoy invented divers objections, and originated several unreasonable differences, by discourses and proceedings little becoming the agent of a powerful friend, in the midst of affairs so important which then occupied the attention of the Sublime Porte.

"Some time after, Ypsilanti, being routed, returned to Russia, and the Hospodar of Moldavia, Michael Suto, having also taken refuge there with all his partisans, the Sublime Porte demanded, in the terms of treaties, that these persons shall be delivered up or punished where they were. Though between allied powers, there can be no greater humanity than fidelity to treaties, Russia merely gave a vague answer inconsistent with all diplomatic rules, saying that humanity opposed their delivery. She thus violated and annihilated existing treaties and rights, to protect, and perhaps pay particular attention to, these individuals.

"The remains of the rebels were still in the two principalities, and the refugees were protected by Russia. The flame of the insurrection was increasing daily, when Russia demanded the evacuation of the two principalities by the Ottoman troops, the nomination of the Hospodars, and the modification of indispensable measures, in which circumstances permitted no change to be made. At the period when the principal persons among the Greeks and the insane leaders of the insurrection received the chastisement due to their proved crimes, very improper pretensions were put forward in their favour by Russia. Not the slightest wish was shown to yield an equitable ear to the just answers and ani-



cable declarations which the Sublime Porte opposed to these pretensions, both verbally and by writing. Finally, the Russian envoy left Constantinople in a manner contrary to the duties of an ambassador. The Grand Vizier immediately wrote to the Russian prime minister, and explained the whole truth to him. He represented in detail, that the system adopted and adhered to at all times by the Sublime Porte consisted in the pure intention of literally executing the treaties concluded with friendly powers, more particularly with Russia, her friend and neighbour, and in constantly attending to the means of maintaining good understanding and securing tranquillity. Contrary to our hope, the answer which we received was remote from the path of justice and truth.

"As soon as the two principalities were purged of the rebels which had defiled them, the Hospodars were appointed, the ancient privileges completely restored, and these two provinces re-established on their former footing. Lord Strangford, the English ambassador, on his return from the congress of Verona, having in the course of his conversations on the existing circumstances, first observed the moderate conduct of the Porte to be free from all objection, declared officially and publicly at different times, and in full conference, that if the Sublime Porte would also consent to reduce the number of the *beshtineferat* who were under the command of the *bash-beshli-aga* of the principalities, there would then remain no subject of dispute or difference between the Sublime Porte and Russia, and the good harmony of the two courts would rest on solid bases. Putting faith

in this notification, and wishing to remove every cause of discord, the Sublime Porte acquiesced in this proposition also, the number of the *beshtineferat* was reduced. M. Minziacki, then the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, expressed the great satisfaction of his court at this reduction.

"Shortly after the question of the rank of the *bash-beshli-aga* began to be discussed. Russia intimated officially that she wished them to be changed, and superseded by individuals without rank. This favour was also granted, solely to please Russia. Immediately after M. Minziacki presented an official note in the name of his court, demanding that plenipotentiaries should be sent to the frontiers, to explain the treaty of Bucharest. The plenipotentiaries whom the Sublime Porte sent to the frontier, with the view of terminating the conferences, began for the same object with baron Strogonoff, and in the hope that this time at least, all discussion being terminated between the two empires, the desired peace would be obtained. Having been afterwards artfully drawn by Russia as far as Akerman, they began by laying down the principle of not departing from the circle of the treaties, and not altering or changing the sense of the stipulations, in the same manner as had been previously agreed upon with the same envoy. The two parties agreed to this basis, and the conferences were opened. After some meetings the Russian plenipotentiaries presented, contrary to the agreement, a detached document, under the title of "Ultimatum," demanding that the same should be accepted and approved, such as it was. In vain the Turkish negotiators endeavoured to obtain

the abandonment of this proposition, by representing how contrary it was to diplomatic forms, and to the basis of the conferences. 'Our mission,' replied the Russians, 'has for its sole object to procure the acceptance of this document.' And here the conferences closed.

"Finally, as the Russian Plenipotentiaries had in the course of the conferences admitted the Greek question to be an internal affair belonging to the Sublime Porte, and as they had officially declared, in the name of their court, that Russia would not mix herself in any way therewith, and that they would completely tranquillize the Sublime Porte on this point,—seeing that this declaration was entered in the protocols kept according to custom by both parties,—seeing, moreover, that according to the reasons, legislative, political, and national, which prevent the Sublime Porte from admitting any foreign interference on the Greek question, the promise of Russia not to meddle with it was a sincere mark of regard towards the Sublime Porte; this declaration, therefore, appearing to be a pledge of peace and friendship between the two empires for the present and the future, the closing of the conferences was implicitly based on the said declaration, and the treaty was readily concluded without much attention to each particular article.

"M. de Ribeaupierre, envoy from Russia, on arriving at Constantinople, received all the accustomed honours—all the marks of respect due to his person. The greater part of the articles of the above treaty had already been carried into execution, and the means of equally executing the others were under consideration, when the

Greek affair, the discussions concerning which had continued so long, and resounded in all ears, came again into question;—an affair on which the Sublime Porte had already a thousand times given categorical and official replies;—an affair, moreover, in which Russia had formally promised not to interfere. A treaty then appeared unjustly concluded against the Sublime Porte, and without its knowledge. Notwithstanding the presence of M. de Ribeaupierre, who, when at Ackerman, as second plenipotentiary of his court, was one of those who officially announced that Russia would not interfere with the Greek question,—notwithstanding the presence of the other plenipotentiaries, and notwithstanding the existence of the protocols, the declaration was openly denied. This new proposition, so violent that it was impossible for the Sublime Porte to accept it, either consistently with law or policy, was put forward, and a hearty refusal given to the request to lend a favourable ear to the legal excuses and real obstacles which the Sublime Porte had, with good faith, at different times alleged on this subject.

"Finally, the fatal event of Navarino,—an event unheard of and unexampled in the history of nations,—still made no change in the amicable relations of the Sublime Porte; but, not content with the concessions which the Sublime Porte might, from regard solely to the three powers, and without any farther addition, grant to the country still in rebellion, the Russian envoy departed from Constantinople without motive or reason.

"Were the Sublime Port to detail her numerous complaints, and insist upon her just rights, each of

the points above stated would become in itself a special declaration. But the circumstances which preceded and followed the Greek insurrection, having clearly demonstrated what was its origin, and the natural progress of events having only tended to confirm the opinion previously formed, the Sublime Porte, without wishing to impute the origin of the revolution to any quarter, continued to testify toward Russia all the respect and all the friendship which treaties and vicinage required: she endeavoured to maintain the most favourable relations; but of this no account was taken. Besides, inasmuch as the Sublime Porte, from the desire of preserving peace, displayed a mildness and condescension, in so much did Russia oppose to her reserve and hostile proceedings. It was natural that such a conduct should excite in the minds of Mussulmans the idea of inert enmity and awaken among them all the ardour of Islamism.

Besides that nothing can prove the reproach which Russia addresses to us of having concluded the treaty of Akerman with a mental reservation—the proclamation, which the Sublime Porte for certain reasons circulated in its states, being an internal transaction, of which the Sublime Porte alone knows the motive, it is evident that the language held by a government to its own subjects cannot be a ground for another government picking a quarrel with it.

Nevertheless, immediately after the departure of the envoy, the Grand Vizier, in an official letter to the prime minister of Russia, clearly expressed that, faithful to the good intentions so long manifested, the Sublime Porte was always desirous of maintaining

peace. Now if Russia had equally desired, as she pretended in her declaration, sincerely to maintain peace between the two states, as all discussions between powers ought to be based on the text of treaties, or on official documents, the official letter of the Grand Vizier well deserved to be accepted and taken into consideration according to diplomatic practice; and in the hypothesis of this proclamation having given some suspicion to Russia, the course of communication not being obstructed between the two courts, Russia might have applied amicably to the Sublime Porte to ascertain the truth and to clear up her doubts. Far from following this course, perhaps even without taking into consideration the correct information transmitted on the subject by the representatives of other friendly powers who were still here, she hastened to class that proclamation among the number of her complaints and pretexts. Then is not the party which has declared war evidently that which must have concluded the treaty of Akerman with a mental reservation? The facts carry their proof along with them, and relieve us from the necessity of further demonstration.

We come now to the seizure of the cargoes of Russian vessels. Though the corn, which the Ottoman provinces furnished, is, thanks be to God, sufficient for the consumption of the capital, nevertheless the blockade, established contrary to peace and good understanding for the purpose of preventing the Mussulman troops in the Morea from receiving provisions, we having determined to transport from certain parts of Romelia to that peninsula the grain

destined to the capital, it became necessary to supply the deficit thereby created here in a way heretofore practised, and which equally affected the merchants of other friendly nations. The corn of the Russian merchants was purchased at the current market price for the subsistence of Constantinople, and the amount paid to the owners. This measure, arising solely from the blockade, cannot be made a just cause of complaint against the Sublime Porte. Besides, the immense losses which the Sublime Porte has experienced in consequence of the Greek revolution, as well as the damage caused at Navarino, give it a full right to complain, while others had no title to speak of their losses, their commerce enjoying greater advantages than before.

As to the reproach of having excited Persia against Russia, it is a pure calumny. Never did the Sublime Porte think it consistent with its dignity to instigate one nation against another. Far from exciting Persia, the Sublime Porte observed the strictest neutrality, neither mixing itself up with the origin or the issue of the war or the peace between the two empires. If some neighbouring Pachas made preparations, they were only measures of precaution usual to every state bordering upon two other nations at war. It thus clearly appears that the endeavour of Russia to ascribe these preparations to hostile intentions towards herself, has as little foundation as the rest.

Russia has constantly made use of the protection, and of the interests which she felt or professed, in favour of the unfortunate inhabitants of Wallachia and Moldavia, to excite all sorts of discus-

sions against the Sublime Porte. Would any one wish to convince himself that her true object was not to protect them, but to pick a quarrel with us, let him consider the evils which have been inflicted upon them by the invasion of Ypsilanti, and by the unjust inroad of the Russian army in contempt of treaties. Such are the inhabitants whom Russia pretends to protect! It is to Russia to whom they owe their ruin. It was very easy for the Sublime Porte to cause her victorious troops to enter the two principalities after she knew that Russia was making preparations to invade them; but never having at any time permitted, contrary to the Divine law, the least vexation towards her subjects, and being anxious to ensure the welfare and tranquillity of the two provinces under the shade of the imperial throne, she abstained in order to spare the misfortunes of the inhabitants.

In a word, the Sublime Porte makes the present declaration that none may have any thing to say against her; that it may be weighed in the balance of equity and truth, how much injustice there was on the part of Russia in resisting the important demands and the grave complaints of the Sublime Porte, which are as clear as the sun, in inventing all kinds of objections, in interpreting in a thousand different ways the system followed by the Ottoman government, and in declaring war without motive or necessity; in fine, that exempt from every kind of regret respecting the means of resistance which the Mussulman nation will employ, relying upon the Divine assistance, and acting in conformity with the holy law, she may be able to clear her com-

science of an event which will occasion now and henceforward trouble to so many beings, and per-

haps may shake the tranquillity of the whole world.

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*SPEECH of the KING of SWEDEN.*

At the opening of the extraordinary Storthing, summoned to meet at Christiana on the 29th of April last, count Platen, the stadtholder, or governor, of Norway, having read the Royal Commission, authorising him to open the Storthing, delivered to the Councillor of State, Jonas Collett, the following speech of the king of Sweden:—

“Gentlemen,—You are called together to take under consideration matters intimately connected with the prosperity of the state. The urgent importance of these matters alone has determined me to have recourse to a measure which carries with it considerable expense for the public, which I wish it had been possible to avoid. But when there is a question of preserving unimpeached the privileges which were secured to the Norwegian people by the fundamental law of the 4th of November, my ardent desire for its maintenance would not allow me to await the meeting of the ordinary Storthing, and I have thought that we could no longer safely defer putting some of our principal laws in harmony with the fundamental law of the land.

“No change has taken place in our political relations since the dissolution of the last Storthing. All foreign powers continue to give us proof of their friendship and confidence.

“The negotiations with Prussia have led to the favourable result

which I anticipated at the opening of the former Storthing. A commercial treaty, on the basis of reciprocity equally advantageous for both states, has been concluded and ratified.

“The free navigation of the Black Sea has been secured to the flag of the United Kingdoms. The convention concluded for that purpose with the Ottoman Porte is unincumbered with any clause which could throw difficulties in the way of its execution, and I hope that the prevailing hostilities in the East will not induce the Ottoman government to act contrary to this treaty.

“The ratification of a commercial treaty with the United North American States has lately been exchanged at Washington.

“It will no doubt give you pleasure to learn that all difficulties in the way of an increasing trade between us and the States have happily been removed. The treaty of commerce lately signed at St. Petersburg between the United Kingdoms and Russia, shall be laid before the Storthing after the ratifications shall be exchanged. This treaty, founded in mutual confidence, offers new and not unimportant advantages to the shipping interest of Norway.

“Negotiations respecting a commercial treaty with the Brazils have been commenced, and I am endeavouring to procure for the flag of the United Kingdoms free access to the other South Ameri-

can States, and the same facilities which we, on our part, accorded to them six years since. Several bills will be submitted to your consideration.

"The first relates to the responsibility which article 86 of the fundamental law exacts of the Council of State in the execution of their office; of the high Court of Justice in their judicial, and the members of the Storting in their legislative functions.

"The second bill defines the former, which agreeably to articles 50 and 64, are to be observed for the sake of securing the elections of uniformity, which alone can ensure that confidence which the people ought to have in their elected representatives.

"The third bill which will be laid before you has for its object to make it compulsory for every citizen of the state, in conformity with the spirit as well as the letter of article 109 of the fundamental law, to take a personal share in the defence of the country.

"The present anomalies shall cease when the duty is made uniform for all, and when the burden of personal service is no longer borne exclusively by the country people.

"Experience has shewn, that the quantity of bank notes in circulation fall far short of the sum necessary to satisfy the demands of trade, agriculture, and other branches of industry. The present almost total want of demand for the produce of this country, requires that government and the legislature should concert measures which may give the grower a chance of disposing of his produce to some advantage. A proposal will be laid before you which will secure this object.

"The existence of every constitutional state is founded upon the due balance of its constituent powers. The government which shall neglect to uphold this balance, exposes its country to the risk of having its constitutions founded upon mutual interest annihilated. This interest does not confine itself to single individuals, but comprehends other more exalted objects which stand in the closest connexion with the permanence of nationality. National honour and strength of government, its principal supports, cannot be sustained unless the laws are duly upheld, which has but one legitimate interpretation—namely, the literal one. My duty as a king does not allow me to assume, nor has the nation assumed, that each successive Storting shall be permitted to apply or interpret the fundamental law as they shall please. Neither I nor the nation can permit that a more or less enlightened court of justice (*regirch*) shall have the power of overturning; as would appear has been attempted, the guarantees which yonder act contains. The propositions which will be now submitted to you confirms these guarantees, from which neither I nor my Governments must deviate, nor suffer any deviation in others: when deliberating on these propositions, act up to your conviction.

"Subjects of the first importance which relate to our political institutions, the administration of justice, the executive, and finances are only gradually ordered and fully settled: we are already feeling the profitable consequences of such gradual advances. When we reflect how much has been gained since the promulgation of the fundamental law of the 14th of

November, we must allow that extraordinary exertion has been used,—that I have had great difficulties to overcome in procuring for Norway, notwithstanding its arbitrary legislation, that independence and that happiness which it now enjoys ; but in order to confirm still more this independence and this happiness it becomes necessary that government and the national assembly should signalize themselves by just laws ; and with this object in view, I rely with full confidence on the tried wisdom of the people, and the honest assistance of the Storting. The Norwegian people look with confidence to my endeavours for their happiness. They acknowledge the

palpable improvement in their situation which has taken place since their union with Sweden. All they demand is the undisturbed enjoyment of the liberty they have acquired, and which is legally secured to them. I make no doubt but all the members of the Storting will act in unison with the wishes of their constituents, and unite in furthering my paternal views. A happy agreement in thought and wishes shall finally confirm the future happiness of the Scandinavian kingdoms.

“ In virtue of the 74th article of the fundamental law, I declare herewith the opening of the Extraordinary Storting.”

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*TREATY between BRAZIL and the HANSE TOWNS.*

In the name of the most Holy and Indivisible Trinity,

The Senate of the Free and Hanseatic city of Lubeck, the Senate of the Free and Hanseatic city of Bremen, and the Senate of the Free and Hanseatic city of Hamburgh, on one part, each of them separately, and his Majesty the Emperor of Brazil on the other part, desirous of consolidating the relations of commerce and navigation between their respective states have named to conclude a convention founded on the principles of a fair reciprocity, their Plenipotentiaries, namely—

The Senate of the Free and Hanseatic city of Lubeck, the Senate of the Free and Hanseatic city of Bremen, and the Senate of the Free and Hanseatic city of Hamburgh ; John Charles Frederick Gildemeister, esq., Doctor of Laws, member of the Senate of

Bremen, at present their Envoy Extraordinary to His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, and Charles Sieveking, esq., Doctor of Laws, Member and Syndic of the Senate of Hamburgh, at present their Envoy Extraordinary to his said Majesty, and his Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, his Excellency the marquis de Queluz, Councillor of State, Senator of the Empire, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of Cruziero, Commander of the Imperial order of Christ, Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and his Excellency the Count de Lages, Councillor of State, Officer of the Imperial Order of Cruziero, Commander of the Imperial Order of Saint Benoit D'Avis, decorated with the Cross of Gold of the army of the South, Brigadier of the Imperial and National Army, Minister and Secretary of State for the War Department, and

Inspector of the Imperial Military Academy, who, after having reciprocally communicated their full powers found in good and due form, have agreed on the following articles:—

Art. I.—All ports and anchorages in the respective countries, open to the vessels of any other nation, shall be in like manner open to the Brazilian and Hanseatic vessels respectively.

Art. II.—All vessels bearing the flag of one of the republics of Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, belonging exclusively to a citizen or citizens of one of them, and of which the captain shall in like manner be a citizen of one of those republics, shall be held and considered for all the objects of this convention, as a vessel belonging to Lubeck, Bremen, or Hamburg. A perfect reciprocity shall be observed in respect to Brazilian ships. Passports, regularly executed, shall establish between the high contracting parties the proofs of the nationality of the Brazilian and Hanseatic vessels.

Art. III.—Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburg vessels which shall enter the Brazilian ports or depart therefrom, and Brazilian vessels which shall enter the ports of the said republics, or depart therefrom, shall not be subject to duties levied on the vessels (besides the duties payable on their cargoes) under the head of port-charges, anchorage, light-houses, tonnage, visiting, pilotage, or any other denomination whatever, other, or more considerable than those which are actually or may hereafter be imposed on national vessels.

Art. IV.—The high contracting parties mutually engage not to establish any prohibitions of import or export which shall attach to the

importations or exportations of either country not affecting those articles of the same description of other countries. The contracting parties engage not to burthen them with any duties or any other charges whatever, which shall not at the same time be extended to all the importations or exportations of the same sort, without any distinction of country.

Art. V.—All merchandise which can be imported into the states of the high contracting parties respectively in national vessels, or which can in like manner be exported therefrom, may also be imported or exported in the vessels of the other contracting party.

The coasting trade from port to port, employed for transporting indigenous or foreign products already admitted for consumption, being nevertheless expected from this general principle, and reserved for the regulations of each country, it is agreed by both parties, that the citizens and subjects of the high contracting parties shall enjoy in this respect the privilege of using the coasting vessels for the conveyance of their merchandise, subject only to the same duties which are now levied, or which may hereafter be levied, on the subjects of the most favoured nation.

Art. VI.—Any merchandise whatever, without distinction as to origin, exported from the Brazilian ports to the ports of Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, or from these last-mentioned ports to Brazil, in Brazilian vessels, or in vessels belonging to a nation favoured in the Hanseatic ports in their direct commerce, and any merchandise imported from any country whatever into the Hanseatic ports by Brazilian vessels, or exported to any country whatever from the Han-



seatic ports by Brazilian vessels, shall not, in the above-mentioned ports, pay the export and import duties, and any other duties, except according to the rates granted to the direct commerce of the most favoured nation.

On the other part, any merchandise whatever, without distinction as to origin, exported from the ports of Lubeck, Bremen, or Hamburgh, to Brazil, or from Brazil to these ports, in Hanseatic vessels or in vessels belonging to any nation favoured in the Brazilian ports in their direct commerce, shall not pay in Brazil the import or export duties, or any duties whatever, but such as are fixed by a rate to the direct and national commerce of the most favoured nation; a rate which by other treaties has been temporarily fixed at fifteen per cent, instead of twenty-four, for all merchandise introduced for consumption.

The Hanseatic cities not having placed any restriction on the indirect commerce of Brazil, and the Brazilian government not being in all respects able, in the present state of their commercial relations, to grant to the indirect commerce the same latitude and perfect reciprocity, it is agreed that the said indirect commerce shall for the present be restricted, and shall only take place with respect to the nations whose direct commerce is or shall be favoured in the Brazilian ports by particular treaties.

All merchandise exported in Hanseatic vessels from the ports of the said nations favoured in Brazil, shall pay the same duties of import and export, or any other duties which are paid by the Hanseatic cities in their direct commerce; these merchandises remaining nevertheless liable to the other

formalities required when they are imported into the Brazilian ports by nations favoured in their direct commerce.

All bounties, drawbacks, or other such advantages granted in one of the countries on importation or exportation, in the vessels of any foreign nation whatever, shall in like manner be granted when the importation or exportation shall be performed by the vessels of the other country.

In the direct navigation between the Brazils and the Hanseatic cities, the manifests *viséd* by the Consuls, Brazilian or Hanseatic respectively, or if there should not be any consuls by the local authorities, shall be sufficient to admit the respective importations or exportations to the advantages stipulated in this article,

Art. VII.—The indigenous articles referred to in the preceding article shall experience in the respective Custom-houses, as far as regards their valuation, all the advantages and facilities which are or shall be conceded to the most favoured nation. It is understood that in cases where they shall not have a fixed value in the Brazilian tariff, the entry at the Custom-house shall be made on a declaration of their value, signed by the party who shall have imported them; but in the event of the officers of the Customs charged with the collection of the duties suspecting the valuation to be faulty, they shall be at liberty to take the goods thus valued on paying ten per cent above the said valuation; and this within the period of fifteen days from the first day of the detention, and on repaying the duties received thereon.

Art. VIII.—The commerce and

navigation between Brazil and the Hanseatic ports shall enjoy in each country, without waiting for any additional convention, all the privileges and advantages which are or may be granted to any of the most favoured nations, provided always they fulfil the conditions of reciprocity. It is understood that the privileges which have been, or which may be, granted to the Portuguese nation, shall not be construed into a precedent, nor shall the effects of the present convention extend to Portugal, unless there should be particular treaties for that purpose.

Art. IX.—The consuls of the respective Governments shall be treated as well in respect to their persons as to the exercise of their functions on the same footing as those of the most favoured nations. They shall especially enjoy the right of making representations as well general as particular upon the valuations made by the Customs, which shall be taken into consideration with as little delay as possible, without detaining the consignments.

Art. X.—Should either of the contracting parties be engaged in war, whilst the other is neuter, it is agreed, that whatever the belligerent party may have stipulated with other powers to the advantage of the neutral flag, shall still be in force between Brazil and the Hanseatic towns. In order to prevent all mistakes relating to what is considered contraband of war, it is agreed (without however departing from the general principle above detailed) to restrict this definition to the following articles:—Cannons, mortars, guns, pistols, grenades, fuses, gun-carriages, belts, powder, saltpetre, helmets, balls, pikes, swords, halberds, saddles,

harness, and all other instruments whatever manufactured for the uses of war.

Art. XI.—The citizens and subjects of the respective countries shall enjoy in the other country, in respect to their persons, their property, the exercise of their religion, and the employment of their industry, all the rights and privileges which are or shall be hereafter granted to the most favoured nations.

Some foreigners enjoying in Brazil the privilege of having accounts open at the Custom-houses for payment of duties, on the same condition and sureties as the Brazilian subjects, this favour shall extend equally to the Hanseatic residents.

Art. XII.—The high contracting parties reserve to themselves the right of entering into any additional stipulations, which the reciprocal interest of trade may require, and any articles which may be hereafter agreed on shall be considered as making a part of the present convention.

Art. XIII.—Although the present convention be considered as common to the three free Hanseatic cities of Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, it is agreed, nevertheless, that a league of reciprocal responsibility does not exist between their sovereign governments, and that the stipulations of the present convention shall remain in full force with regard to the rest of these republics, notwithstanding a termination on the part of one or more of them.

Art. XIV.—The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in London within the space of four months, or sooner if possible.

It shall be in full force during

ten years, dating from the day of the exchange of the ratifications: and beyond that term, until the senates of the Hanseatic cities, whether separately or collectively, or his majesty the Emperor of the Brazils, shall have announced the intention of terminating such convention, as likewise during the negotiation for a renewal or modification of it.

In witness whereof the undersigned Plenipotentiaries of the

Senates of the Hanseatic republics, of Lubeck, Bremen, and Ham-  
burgh, and of his majesty the em-  
peror of Brazil, in virtue of their  
respective full powers, have affixed  
the seal of their arms.

Done at Rio de Janeiro, this  
17th day of November, in the year  
of our Lord 1827.

(L. S.) GILDEMEISTER.

(L. S.) C. SIEVEKING.

(L. S.) Marquez de QUELUZ.

(L. S.) Conde de LAGES.

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PROTEST of the PLENIPOTENTIARIES of his MAJESTY the EMPEROR  
of BRAZIL against the Usurpation which has recently been made  
of his CROWN and KINGDOM of PORTUGAL.

When we addressed our solemn  
protest to the Portuguese nation  
on the 24th of last May,—

1st. Against all violation of the  
hereditary rights of his imperial  
majesty and those of his august  
daughter;

2nd. Against the abolition of  
institutions liberally granted by  
that monarch, and legally estab-  
lished in Portugal;

3rd. Against the illegal and  
insidious convocation of the ancient  
states of that kingdom, which had  
been abolished by virtue of a long  
prescription, and by effect of the  
institutions above alluded to—

We then flattered ourselves that  
the horrible attempt, of which the  
acts referred to were the sad pre-  
lude, would not have been carried  
into effect.

We had indeed been led to be-  
lieve, that the menacing attitude  
assumed by the ministers of foreign  
courts accredited at Lisbon, to-  
gether with the efforts made by a part  
of the brave Portuguese troops,  
would have arrested the machina-  
tions of a perjured and rebellious

faction, and prevented the accom-  
plishment of an usurpation preg-  
nant with mischief, and subversive  
of the principle of legitimacy, held  
sacred by all the powers of Europe.

Every noble spirit, to which  
treason and perjury are obnoxious,  
conceived the same hopes; but  
neither the remonstrances of the  
governments most deeply interest-  
ed in the prosperity of Portugal,  
nor the praiseworthy resistance  
made by the friends of legitimacy,  
and by all those who reverence  
religion and respect the sanctity  
of an oath, could check the fury  
of that faction, which had resolv-  
ed, at all hazards, to seal their  
iniquity by a completion of the  
usurpation which they had pre-  
meditated.

By means of popular tumult, of  
violent destitutions, of innumera-  
ble imprisonments, and of revolt-  
ing proscriptions;—by the arts of  
seduction and undermining;—and,  
indeed, by the employment of every  
kind of means, however odious or  
reprehensible, they rendered ac-  
cess easy to the criminal object

they had in view: and their progress was so rapid, the work of usurpation was speedily effected, in despite of, and to the great injury of, all the potentates of Europe, who had, in a formal manner, fulminated a general anathema against it.

On the 23rd of June last, the assembling of the *soi-disant* "three estates of the kingdom" was witnessed at Lisbon; but which, in fact, was nothing more than a meeting of the accomplices of an execrable faction: and when every thing for this scandalous proceeding was ready, having been for a long time previously arranged, it was opened, by the proposition of the following question, to ascertain

"If the crown of Portugal ought, on the demise of Don John VI., to have descended to the eldest son, the emperor of Brazils and prince royal of Portugal, or to the youngest son, the Infante Don Miguel."

On this proposition being submitted, a miserable and insidious discourse was delivered in favour of his highness's rights to the succession, and against those of the emperor our august sovereign, whom it was endeavoured to represent as a foreign prince, and deprived of his rights of primogeniture from the circumstance of his having ascended the throne of Brazils in the life-time of his father.

In this tribunal of injustice and hall of usurpation, no one dared lift up his voice in favour of legitimacy, with which the cause of the emperor of Brazils and king of Portugal is identified.

The honourable duty of defending those rights belonged, as a matter of course, to the Attorney-general of the crown; but he was

not called upon to fulfil it, which proves that he ought not to be included in the number of their accomplices.

Unanimity was consequently so complete amongst the conspirators, who assumed to themselves the unbecoming title of "the three estates," that they could have decided the question at once without any adjournment; but the better to impose on the Portuguese nation, and as well on the people of the two hemispheres, they deemed it expedient to defer it; and on the 28th of June, after a few days of mock deliberation, they presented to the head of the illegitimate government established at Lisbon, the result of their contemptible machinations, consisting of their unanimous and criminal votes in favour of that usurpation they had been called together for the purpose of sanctioning, and which was unfortunately consummated in that city on the 1st of July last,—a day, the memory of which will ever be execrated in the annals of Portugal, on account of the disastrous consequences which cannot fail to flow from such a deplorable event.

Disappointed in our expectations, we now find ourselves under the disagreeable, but imperious necessity, of unfolding to the eyes of the whole world, all the perfidy of the acts abovementioned, as well as the fallacies contained in the arguments brought forward against the incontestable and acknowledged rights of our august master the emperor of Brasil, and prince royal of Portugal, to the crown of that kingdom on the death of the king his father.

We very well know (and all publicists confirm it), on the direct and legitimate line of any reigning

family becoming extinct, that in case there should appear amongst the collateral branches several pretenders to the succession of the vacant throne, whose respective pretensions may be doubtful, it belongs to the superior tribunals or authorities of the state to decide so important a national question; and the history of Portugal itself affords two examples: the one on the death of the king Don Ferdinand, and the other at the period when the Portuguese nation, on throwing off the intolerable yoke of Spain, exalted the august House of Braganza to the throne.

But as that question cannot be raised where the succession to a crown is regulated by the right of primogeniture (and such is the case with respect to that of Portugal, as it regards his majesty the emperor of Brazil, the eldest son of his majesty Don John VI., who has besides been recognized, as well by his own father, as by all the powers of Europe, in his quality of prince royal of Portugal, both before and since the partition which was made of the crown of Portugal, by a solemn treaty executed between the two sovereigns), the hereditary rights of our august master could not be rendered doubtful on the demise of the king, his father,—nor were they.

Before even this unfortunate event, which occasioned the important succession, was known at Rio de Janeiro, his imperial majesty had been proclaimed king in Portugal, and immediately recognized as such by all the sovereigns and governments of Europe.

Such proclamation, and such recognition, as spontaneous as precise, are of themselves proof so irrefragable and solemn of the legitimacy of the hereditary rights of his ma-

jesty the emperor of Brazil to the crown of Portugal, that we should be justified in limiting thereto our opposition to the usurping faction, which has dared to impugn at the same time the unanimous opinion of all the courts of Europe, and that of the majority of the Portuguese nation itself.

But we will not confine ourselves to this allegation, we will go further, and combat the arguments with which this perfidious faction have attempted to attack rights so incontestable.

And 1st. That of an ancient law made by the Cortes of Lamego, of which we transcribe the precise words—viz., "*Sit ita in sempiternum, quod prima filia Regis recipiat maritum de Portugale, ut non veniat regnum ad extraneos: et si cubaverit cum principe extraneo, non sit Regina, quia nunquam volumus nostrum Regnum ire fore Portugalibus, qui reges fecerunt sine adiutorio alieno, per suam fortitudinem.*"

By altering the sense of this law (the existence of which, by the by, is very doubtful, but which we will not now dispute), the usurping faction pretend, that by his accession to the throne of Brazil, his imperial majesty has foregone his quality of a prince of Portugal, and has become in consequence incapacitated from succeeding to the crown of his forefathers on the death of John VI.

The misapplication of this law is very evident. This law prohibits, it is true, queens of Portugal to marry foreigners by birth, but it does not prevent Portuguese princes from acquiring other crowns, nor from succeeding to that of Portugal, after having acquired any other sovereignty, and

the Portuguese history abounds with proofs thereof.

Don Alphonsus III. was a Portuguese prince, and although at the same time in possession of the county of Bologna, he succeeded his brother Sancho II., and preserved the sovereignty of Bologna, notwithstanding Alphonsus V. enjoyed the crown of Portugal together with that of Castile and Leon; and Don Emanuel united on his head the crowns of Portugal, of Castile, of Leon, and of Arragon.

Consequently, if that law did not exclude the count of Bologna, Don Alphonsus, from the succession to the throne of Portugal, it cannot now exclude his majesty the emperor of Brasils and prince royal of Portugal from the like succession.

2nd. That of another law, made afterwards on the 12th of September, 1642, by king John IV., by desire of the three estates, and therefore a ratification of that of the Cortes of Lamego.

It is declared by this second law, "that the successor to the crown ought to be a prince born in Portugal, and that no foreign prince by birth, however nearly related to the king, could succeed him."

Now as this applies solely to princes born in a foreign country, it is clear that it cannot be made to apply to his imperial majesty Don Pedro IV., who was born in Portugal.

Moreover, as neither the one nor the other of these laws have provided against the possible partition of the Portuguese crown, by a solemn agreement between the reigning prince and his immediate heir and successor (but which has taken place, for the first time, between his majesty king John VI.

and his eldest son, the prince royal, Don Pedro), these laws, we repeat cannot be applicable to the case now under consideration.

On ratifying the treaty of the 29th August, 1825, by which the partition above alluded to was made, his majesty John VI. promulgated a law, or perpetual edict, dated the 15th of November, 1825, by which he recognizes his eldest son the emperor of Brasils, in his capacity of prince royal of Portugal, and expressly revoked all the laws, customs, rules, and decrees of the Cortes, which might be contrary to the intent and meaning of such law.

For a new and unforeseen case, it became necessary to enact a new law.

And as the authority of his majesty John VI. was as competent and unlimited as that of his august predecessor, John IV. the law of the 15th of November, 1825 (published in consequence of a treaty, which is a sacred and inviolable compact, and a supreme law amongst all civilized nations) is become a fundamental law of Brasils and Portugal, and is in fact the only one that ought to regulate, as it actually did, the succession to the crown of Portugal, at the moment when it became vacant.

Having thus fully proved the illegality of the decision of the *soi-disant* "three estates of the realm," as well as the futility of the arguments advanced by them in favour of the usurpation; there only remains for us to fulfil a painful but honourable duty,—that of protesting, and we do hereby protest most loudly and before all the world, against the usurpation recently made of the crown of Portugal, on behalf of his majesty the

emperor of Brazils and king of that kingdom, as also on behalf of his well-beloved daughter Donna Maria da Gloria.

And we confide this our solemn protest to the almighty power of the Supreme Arbiter of empires,

and to the justice of all the sovereign princes of Europe.

Dated London, this 8th of August, 1828.

(Signed) MARQUIS DE RESENDE.  
Viscount de ITABAYANA.

#### PROCLAMATION of DON PEDRO to the PORTUGUESE NATION.

Portuguese!—It is not as your king that I am now addressing you, as my abdication has been completed, but as the father of your legitimate queen, Donna Maria II., and as her guardian.

The compulsion under which my brother, the Infant Don Miguel, the regent of the kingdom, labours, is, in every point of view, clear and manifest. To entertain a contrary opinion would be an offence against his honour, which I deem untainted; it would amount to considering him a traitor to the assurances or protestations he made to me whilst I was his king, and reputing him perjured in his oath, which he so freely and spontaneously took at Vienna, in Austria, and ratified at Lisbon before the nation legally represented, in conformity with the constitutional charter which was offered and granted by me to you, and accepted by himself and by you, and freely and solemnly sworn to.

A disorganizing faction, under pretence of defending the throne and the altar, in disregard of all religious, civil, and political considerations, is constantly at work in the midst of unhappy Portugal; it disputes the indubitable and imprescriptible rights by which your queen legally ascended the throne of her ancestors; it domineers and lords it over the regent; it rules

the kingdom; it has dissolved a Chamber of worthy Deputies, distinguished by their deserts and merits. Another Chamber was not immediately convoked, according to the 5th title, 1st chapter, 74th article, and 4th paragraph of the constitutional charter, thereby manifestly usurping the legislative power. A junta was appointed to issue fresh instructions for the election of deputies, which were called legal. These instructions never appeared; on the contrary, the constitutional charter was destroyed by a single blow, by calling together the ancient Cortes—an institution already abolished by the oath to this very same constitution. Aggressions committed on citizens who were faithful to their oaths have been applauded. The troops whose duty it was to watch over the public safety, have been permitted and even authorized to commit atrocities in the very capital itself, under pretence of defending the throne and the altar. How far can misfortune carry incautious and weak men! Nor did the faction stop here. It lauded Portuguese soldiers when committing acts of insubordination against their chief—against commanders faithful to their oaths, resting on the two principal anchors—the throne and the altar. What throne could permit the commission of such

crimes? What religion could enjoin the execution of proceedings so contrary to decency and the decorum of respectable and distinguished families? Ah, Portuguese! to what a pass is your unfortunate country brought, under the dominion of fanaticism, hypocrisy, and despotism. Were it possible for your ancestors to rise from their graves, they would suddenly drop down dead at seeing the cradle of their victories transferred into such horrors.

You are worthy of a better fate. In your own hands is your happiness or your ruin. Follow my advice, Portuguese; it is given to you by a philanthropic and truly constitutional heart.

It is time that you should open your eyes, and all unite and stand by the oaths you have taken to the constitutional charter, and to the rights of your queen. By doing this, you will not only save your country, but likewise my brother, by defending the true throne and the true Roman Catholic and Apostolical religion, conformably to the manner in which you swore to maintain it. Give not the victory, oh, Portuguese! to the enemies of constitutional monarchical governments, who wish to see perjurers placed upon thrones, in order to strengthen their arguments against such forms of government. Far be it from me to call my brother a perjurer or a traitor: he acts, no doubt, under compulsion; and I consider, and shall consider him in this light, as long as the heads of the disorganizing faction do not leave Portugal. Portuguese; stand by the constitutional charter; it is not of foreign growth—it was granted to you by a constitutional king; and what evils has it brought upon you? Liberty, of which you

had only a promise, before. Yes, Portuguese, bedew the tree of liberty with your blood, and you will see how it will flourish amongst you, and bear fruits, in despite of all intrigues and machinations. Do not suffer it to be assailed by the blows of perfidy and treason to the country—that country which is already oppressed by the yoke of the most ferocious despotism. You are a free people—you form an independent nation; what more can you hope for? The governments of Europe support the legitimacy of your queen. Fight for her, and for the constitutional charter, and fear nought in the shape of obstacles. Consider that the cause you are going to defend is the cause of justice, and that you are bound to it by an oath. The truth does not penetrate into the presence of your regent. Fanatics, hypocrites, demoralized, and despotic men, have blinded him. The imminent danger in which his life is placed makes him submit to this faction, the like of which has never been seen amongst the Portuguese people, which was ever free from the commencement of the monarchy, as the pages of its history prove. Follow the example of those ancient Portuguese; approach your regent; speak to him very plainly and respectfully, as they spoke to the king Don Alfonso IV., and tell him, “By the path in which your highness suffers yourself to be led, you will inevitably plunge yourself into the deepest abyss; govern us conformably to the constitutional charter, which both your highness and ourselves have sworn to, and know that this is the only legitimate course we choose to see adopted.” If you do this, you will see that he, finding the Portuguese disposed to support him as consti-



tutional regent, will withdraw himself from the shameful tutorage by which he is now ruled, and which would lead him to the precipice, from whence he can never recede with honour; and that he will throw himself into your arms, in order to govern you according to law, and render you happy. Aid him, Portuguese! otherwise he and you will become the victims of anarchy. My conscience is free

from remorse. I explain the truth to you: if you choose to follow it you will be happy; if not, you will find the most artful despotism raising its head amongst you, which you will never be able to crush again.

Rio de Janeiro, July 25.

(Signed)

PEDRO, Emperor.

FRANCISCO GOMES DA SILVA.

(A true copy)

*MESSAGE of the EXECUTIVE of BUENOS-AYRES to the  
LEGISLATURE.*

Gentlemen Representatives, — The government of the province of Buenos-Ayres, sees with the greatest satisfaction the opening of the seventh Legislative Assembly. At this moment are realized the hopes conceived on the first days of the Revolution; therefore it presents itself with the fullest confidence to salute the honourable representatives, and to give a faithful account of the affairs confided to its direction. Nevertheless, it is not possible to do so with the same minuteness as heretofore, the war having paralyzed a portion of the means of interior improvement; and for this reason, it can only speak of the most important points, as far as the actual state of the country will permit. Internal tranquillity has been the first object to which it directed its attention, satisfied that without that we should be condemned by the world, and be the derision of our enemies. Past experience has not been sufficient to convince us, that the formation of a state is subjected to the general laws of nature, in which nothing can arrive at perfection except slowly and progressively. The

government, acting upon this principle, applied itself to the extinction of discord and re-establishment of the quiet of the interior, under whose shade alone can flourish the real interests by which the nation must be hereafter united. It has the satisfaction to announce to you, that the result has corresponded with its hopes, and that reason has rarely obtained a triumph so easy and rapid in the midst of so much agitation. The government has cause to congratulate itself in the naming of the deputies who have acted in a negotiation so important. The provinces, in addition to having withdrawn their arms from civil war, have given them a more noble direction, and have named representatives to form a Convention in the city of Santa Fé, which will probably have the good fortune to lay the foundation of the national happiness.

The negotiations for peace with his majesty the emperor of Brazil, still continue, and there are well-founded hopes that the day is not far distant in which the war will terminate satisfactorily; notwithstanding which, the government,

sensible that honour is the vital principle of nations, continues to support it at every sacrifice, until peace can be realized; and hopes that, should necessity require it, you will with pleasure make every necessary sacrifice. The nations of our continent continue to give us proofs of their good wishes, and great Britain renders us constantly the good offices of a true friend. The officers and forces by land and sea have displayed great constancy and bravery, and have obtained considerable advantages, which recommend them to the respect and gratitude of every good citizen. When it appeared that the war was at a stand, and that the armies of the two hostile powers faced each other, without either being able to advance, an intrepid chief, with a handful of Argentines, has recovered our old possessions of the "Misiones Orientales;" his force has been there increased, and the joy evinced by the inhabitants in returning to the bosom of the Republic, sufficiently proves the absurdity of conquest. The expedition from the north now marching to the same point, when united to the said force, will form a respectable army, the expense of which is inconsiderable, and which can easily combine its operations with the main army, and will prove the symbol of the concord and enthusiasm of the provinces.

The militia of the city and the country, which had been almost dissolved, and in a state of nullity, has been reorganized, and performs important services, enabling the troops of the line to be placed on the frontiers, and wherever their attentions may be called for in the foreign war. The new line of frontier is established: this undertaking, as desirable as it is im-

portant, commenced under the most auspicious circumstances. The Indians, with whom the government continues the measures of peace and conciliation with the most happy effects, will no more commit depredations with impunity, and the immense acquisition of territory has doubled the guarantee of the public debt, so that this burden may be taken off in a short time, if it is found necessary. But the most important is, that in this establishment we have occupied the interesting position of White Bay (Bahia Blanca), which is surrounded with commodious harbours, agricultural land, and extensive woods. Its maritime coasts abound with fisheries, and some ports, enabling us to have hereafter a respectable marine, which will be the shield of the Republic. The communication to Chile by land, from the same point, is short and convenient; and the navigation of the Red River (Rio Colorado) will perhaps afford a more easy exportation of the produce of some of the interior provinces. The government has ordered the land to be surveyed, and to trace out the most proper place to erect a city, to be called the "New Buenos Ayres." The importance to which it is likely to arrive gives it a claim to so glorious a title. The zeal manifested in this undertaking, by all those charged with the execution of it, deserves the highest praise. Through the stagnation of our foreign commerce, that of the interior has rapidly increased, especially those capitals that have been applied to agricultural purposes, labourers being abundant, from the cessation of the impress.

In the midst of all this, the establishment of public grammar-schools for children in the city and

country required particular attention. The government took them into consideration, and having placed at the head of them an individual who is well known for his philanthropy, it has produced the desired effect. Private colleges and houses of education have begun to be established; the government encourages, by every means, this species of industry, the most useful for the country, and hopes that in a short time it will not be necessary for youths to cross the seas, seeking the treasure of science with the danger of losing those sentiments which alone can be cultivated in their native land. The ladies of the Benevolent Society have shown in the present year how much the nation is indebted to them for their assiduous efforts to forward education. The public schools continue in the same state: that of San Miguel has improved. The works at the cathedral church, and of the high road to Ensenada, and the canal of San Fernando, are nearly completed. Many country towns have been assisted with funds to repair their churches, or to build new ones; and until, in process of time, our laws and customs be improved, a new prison for debtors is fitting up. The hospitals, especially that for women, receive important improvements; the government thus endeavouring to alleviate the sufferings of the unfortunate. The important establishment of vaccination has been augmented, and its utility has never been more felt than at this moment: whilst the neighbouring provinces are visited by the terrible scourge of the small-pox, it has scarcely been felt in this city, and the government has put in practice every means entirely to eradicate it.

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The liberty of the press has of late been greatly abused. Some ill-advised persons have carried its licentiousness to such an extent as to bring discredit upon the country among foreign nations, where it is not possible to know that such productions only produce here contempt for their authors. The law of the 8th of May has suppressed in part this licentious writing, and public opinion will by degrees banish it. The administration of justice requires a change, from which considerable advantages are expected. The government will have the honour of laying it before you for your consideration. Of all our domestic wants, none is more urgent than to fix, in a certain and positive manner, the basis of the national bank. This establishment, at present, requires the strongest guarantees; and to give them, it will be only necessary to act with prudence.

As the province of Buenos Ayres has provided exclusively the funds for the defence of the nation, it is but fair to state that when the present administration shall have been one year in office in August next, they will have expended 1,000,000 of dollars less than they had calculated upon; after having discharged enormous outstanding debts, established the frontier, clothed, armed, and paid the army and navy, paid for the transport and armament of the contingents from the provinces, provided the expenses of foreign affairs, and nearly all those of the convention, supplied the parks of artillery and magazines, having attended at the same time to the internal expense of the province. It is true that they have suspended for the present the payment of the interest upon the loan in London, and that this

dreadful measure was foreseen in making the above calculations, but it was one of those alternatives necessary to be taken, in order to avoid greater evils: the operation of issuing paper in Buenos Ayres to send gold to England would be like adding fuel to fire, and, in the end, would devour all. The government has the satisfaction to learn, by means of a respectable house in London, to whom it has confided the management of this affair, that the holders of the bonds have duly appreciated the circumstances of the country, not doubting that the government intends to (as it most certainly will) remit to them upon the first opportunity, the funds necessary for the fulfilment of its engagements. Every day proves the necessity of placing the direct taxes upon a solid foundation, and that the projects of law in that respect, submitted in the preceding session, should receive your sanction as soon as possible; the government on its part is prepared to give a new form to the mode of collection. The system of confiding to particular individuals in farming it out might be very well at the commencement, but now that more information has been obtained upon the subject, it will be advisable to administer it by persons permanently employed, with adequate salaries,

who can be promoted according to their merits.

The department of engineers, architects, and botanical garden, have been suppressed; as will be also other departments and expenses, not because the government did not recognize their utility, taken in the abstract, but because they were in disproportion with its means to sustain them, and therefore served only as a vain appearance. The government, in this respect, despising any ephemeral popularity, will perform its duty. The expenses of the war have been reduced to the lowest possible amount. It can assure you that the charges, in this respect, upon the revenue is hardly one third of what might be expected.

Finally, gentlemen representatives, if a comparative view is taken of the present state of the province, and that in which it was in the month of August last year, it ought to be viewed as very satisfactory. The government confides in your enlightened and cordial co-operation, not only in sustaining the present institutions, but in advancing them to greater perfection.

MANUEL DORRIGO.

JOSE MARIA ROXAS.

JUAN RAMON BALOARCE.

To the Very Hon. Junta of Representatives of the Province of Buenos Ayres.

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SPEECH of the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES.

*Washington Dec. 2.*

The President of the United States transmitted this day to both Houses of Congress the following Message to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:—

“Fellow Citizens of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives of the United States.

“If the enjoyment in profusion of the bounties of Providence forms a suitable subject of mutual con-

gratulation and grateful acknowledgment, we are admonished at this return of the season, when the Representatives of the nation are assembled to deliberate upon their concerns, to offer up the tribute of fervent and grateful hearts for the never-failing mercies of Him who ruleth over all. He has again favoured us with healthful seasons and abundant harvests. He has sustained us in peace with foreign countries, and in tranquillity within our borders. He has preserved us in the quiet and undisturbed possession of civil and religious liberty. He has crowned the year with his goodness, imposing on us no other conditions than of improving for our own happiness the blessings bestowed by his hands; and in the fruition of all his favours, of devoting the faculties with which we have been endowed by him, to his glory and to our own temporal and eternal welfare.

"In the relations of our Federal Union with the brethren of the human race, the changes which have occurred since the close of your last session have generally tended to the preservation of peace, and to the cultivation of harmony. Before your last separation, a war had unhappily been kindled between the emperor of Russia, one of those with which our intercourse has been no other than a constant exchange of good offices, and that of the Ottoman Porte, a nation from which geographical distance, religious opinions, and maxims of government on their part, little suited to the formation of those bonds of mutual benevolence which result from the benefits of commerce, had kept us in a state, perhaps too much prolonged, of coldness and alienation. The ex-

tensive, fertile, and populous dominions of the Sultan, belong rather to the Asiatic, than the European division of the human family. They enter but partially into the system of Europe; nor have their wars with Russia and Austria, the European States upon which they border, for more than a century past, disturbed the pacific relations of those States with the other great powers of Europe. Neither France, nor Prussia, nor Great Britain, has ever taken part in them; nor is it to be expected that they will at this time. The declaration of war by Russia has received the approbation or acquiescence of her allies, and we may indulge the hope that its progress and termination will be signalized by the moderation and forbearance, no less than by the energy of the emperor Nicholas, and that it will afford the opportunity for such collateral agency in behalf of the suffering Greeks, as will secure to them ultimately the triumph of humanity and of freedom.

"The state of our particular relations with France has scarcely varied in the course of the present year. The commercial intercourse between the two countries has continued to increase for the mutual benefit of both. The claims of indemnity to numbers of our fellow-citizens for depredations upon their property, heretofore committed, during the Revolutionary governments, still remain unadjusted, and still form the subject of earnest representation and remonstrance. Recent advices from the Minister of the United States at Paris encourage the expectation that the appeal to the justice of the French government will ere long receive a favourable consideration.

"The last friendly expedient has been resorted to for the decision of the controversy with Great Britain, relating to the North Eastern boundary of the United States. By an agreement with the British government, carrying into effect the provisions of the 5th article of the Treaty of Ghent, and the Convention of the 29th September, 1827, his majesty the king of the Netherlands has, by common consent, been selected as the umpire between the parties. The proposal to him to accept the designation for the performance of this friendly office will be made at an early day; and the United States, relying upon the justice of their cause, will cheerfully commit the arbitrament of it to a Prince equally distinguished for the independence of his spirit, his indefatigable assiduity to the duties of his station, and his inflexible personal probity.

"Our commercial relations with Great Britain will deserve the serious consideration of Congress, and the exercise of a conciliatory and forbearing spirit in the policy of both governments. The state of them has been materially changed by the act of Congress passed at their last session, in alteration of the several acts imposing duties on imports, and by acts of more recent date of the British parliament. The effect of the interdiction of direct trade, commenced by Great Britain, and reciprocated by the United States, has been, as was to be foreseen, only to substitute different channels for an exchange of commodities indispensable to the colonies, and profitable to a numerous class of our fellow-citizens. The exports, the revenue, the navigation of the United States, have suffered no diminution by

our exclusion from direct access to the British colonies. The colonies pay more dearly for the necessities of life, which their government burthens with the charges of double voyages, freight, insurance, and commission, and the profits of our exports are somewhat impaired, and more injuriously transferred from one portion of our citizens to another. The resumption of this old and otherwise exploded system of colonial exclusion has not secured to the shipping interest of Great Britain the relief which, at the expense of the distant colonies, and of the United States, it was expected to afford. Other measures have been resorted to, more pointedly bearing upon the navigation of the United States and which, unless modified by the construction given to the recent acts of parliament, will be manifestly incompatible with the positive stipulations of the commercial convention existing between the two countries. That convention, however, may be terminated, with twelve months' notice, at the option of either party.

"A treaty of amity, navigation, and commerce, between the United States and his majesty the emperor of Austria, king of Hungary, and Bohemia, has been prepared for signature by the Secretary of State, and by the baron de Ledener, intrusted with full powers of the Austrian government. Independently of the new and friendly relations which may be thus commenced with one of the most eminent and powerful nations of the earth, the occasion has been taken in it, as in other recent treaties concluded by the United States, to extend those principles of liberal intercourse, and of fair reciprocity

which intertwine, with the exchange of commerce, the principles of justice, and the feelings of mutual benevolence. This system, first proclaimed to the world in the first commercial treaty ever concluded by the United States,—that of the 6th of February, 1778, with France,—has been invariably the cherished policy of our Union. It is by treaties of commerce alone that it can be made ultimately to prevail as the established system of all civilized nations. With this principle our fathers extended the hand of friendship to every nation of the globe, and to this policy our country has ever since adhered; whatever of regulation in our laws has ever been adopted unfavourable to the interest, of any foreign nation, has been essentially defensive, and counteracting to similar regulations of theirs operating against us.

“Immediately after the close of the war of independence, commissioners were appointed by the Congress of the confederation, authorized to conclude treaties with every nation of Europe disposed to adopt them. Before the wars of the French Revolution, such treaties had been consummated with the United Netherlands, Sweden, and Prussia. During those wars, treaties with Great Britain and Spain had been effected, and those with Russia and France renewed. In all these some concessions to the liberal principles of intercourse proposed by the United States had been obtained; but as in all the negotiations, they became occasionally in collision with previous internal regulations, or exclusive and excluding compacts of monopoly, with which the other parties had been trammelled, the advances made in

them towards the freedom of trade were partial and imperfect. Colonial establishments, chartered companies, and ship-building influence, pervaded and incumbered the legislation of all the great commercial states; and the United States, in offering free trade and equal privileges to all, were compelled to acquiesce in many exceptions with each of the parties to their treaties, accommodated to their existing laws and anterior engagements.

“The colonial system, by which this whole hemisphere was bound, has fallen into ruins. Totally abolished by revolutions, converting colonies into independent nations throughout the two American continents, excepting a portion of territory chiefly at the northern extremity of our own, and confined to the remnants of dominion retained by Great Britain over the insular archipelago geographically the appendages of our part of the globe. With all the rest we have free trade—even with the insular colonies of all the European nations, except Great Britain. Her government had also manifested approaches to the adoption of a free and liberal intercourse between her colonics and other nations, though, by a sudden and scarcely explained revulsion, the spirit of exclusion has been revived for operation upon the United States alone.

“The conclusion of our last treaty of peace with Great Britain was shortly afterwards followed by a commercial convention, placing the direct intercourse between the two countries upon a footing of more equal reciprocity than had ever before been admitted. The same principle has since been much farther extended, by treaties with France, Sweden, Denmark, the

Hanseatic cities, and Prussia, in Europe ; and with the republics in Columbia, and of central America, in this hemisphere. The mutual abolition of discriminating duties and charges, upon the navigation and commercial intercourse between the parties, is the general maxim which characterizes them all. There is reason to expect that it will, at no distant period, be adopted by other nations, both of Europe and America, and to hope that by its universal prevalence one of the fruitful sources of wars of commercial competition will be extinguished.

“ Among the nations upon whose governments many of our fellow-citizens have had long pending claims of indemnity, for depredations upon their property during a period when the rights of neutral commerce were disregarded, was that of Denmark. They were, soon after the events occurred, the subject of a special mission from the United States, at the close of which the assurance was given, by his Danish majesty, that, at a period of more tranquillity and of less distress, they would be considered, examined, and decided upon, in a spirit of determined purpose for the dispensation of justice. I have much pleasure in informing Congress that the fulfilment of this honourable promise is now in progress ; that a small portion of the claims has already been settled, to the satisfaction of the claimants ; and that we have reason to hope that the remainder will shortly be placed in a train of equitable adjustment. This result has always been confidently expected, from the character of personal integrity and of benevolence which the sovereign of the Danish dominions has, through

every vicissitude of fortune, maintained.

“ The general aspect of the affairs of our neighbouring American nations of the south, has been rather of approaching than of settled tranquillity. Internal disturbances have been more frequent among them than their common friends would have desired. Our intercourse with all has continued to be that of friendship, and of mutual good will. Treaties of commerce and of boundaries with the United Mexican States have been negotiated ; but, from various successive obstacles, not yet brought to a final conclusion. The civil war which unfortunately still prevails in the republic of central America has been unpropitious to the cultivation of our commercial relations with them ; and the dissensions and revolutionary changes in the republics of Colombia and of Peru have been seen with cordial regret by us, who would gladly contribute to the happiness of both. It is with great satisfaction, however, that we have witnessed the recent conclusion of a peace between the governments of Buenos Ayres and Brazil ; and it is equally gratifying to observe that indemnity has been obtained for some of the injuries which our fellow-citizens had sustained in the latter of those countries. The rest are in a train of negotiation, which we hope may terminate to mutual satisfaction, and that it may be succeeded by a treaty of commerce and navigation upon liberal principles, propitious to a great and growing commerce, already important to the interests of our country.

“ The condition and prospects of the revenue are more favourable than our most sanguine expect-



ations had anticipated. The balance in the treasury, on the 1st of January last, exclusive of the monies received under the convention of the 13th of November, 1826, with Great Britain, was 5,861,972 dollars 83 cents. The receipts in the Treasury, from the 1st of January to the 30th of September last, so far as they have been ascertained to form the basis of an estimate, amount to 18,633,980 dollars 27 cents, which, with the receipts of the present quarter, estimated at 5,461,283 dollars 40 cents, form an aggregate of receipts during the year of 24,940,863 dollars 67 cents. The expenditures of the year may probably amount to 25,637,511 dollars 63 cents; and leave in the treasury, on the 1st of January next, the sum of 5,125,638 dollars 14 cents.

"The receipts of the present year have amounted to near 2,000,000 more than was anticipated at the commencement of last session of Congress.

"The amount of duties secured on importations, from the 1st of January to the 30th of September, was about 22,997,000, and that of the estimated accruing revenue is 5,000,000; leaving an aggregate for the year of near 28,000,000. This is 1,000,000 more than the estimate made last December for the accruing revenue of the present year, which, with allowances for drawbacks and contingent deficiencies, was expected to produce an actual revenue of 22,300,000 dollars. Had these only been realized, the expenditures of the year would have been also proportionably reduced. For of these 24,000,000 received, upwards of 9,000,000 have been applied to the extinction of the public debt bear-

ing an interest of 6 per cent a year, and of course reducing the burden of interest annually payable in future, by the amount of more than 500,000. The payments on account of interest during the current year exceed 3,000,000 of dollars; presenting an aggregate of more than 12,000,000 applied during the year to the discharge of the public debt, the whole of which remaining due on the 1st of January next will amount only to 58,362,155 dollars and 78 cents.

"That the revenue of the ensuing year will not fall short of that received in the one now expiring, there are indications which can scarcely prove deceptive. In our country, an uniform experience of forty years has shown that what the tariff of duties upon articles imported from abroad has been, the amount of importations has always borne an average value nearly approaching to that of the exports, though occasionally differing in the balance, sometimes being more and sometimes less. It is, indeed, a general law of prosperous commerce, that the real value of exports should, by a small and only a small balance, exceed that of imports, that balance being a permanent addition to the wealth of the nation. The extent of the prosperous commerce of the nation must be regulated by the amount of its exports; and an important addition to the value of these will draw after it a corresponding increase of importations. It has happened, in the vicissitudes of the seasons, that the harvests of all Europe have, in the last summer and autumn, fallen short of their usual average. A relaxation of the interdict upon the importation of grain and flour from abroad has ensued; a propitious market has

been opened to the granaries of our country ; and a new prospect of reward presented to the labours of the husbandman, which for several years has been denied. This accession to the profits of agriculture, in the middle and western portions of our Union, is accidental and temporary. It may continue only for a single year. It may be, as has been often experienced in the revolutions of time, but the first of several scanty harvests in succession. We may consider it certain that, for the approaching year, it has added an item of large amount to the value of our exports, and that it will produce a corresponding increase of importations. It may therefore confidently be foreseen that the revenue of 1829 will equal, and probably exceed, that of 1828, and will afford the means of extinguishing ten millions more of the principal of the public debt.

" This new element of prosperity to that part of our agricultural industry which is occupied in producing the first article of human subsistence, is of the most cheering character to the feelings of patriotism. Proceeding from a cause which humanity will view with concern, the sufferings of scarcity in distant lands, it yields a consolatory reflection, that this scarcity is in no respect attributable to us. That it comes from the dispensation of Him who ordains all in wisdom and goodness, and who permits evil itself only as an instrument of good. That, far from contributing to this scarcity, our agency will be applied only to the alleviation of its severity ; and that in pouring forth, from the abundance of our garners, the supplies which will partially restore plenty to those who are in need,

we shall ourselves reduce our stores, and add to the price of our own bread, so as in some degree to participate in the wants which it will be the good fortune of our country to relieve.

" The great interests of an agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing nation, are so linked in union together, that no permanent cause of prosperity to one of them can operate without extending its influence to the others. All these interests are alike under the protecting power of the legislative authority ; and the duties of the representative bodies are, to conciliate them in harmony together. So far as the object of taxation is to raise a revenue for discharging the debts, and defraying the expenses of the community, it should, as much as possible, suit the burden with equal hand upon all, in proportion with their ability of bearing it without oppression. But the legislation of one nation is sometimes intentionally made to bear heavily upon the interests of another. That legislation, adapted, as it is meant to be, to the special interests of its own people, will often press most unequally upon the several component interests of its neighbours. Thus the legislation of Great Britain, when, as has recently been avowed, adapted to the depression of a rival nation, will naturally abound with regulations of interdict upon the productions of the soil or industry of the other, which come in competition with its own ; and will present encouragement, perhaps even bounty, to the raw material of the other state, which it cannot produce itself, and which is essential for the use of its manufactures, competitors in the markets of the world with those of its commercial

rival. Such is the state of the commercial legislation of Great Britain as it bears upon our interests. It excludes, with interdicting duties, all importation (except in time of approaching famine) of the great staple productions of our middle and western states; it proscribes, with equal rigour, the bulkier lumber and live stock of the same portion, and also of the northern and eastern part of our union. It refuses even the rice of the south, unless aggravated with a charge of duty upon the northern carrier who brings it to them. But the cotton, indispensable for their looms, they will receive almost duty free, to weave it into a fabric for our own wear, to the destruction of our own manufactures, which they are enabled thus to undersell. Is the self-protecting energy of this nation so helpless, that there exists, in the political institutions of our country, no power to counteract the bias of this foreign legislation?—that the growers of grain must submit to this exclusion from the foreign markets of their produce;—that the shippers must dismantle their ships, the trade of the north stagnate at the wharfs, and the manufacturers starve at their looms, while the whole people shall pay tribute to foreign industry to be clad in a foreign garb;—that the Congress of the Union are impotent to restore the balance in favour of native industry destroyed by the statutes of another realm? More just and more generous sentiments, will, I trust, prevail. If the tariff adopted at the last session of Congress shall be found by experience to bear oppressively upon the interests of any one section of the Union, it ought to be, and I cannot doubt

will be, so modified as to alleviate its burden. To the voice of just complaint from any portion of their constituents, the representatives of the States and people will never turn away their ears; but so long as the duty of the foreign shall operate only as a bounty upon the domestic article—while the planter, and the merchant, and the shepherd, and the husbandman, shall be found thriving in their occupations under the duties imposed for the protection of domestic manufactures, they will not repine at the prosperity shared with themselves by their fellow-citizens of other professions, nor denounce, as violations of the constitution, the deliberate acts of Congress to shield from the wrongs of foreign laws the native industry of the Union. While the tariff of the last session of Congress was a subject of legislative deliberation, it was foretold by some of its opposers that one of its necessary consequences would be to impair the revenue. It is yet too soon to pronounce, with confidence, that this prediction was erroneous. The obstruction of one avenue of trade not unfrequently opens an issue to another. The consequence of the tariff will be to increase the exportation, and to diminish the importation of some specific articles. But, by the general law of trade, the increase of exportation of one article will be followed by an increased importation of others, the duties upon which will supply the deficiencies which the diminished importation would otherwise occasion. The effect of taxation upon revenue can seldom be foreseen with certainty. It must abide the test of experience. As yet no symptoms of diminution are perceptible in the receipts of

the Treasury. As yet, little addition of cost has even been experienced upon the articles burdened with heavier duties by the last tariff. The domestic manufacturer supplies the same or a kindred article at a diminished price, and the consumer pays the same tribute to the labour of his own countryman which he must otherwise have paid to foreign industry and toil.

"The tariff of the last session was in its details, not acceptable to the great interests of any portion of the Union, not even to the interests which it specially intended to subserve. Its object was to balance the burdens upon native industry, imposed by the operation of foreign laws; but not to aggravate the burdens of one section of Union by the relief afforded to another. To the great principle sanctioned by that act,—one of those upon which the constitution itself was formed,—I hope and trust the authorities of the Union will adhere. But if any of the duties imposed by the act, only relieve the manufacturer by aggravating the burdens of the planter, let a careful revisal of its provisions, enlightened by the practical experience of its effects, be directed to retain those which impart protection to native industry, and remove or supply the place of those which only alleviate one great national interest by the depression of another.

"The United States of America, and the people of every state of which they are composed, are each of them sovereign powers. The legislative authority of the whole is exercised by Congress, under authority granted them in the common constitution. The legislative power of each state is exercised by

assemblies deriving their authority from the constitution of the state. Each is sovereign within its own province. The distribution of power between them presupposes that these authorities will move in harmony with each other. The members of the state and general governments are all under oath to support both, and allegiance is due to the one and to the other. The case of a conflict between these two powers has not been supposed, nor has any provision been made for it in our institutions, as a virtuous nation of ancient times existed more than five centuries without a law for the punishment of parricide.

"More than once, however, in the progress of our history, have the people and the legislatures of one or more states, in moments of excitement, been instigated to this conflict; and the means of effecting this impulse have been allegations that the acts of congress to be resisted were unconstitutional. The people of no one state have ever delegated to their legislature the power of pronouncing an act of congress unconstitutional; but they have delegated to them powers, by the exercise of which the execution of the laws of congress within the state may be resisted. If we suppose the case of such conflicting legislation sustained by the corresponding executive and judicial authorities, patriotism and philanthropy turn their eyes from the condition in which the parties would be placed, and from that of the people of both, which must be its victims.

"The reports from the Secretary of War, and from the various subordinate offices of that department, present an exposition of the public administration of

affairs connected with them, through the course of the current year. The present state of the army, and the distribution of the force of which it is composed, will be seen from the report of the major-general. Several alterations in the disposal of the troops have been found expedient in the course of the year, and the discipline of the army, though not entirely free from exception, has been generally good.

"The attention of Congress is particularly invited to that part of the report of the Secretary of War which concerns the existing system of our relations with the Indian tribes. At the establishment of the Federal government, under the present constitution of United States, the principle was adopted of considering them as foreign and independent powers; and also as proprietors of lands. They were moreover, considered as savages, whom it was our policy and our duty to use our influence in converting to Christianity, and in bringing within the pale of civilization.

"As independent powers, we negotiated with them by treaties; as proprietors, we purchased of them all the lands which we could prevail upon them to sell; as brethren of the human race, rude and ignorant we endeavoured to bring them to a knowledge of religion and of letters. The ultimate design was, to incorporate in our own institutions that portion of them which could be converted to the state of civilization. In the practice of European states, before our revolution, they had been considered as children to be governed; as tenants at discretion, to be dispossessed as occasion might require; as hunters, to be indem-

nified by trifling concessions for removal from the grounds upon which their game was extirpated. In changing the system, it would seem as if a full contemplation of the consequences of the change had not been taken. We have been far more successful in the acquisition of their lands than in imparting to them the principles, or inspiring them with the spirit, of civilization. But in appropriating to ourselves their hunting grounds, we have brought upon ourselves the obligation of providing them with subsistence; and when we have had the rare good fortune of teaching them the arts of civilization, and the doctrines of Christianity, we have unexpectedly found them forming, in the midst of ourselves, communities claiming to be independent of ours, and rivals of sovereignty within the territories of the members of our Union. This state of things requires that a remedy should be provided,—a remedy which, while it shall do justice to those unfortunate children of nature, may secure to the members of our confederation their rights of sovereignty and of soil. As the outline of a project to that effect, the views presented in the report to the Secretary of War are recommended to the consideration of Congress.

"The report from the engineer department presents a comprehensive view of the progress which has been made in the great systems promotive of the public interest, commenced and organized under the authority of Congress, and the effects of which have already contributed to the security, as they will hereafter largely contribute to the honour and dignity, of the nation.

"The first of these great systems

is that of fortifications, commenced immediately after the close of our late war, under the salutary experience which the events of that war had impressed upon our countrymen of its necessity. Introduced under the auspices of my immediate predecessor, it has been continued with the persevering and liberal encouragement of the legislature; and, combined with corresponding exertions for the gradual increase and improvement of the navy, prepares for our extensive country a condition of defence adapted to any critical emergency which the varying course of events may bring forth. Our advances in these concerted systems have for the last ten years been steady and progressive; and in a few years more will be so completed as to leave no cause for apprehension that our sea-coast will ever again offer a theatre of hostile invasion.

"The next of these cardinal measures of policy is the preliminary to great and lasting works of public improvement, in the surveys of roads, examination for the course of canals, and labours for the removal of the obstructions of rivers and harbours, first commenced by the act of Congress of 30th April, 1824.

"The report exhibits in one table the funds appropriated at the last and preceding sessions of Congress, for all these fortifications, surveys and works of public improvement; the manner in which these funds have been applied; the amount expended upon the several works under construction, and the further sums which may be necessary to complete them. In a second the works projected by the board of engineers, which have not been commenced, and the estimate of their cost.

"In a third, the report of the annual Board of Visitors at the Military Academy at West Point. For thirteen fortifications erecting on various points of our Atlantic coast, from Rhode Island to Louisiana, the aggregate expenditure of the year has fallen a little short of 1,000,000 dollars.

"For the preparation of five additional reports of reconnoissances and surveys since the last session of Congress, for the civil constructions upon thirty-seven different public works commenced, eight others for which specific appropriations have been made by acts of Congress, and twenty other incipient surveys under the authority given by the act of the 30th of April, 1824, about 1,000,000 more of dollars have been drawn from the Treasury.

"To these 2,000,000 of dollars are to be added the appropriation of 250,000 dollars, to commence the erection of a breakwater near the mouth of the Delaware River; the subscriptions to the Delaware and Chesapeake, the Louisville and Portland, the Dismal Swamp, and the Chesapeake and Ohio canals; the large donations of lands to the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Alabama, for objects of improvements within those states, and the sums appropriated for lighthouses, buoys, and piers, on the coast, and a full view will be taken of the munificence of the nation in the application of its resources to the improvement of its own condition.

"Of these great national undertakings, the academy at West Point is among the most important in itself, and the most comprehensive in its consequences. In that institution, a part of the revenue of the nation is applied to defray the

expense of educating a competent portion of her youth, chiefly to the knowledge and duties of military life. It is the living armoury of the nation. While the other works of improvement enumerated in the reports now presented to the attention of Congress, are destined to ameliorate the face of nature, to multiply the facilities of communication between the different parts of the Union, to assist the labours, to increase the comforts, and enhance the enjoyment, of individuals, the instruction acquired at West Point enlarges the dominion and expands the capacities of the mind. Its beneficial results are already experienced in the composition of the army, and their influence is felt in the intellectual progress of society. The institution is susceptible still of great improvement from benefactions proposed by several successive boards of visitors, to whose earnest and repeated recommendations I cheerfully add my own.

"With the usual reports from the Secretary of the Navy and the Board of Commissioners, will be exhibited to the view of Congress, the execution of the laws relating to that department of the public service. The repression of piracy in the West-Indian and in the Grecian seas has been effectually maintained with scarcely any exception. During the war between the governments of Buenos Ayres and of Brazil, frequent collisions between belligerent acts of power and the rights of neutral commerce occurred. Licentious blockades, irregularly enlisted or impressed seamen, and the property of honest commerce seized with violence, and even plundered under legal pretences, are disorders never separable from the conflicts of wars upon the ocean. With a

portion of them the correspondence of our commanders on the eastern aspect of the South American coast, and among the islands of Greece, discover how far we have been involved. In these the honour of our country and the rights of our citizens have been asserted and vindicated. The appearance of new squadrons in the Mediterranean, and the blockade of the Dardanelles, indicate the danger of other obstacles to the freedom of commerce, and the necessity of keeping our naval force in those seas. To the suggestions repeated in the report of the Secretary of the Navy, and tending to the permanent improvement of this institution, I invite the favourable consideration of Congress.

"A resolution of the House of Representatives, requesting that one of our small public vessels should be sent to the Pacific Ocean and South Sea, to examine the coasts, islands, harbours, shoals, and reefs, in those seas, and to ascertain their true situation and description, has been put in a train of execution. The vessel is nearly ready to depart; the successful accomplishment of the expedition may be greatly facilitated by suitable legislative provisions, and particularly by an appropriation to defray its necessary expense. The addition of a second, and perhaps, a third vessel, with a slight aggravation of the cost, would contribute much to the safety of the citizens embarked on this undertaking, the results of which may be of the deepest interest to our country.

"With the report of the Secretary of the Navy, will be submitted, in conformity to the act of Congress of the 3rd of March, 1827, for the gradual improvement

of the navy of the United States, statements of the expenditures under that act, and of the measure taken for carrying the same into effect. Every section of that statute contains a distinct provision, looking to the great object of the whole—the gradual improvement of the navy. Under its salutary sanction, stores of ship-timber have been procured, and are in process of seasoning and preservation for the future uses of the navy. Arrangements have been made for the preservation of the live oak timber growing on the lands of the United States, and for its reproduction, to supply at future and distant days, the waste of that most valuable material for ship-building, by the great consumption of it yearly for the commercial, as well as for the military marine of our country. The construction of the two dry docks at Charlestown and at Norfolk is making satisfactory progress towards a durable establishment. The examinations and inquiries to ascertain the practicability and expediency of a Marine Railway at Pensacola, though not yet accomplished, have been postponed, but to be the more effectually made. The Navy Yards of the United States have been examined, and plans for their improvement, and the preservation of the public property therein, at Portsmouth, Charlestown, Philadelphia, Washington, and Gosport, and to which two others are to be added, have been prepared, and received my sanction; and no other portion of my public duties has been performed with a more intimate conviction of its importance to the future welfare and security of the Union.

“With the report from the Post-

master-general is exhibited a comparative view of the gradual increase of that establishment, from five to five years, since 1792 till this time, in the number of post-offices, which has grown from less than two hundred to nearly eight thousand; in the revenue yielded by them, which from 67,000 dollars has swollen to upwards of 1,500,000, and in the number of post-roads, which, from five thousand six hundred and forty-two, have multiplied to one hundred and fourteen thousand five hundred and thirty-six. While, in the same period of time, the population of the Union has about thrice doubled, the rate of increase of these offices is nearly forty, and of the revenue, and of travelled miles, from twenty to twenty-five for one. The increase of revenue within the last five years has been nearly equal to the whole revenue of the department in 1812.

“The expenditures of the department during the year which ended on the 1st of July last, have exceeded the receipts by a sum of about 25,000 dollars. The excess has been occasioned by the increase of mail conveyances and facilities, to the extent of near eight hundred thousand miles. It has been supplied by collections from the postmasters, of the arrearages of preceding years. While the correct principle seems to be, that the income levied by the department should defray all the expenses, it has never been the policy of this government to raise from this establishment any revenue to be applied to any other purposes. The suggestion of the Postmaster-general, that the insurance of the safe transmission of monies by the mail might be assumed by the department, for a moderate and



competent remuneration, will deserve the consideration of Congress.

"A report from the commissioners of the public buildings in this city exhibits the expenditure upon them in the course of the current year. It will be seen that the humane and benevolent intentions of Congress in providing, by the act of 20th of May, 1826, for the erection of a penitentiary in this district have been accomplished. The authority of further legislation is now required for the removal to this tenement of the offenders against the laws, sentenced to atone by personal confinement for their crimes, and to provide a code for their employment and government while thus confined.

"The commissioners appointed conformably to the act of 2nd of March, 1827, to provide for the adjustment of claims of persons entitled to indemnification under the first article of the treaty of Ghent, and for the distribution among such claimants of the sum paid by the government of Great Britain under the Convention of the 13th of November, 1826, closed their labours on the 30th of August last, by awarding the claimants the sum of one million one hundred and ninety-seven thousand four hundred and twenty-two dollars and eighteen cents; leaving a balance of seven thousand five hundred and thirty-seven dollars and eighty-two cents, which was distributed rateably amongst all the claimants to whom awards had been made, according to the directions of the act.

"The exhibits appended to the report from the Commissioner of the General Land Office, present the actual condition of that common property of the Union. The

amount paid into the Treasury from the proceeds of lands, during the year 1827, and the first half of 1828, falls little short of 2,000,000 of dollars. The propriety of further extending the time for the extinguishment of the debt due to the United States by the purchasers of the public lands, limited by the act of the 21st of March last, to the 4th of July next, will claim the consideration of Congress, to whose vigilance and careful attention the regulation, disposal, and preservation of this great national inheritance has by the people of the United States been intrusted.

"Among the important subjects to which the attention of the present Congress has already been invited, and which may occupy their further and deliberate discussion, will be the provision to be made for taking the fifth census or enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States. The constitution of the United States requires that this enumeration should be made within every term of ten years, and the date from which the last enumeration commenced was the first Monday of August, in the year 1820. The laws under which the former enumerations were taken, were enacted at the session of Congress immediately preceding the operation. But considerable inconveniences were experienced from the delay of legislation to so late a period. That law, like those of the preceding enumerations, directed that the census should be taken by the marshals of the several districts and territories, under instructions from the Secretary of State. The preparation and transmission to the marshals of those instructions, required more time than was then allowed between

the passage of the law and the day when the enumeration was to commence. The term of six months, limited for the returns of the marshals, was also found even then too short; and must be more so now, when an additional population of at least three million, must be presented upon the returns. As they are to be made at the short session of Congress, it would, as well as from other considerations, be more convenient to commence the enumeration from an earlier period of the year than the 1st of August. The most favourable season would be the spring. On a review of the former enumerations, it will be found that the plan for taking every census has contained improvements upon that of its predecessor. The last is still susceptible of much improvement. The third census was the first at which any account was taken of the manufactures of the country. It was repeated at the last enumeration, but the returns in both cases were necessarily very imperfect. They must always be so, resting of course only on the communications voluntarily made by individuals interested in some of the manufacturing establishments. Yet they contained much valuable information, and may, by some supplementary provision of the law, be

rendered more effective. The columns of age, commencing from infancy, have been confined to a few periods, all under the number of forty-five years. Important knowledge would be obtained by extending those columns, in intervals of ten years, to the utmost boundaries of human life. The labour of taking them would be a trifling addition to that already prescribed, and the result would exhibit comparative tables of longevity highly interesting to the country. I deem it my duty further to observe, that much of the imperfections in the returns of the last and perhaps of preceding enumerations proceeded from the inadequateness of the compensations allowed the marshals and their assistants in taking them.

"In closing this communication, it only remains for me to assure the Legislature of my continued earnest wish for the adoption of measures recommended by me heretofore, and yet to be acted on by them, and of the cordial concurrence on my part in every constitutional provision which may receive their sanction during the session, tending to the general welfare.

JOHN QUINCEY ADAMS.  
*Washington, Dec. 2, 1828.*

## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

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MEMOIRS OF THE RIGHT HON. ROBERT BANKS JENKINSON,  
EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

**T**HE late earl of Liverpool was born on the 7th of June, 1770. His mother died while he was an infant. His father, then Mr. Jenkinson, placed him, at a very early age, at a respectable academy at Parson's Green, near Fulham, where he remained until he entered his thirteenth year. He was then removed to the Charter-house, where he continued between two and three years, and considerably increased his acquaintance with classical learning. There are in the possession of one of his schoolfellows several accurate and elegant translations from Greek and Latin authors, as well as many original compositions, manifesting superior taste and judgment, which were produced by him at that time.

No long interval elapsed between his leaving the Charter-house and his entering Christ Church, Oxford. During the intervening period, his father availed himself of the opportunity, to give a more definite direction to his studies, and to sow the seeds of an extensive acquaintance with state affairs, and with the best models and means of political government. A catalogue of the best writers on  
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the different branches of public economy was put into his hands, and a selection from their purest and ablest works was prepared for him, to blend with his other college occupations. Among other branches of political science, commerce and finance were especially attended to; and while the more abstract departments of knowledge were not neglected, chief attention was paid, by both father and son, to the more practical and popular.

At college Mr. Jenkinson was the companion and friend of Mr. Canning: a circumstance to which Mr. Moore and others have attributed the secession of the latter from the political faith in which he had been educated. The friendship thus early commenced, was of an unusually permanent character, and had more than once a very important influence on Mr. Canning's public life.

Mr. Jenkinson paid a visit to the metropolis of France about the period of the breaking out of the Revolution, and was at Paris when the Bastille was demolished by the mob. Intimately acquainted with Mr. Pitt, Mr. Jenkinson's residence at Paris was at that time of essential service to the British go-

vernment as a means of accurate information of the state of affairs in France.

On his return to England he was introduced to parliament as one of the representatives of Rye, and under the avowed patronage of the minister. His election, it is remarkable, took place full twelve months before his age allowed him to sit in the House, and he returned to pass the intervening time in acquiring fresh continental information. In the year 1791, having reached his twenty-first year, he took his seat in the House, and on the 27th of February, 1792, he made his first speech, in opposition to the resolutions of Mr. Whitbread on the question of the empress Catherine persisting in her claim to Ockzarkow and the adjoining district. His address manifested a profound knowledge, not only of the subject in dispute between Russia and Turkey at that juncture, but also of the general affairs and prospects of Europe, and the proper duty of England in relation to the continental nations. No doubt was entertained, from this first effort, that Mr. Jenkinson would rise to be a distinguished parliamentary speaker, and an efficient member of the British cabinet.

In the debates which soon after took place respecting the slave trade, Mr. Jenkinson opposed the abolitionists. His father was one of the chief opponents of the abolition in the House of Lords, and that probably influenced the early decision of Mr. Jenkinson on the subject. On the 2nd of April, 1792, Mr. Wilberforce moved as a resolution in a committee of the whole House, "that it is the opinion of the committee that the trade carried on by British sub-

jects, for the purpose of obtaining slaves on the coast of Africa, ought to be abolished." Mr. Dundas proposed to insert the word "gradually" before the word "abolished." In the course of the debate Mr. Jenkinson moved as an amendment, "that the chairman should leave the chair." This amendment was rejected by a large majority; and Mr. Dundas's proposition was agreed to.

On the deposition of the king of France, the British ambassador, lord Gower, was recalled from Paris. When, on the 15th of December following (1792), Mr. Fox moved an address to the king, praying "that his majesty would be graciously pleased to give directions that a minister might be sent to Paris, to treat with those persons who exercised provisionally the functions of the executive government of France, touching such points as might be in discussion between his majesty and his allies, and the French nation," Mr. Jenkinson, in the temporary absence of Mr. Pitt (who had vacated his seat in the House of Commons, by accepting the wardenship of the Cinque Ports), replied to Mr. Fox in a speech of great animation and power. "On this very day," he exclaimed, "on this very day, while we are here debating about sending an ambassador to the French republic—on this very day is the king of France to receive sentence; and, in all probability, it is the day of his murder. What is it, then, that gentlemen would propose to their sovereign? To bow his neck to a band of sanguinary ruffians, and address an ambassador to a set of murderous regicides, whose hands were still reeking with the blood of a slaughtered monarch, and who, he had pre-

viously declared, should find no refuge in this country? No, sir; the British character is too noble to run a race for infamy; nor will we be the first to compliment a set of monsters who, while we are agitating this subject, are probably bearing through the streets of Paris—horrid spectacle!—the unhappy victim of their fury.” Mr. Fox’s motion was rejected without a division. The talents and efforts of Mr. Jenkinson on this occasion were warmly complimented, especially by Mr. Burke. From that time, he rapidly rose in the consideration of all parties; and began commonly to take a prominent part in combating the arguments of the Opposition.

In April, 1793, Mr. Jenkinson was appointed one of the commissioners of the India board, the duties of which situation he performed with equal satisfaction to the company and the government.

When Mr. Grey, on the 6th of May, 1793, brought forward his memorable petition on the subject of parliamentary reform, Mr. Jenkinson stood foremost in the rank of its opposers; defending with great acuteness the existing state of the representation, and maintaining that the House of Commons, constituted as it was, had answered the end for which it was designed.

On the 6th of March, 1794, Mr. Grey moved an address to the king, expressive of the concern of the House that his majesty should have formed an union with powers whose apparent aim was to regulate a country wherein they had no right to interfere. Mr. Jenkinson, in reply, rapidly sketched the real views of the combined powers, whose object he insisted, was both real and practicable. On the 10th

of April, major Maitland having proposed to the House of Commons to resolve itself into a committee, to take into consideration the causes which had led to the failure of the army commanded by his royal highness the duke of York, at Dunkirk; and having entered into an elaborate examination and condemnation of the measures of ministers throughout the whole of the preceding year, Mr. Jenkinson contended, in opposition to the major, that no exertions had been wanting on the part of the ministry. It was on this occasion that Mr. Jenkinson observed, “he had no difficulty in saying, that the marching to Paris was attainable and practicable; and that he for one, would recommend such an expedition.” Often, and long was he taunted in parliament, and elsewhere, with this memorable suggestion; yet he lived to see the idea realised by the measures of himself and his colleagues.

Mr. Jenkinson on the 25th of March, 1795, married the hon. lady Theodosia Louisa, third daughter of Frederick Augustus Hervey, fourth earl of Bristol, and bishop of Derry.

The address at the opening of the session of 1795-6 was remarkable for being seconded by the late marquis of Londonderry, then Mr. Stewart, in the first speech delivered by him in the English House of Commons. He was answered by Mr. Sheridan, who threw out many invectives against ministers, advising them to declare themselves willing to treat with the French republic. Mr. Jenkinson replied to Mr. Sheridan, and repeated his former arguments in justification of the measures of government.

Upon commercial subjects, Mr. Jenkinson might be expected, in

the language of Mr. Sheridan, to have some claims to "hereditary knowledge." He always entered upon them with confidence; and, on Mr. Grey's motion in the House of Commons, 10th March, 1796, for an inquiry into the state of the nation, he took an able view of the effect of the war upon our commerce, from its commencement, and contended that, notwithstanding the weight of so great a war, the commercial situation of Great Britain was more prosperous than at any antecedent period.

On the 28th of May, 1796, Mr. Jenkinson participated in the honours of his family so far, as to exchange that surname for the second title of his father—lord Hawkesbury; who was at that time created earl of Liverpool.

When the great measure of a legislative union with Ireland was proposed, it received lord Hawkesbury's entire concurrence. The subject was introduced on the 22nd of January, 1799, by a message from the Crown; and in the discussion which ensued, his lordship expressed his warm approbation of the intentions of government respecting it.

On the temporary retirement of Mr. Pitt from power, early in 1801, the formation of a new ministry was announced on the 14th of March in that year; and lord Hawkesbury was appointed to the important office of Secretary of State for the Foreign Department. The great business of the succeeding summer and autumn, was the adjustment of preliminaries of peace with France. Of course, lord Hawkesbury, as foreign secretary, was intrusted with the interests of Great Britain in the negotiation which was opened on the subject, and which

was ended on the 28th of March, 1802, by a definitive treaty of peace, between the French republic, the king of Spain, and the Batavian republic, on the one hand, and the king of Great Britain and Ireland on the other.

In the memorable debate on this peace, which occurred on the 13th of May, 1802, lord Hawkesbury defended the treaty in a speech of great length; and which was considered, at the time, to be much the ablest that had been delivered on the subject in either House of parliament.

While France was adding to her influence or actual domination over the states of the continent, the first consul endeavoured to divert the attention of the British ministers from his plans, by complaints of the British press. He sent instructions to his ambassador to remonstrate with government upon the remarks of the public writers on his character and conduct; affecting to be totally ignorant of the little redress any ministers of this country could obtain for him in such a case. Lord Hawkesbury is admitted by all parties to have nobly vindicated the public character and liberties of his country, in the correspondence that ensued. "I am sure," says the noble lord, in his reply, through Mr. Merry, to one of M. Otto's official notes, "I am sure you must be aware that his majesty cannot, and never will, in consequence of any representation or any menace from a foreign power, make any concession which can be in the smallest degree dangerous to the liberty of the press, as secured by the constitution of this country. This liberty is justly dear to every British subject. The constitution admits of no previous restraints upon

publications of any description ; but there exist judicatures, wholly independent of the executive government, capable of taking cognizance of such publications as the law deems to be criminal, and which are bound to inflict the punishment the delinquents may deserve. These judicatures may take cognizance, not only of libels against the government and the magistracy of this kingdom, but, as has been repeatedly experienced, of publications defamatory of those in whose hands the administration of foreign governments is placed. Our government neither has nor wants any other protection than what the laws of the country afford ; and though they are willing and ready to give to every foreign government all the protection against offences of this nature which the principle of the laws and constitution will admit, they never can consent to new-model laws, or to change the constitution, to gratify the wishes of any foreign power. If the present French government are dissatisfied with our laws on the subject of libels, or entertain the opinion that the administration of justice in our courts is too tardy and lenient, they have it in their power to redress themselves, by punishing the vendors and distributors of such publications within their own territories in any manner that they may think proper, and thereby preventing the circulation of them. If they think their present laws are not sufficient for this purpose, they may enact new ones ; or, if they think it expedient, they may exercise the right which they have of prohibiting the importation of any foreign newspapers or periodical publications into the territories of the French republic. His majesty will not complain of

such a measure, as it is not his intention to interfere in the manner in which the people or territories of France should be governed ; but he expects, on the other hand, that the French government will not interfere in the manner in which the government of his dominions is conducted, or call for a change in those laws with which his people are perfectly satisfied."

In October, lord Hawkesbury became the equally able advocate of the liberties of Switzerland. Against every plea of moderation and justice, Buonaparte had ordered the French army under general Ney, to march into the unresisting cantons, to enforce the reception of a new constitution for that country, prepared in his own cabinet. His lordship addressed a note to M. Otto (still in London), wherein he expressed the sentiments of deep regret excited in his majesty's breast by the proclamation of the French consul to the Helvetic people, and declared that his majesty "saw the late exertions of the Swiss cantons in no other light than as the lawful efforts of a brave and generous people to recover their ancient laws and government, and to procure the re-establishment of a system which experience had demonstrated not only to be favourable to the maintenance of their domestic happiness, but to be perfectly consistent with the tranquillity and security of other powers."

On lord Hawkesbury devolved, at this period, much of what is technically called the management of the House of Commons ; and of course he spoke on every topic involving the character of the administration, as well as on the great political questions brought under the consideration of the House.

At the opening of the next session, lord Hawkesbury, as a means of strengthening the ministry in the House of Lords, was called up to that House, by writ, as a peer's eldest son. The only measure of importance, however, which in that session he brought forward in his new situation in the legislature was the volunteer consolidation bill.

About this period a circular note was sent by lord Hawkesbury to the ministers of foreign courts resident in London, disclaiming, with just indignation, the atrocious and utterly unfounded calumny that the government of his majesty had been a party to plans of assassination; "an accusation already made with equal falsehood and calumny by the same authority against the members of his majesty's government during the last war; an accusation incompatible with the honour of his majesty, and the known character of the British nation; and so completely devoid of any shadow of proof, that it may be reasonably presumed to have been brought forward at the present moment for no other purpose than that of diverting the attention of Europe from the contemplation of the sanguinary deed which has recently been perpetrated, by the direct order of the first consul, in France, in violation of the rights of nations, and in contempt of the most simple laws of humanity and honour." This was the detestable murder of the duke d'Enghien.

On the 12th of May it was announced that Mr. Addington had resigned. The administration was of course dissolved. Mr. Pitt returned to the head of the ministry, and lord Hawkesbury received the seals of the Home Department.

The first effort of the new go-

vernment was, to place the military establishments of the country on a more enlarged and permanent footing; and lord Hawkesbury successfully exerted himself in the House of Lords in the support of the additional force bill. At a late period of the session, Mr. Wilberforce renewed his attempts to put an end to the slave trade, and a bill for that purpose passed the House of Commons; but, on its transmission to the Upper House, it was postponed, on the motion of lord Hawkesbury, for maturer investigation in the ensuing session.

On the 10th of May, 1805, lord Grenville moved the order of the day for taking into consideration the petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland. This motion lord Hawkesbury opposed. He observed, "that, at any time, and under any circumstances, he must oppose a motion which might lead to such alarming consequences as the abrogation of all the tests at present subsisting in the empire. Experience had shown the desolation it had occasioned, by a republic of atheists, established in the heart of Europe. While every religion deserved to be protected, the possession of political power should be extended only with that degree of jealousy and circumspection, that would guard against the abuse of it, and prevent it from being made the instrument to destroy the government for whose support it was created. One of the fundamental principles of the British government, as established by the Bill of Rights and Act of Settlement, was, that the king must be a Protestant, and hold communion with the church of England; and the same limitation should, in his opinion, apply to the immediate advisers and officers of the crown. Our



ancestors thought it expedient to change the succession, sooner than have a king of a religion hostile to that of the state; and was it rational that the same principles should not apply to ministers, chancellors, and judges of the day? To open the door in this instance, would be to let in all the Dissenters in the kingdom; and who would consent to intrust the patronage of the church to persons considering her establishment as heretical? Upon the whole," he concluded, "that as long as the Catholics refused to take the Oath of Supremacy, they should be deprived of political power; and there never was a moment when it was more necessary than now, when all Catholic Europe was nearly subjected to France, and the pope placed in a state of absolute dependence on that country. The ruin of the church and the monarchy, in our own country, accompanied each other; and as his principle was, to uphold the establishment of both, he must resist the motion."

Mr. Pitt retired to Bath in the autumn of 1805, his health being in a state of rapid decline. With difficulty he returned to his house at Putney on the 11th of January, 1806, and could take no part in the opening of parliament on the 21st. On the morning of the 23rd he died.

The death of Mr. Pitt afforded lord Hawkesbury the first opportunity of supreme control in the national councils. His late majesty, in the first instance, honoured him with his confidence and commands with respect to the formation of a new ministry; but lord Hawkesbury, well knowing the situation and relative strength of public parties, with that good sense which always distinguished him, declined

the flattering offer. He received, however, a decided proof of the king's attachment, by being appointed to the vacant situation of warden of the Cinque Ports.

On the return of Mr. Pitt's friends to power in the following year, lord Hawkesbury resumed his station in the cabinet as Secretary of State for the Home Department; still declining any higher, and especially avoiding the highest, office. In the defence of all the great measures of government,—more especially the expedition to Copenhagen, and the orders in council,—he, however, took a prominent and most efficient part.

In the latter end of the year 1808, his father died, and lord Hawkesbury was placed at the head of his family, as second earl of Liverpool.

Lord Liverpool, throughout his public life, evinced great practical confidence in the cause of his country. With this feeling it was, that, in the session of parliament, which commenced on the 19th of January, 1809, he warmly advocated the cause of Spain. "They," observed his lordship, "who infer from the disasters which have happened, that that cause is desperate, reason on a most imperfect view of the relative situation of the parties engaged in the contest. I entreat those who are inclined to despond, to consult the records of history, and to review the instances of countries which have been compelled to struggle for their independence, in circumstances similar to those in which the Spaniards are now placed. There it will be found that nations, after maintaining such contests for ten or twenty years, in the course of which they have almost uniformly been worsted in battle,

have eventually succeeded, in spite of the temporary triumphs of their adversaries, in securing the object for which they contended. It is difficult to conceive any situation which could better warrant hopes of ultimate success than that of Spain does at the present day."

In a few days after, namely, on the 23rd of January, the noble earl had the gratification of being the first to move the thanks of the House of Lords for the conduct of lord Wellington in the Peninsula. This motion especially related to the battle of Vimiera.

When the quarrel and subsequent duel between lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning induced them to resign their situations in the government, and the duke of Portland to withdraw from being its nominal head, Mr. Perceval, still finding the earl of Liverpool averse to the premiership, united in name, as he had already done in effect, the two offices of first lord of the Treasury and chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Liverpool, however, consented, in this new arrangement, to become Secretary of State for the War department. In this capacity he nobly exhorted parliament and the country to an energetic perseverance in the vigorous efforts which were then making. On the 13th of June, in particular, after Lord Grey had submitted to the House of Lords a motion on the state of the nation, lord Liverpool, in contrast to the gloomy picture which had been exhibited by the noble earl, insisted that a favourable change was taking place in the posture of our affairs. The result, although not immediate, proved how well founded were his anticipations.

The assassination of Mr. Per-

ceval, on the 11th of May, 1812, left the ministry in so disjointed a state, that lord Liverpool yielded to the request of the prince regent to place himself at its head. So reluctant, however, was he, to the last, to become the prime minister, that he did not consent, until marquis Wellesley, and lords Grey and Grenville, had decidedly declined the offer.

No man ever rose to an exalted station by more gradual or more natural steps than those by which lord Liverpool attained the premiership. He had now been in parliament twenty years, taking in each House successively a leading part in every debate of national importance; and he had been, during more than half that period, in the confidential service of the Crown. In the prime and vigour of his life, there had been afforded to him, in the unprecedented changes, external and internal, to which the affairs of the country were, during that momentous period exposed, an unequalled opportunity for experience; he had been trained in the practice of the constitution, and had fought some of its hardest battles with each variety of its foes. On the 8th of June, 1812, his lordship rose in his place in the House of Lords, and stated to their lordships that the prince regent had on that day been pleased to appoint him First Commissioner of the Treasury, and had given him authority for completing the other arrangements for the administration as soon as possible. The only additions to the ministry on the occasion were lord Sidmouth and Mr. Vansittart, now lord Bexley.

The first important measure of the earl of Liverpool's government was rendered necessary by the riotous disposition which the

restricted demand for our manufactures abroad, combined with the adoption of the new machinery, and the consequent want of employment felt by the manufacturers, had produced in the northern districts. A secret committee was appointed to investigate the circumstances, and a bill was introduced, in pursuance of the report of that committee, to prevent the rioters from possessing themselves of arms, to guard against the effect of tumultuary meetings, and to give more effectual power and more extensive jurisdiction to the magistrates of the disturbed districts.

Towards the close of the session, marquis Wellesley proposed in the House of Lords a resolution, to the effect that the House should, early in the next session of parliament, take into consideration the state of the laws respecting the Catholics. The previous question was carried by a large majority. In stating his reasons for opposing the original motion, the premier was very explicit. "He would never," he observed, "meet a great question with little shifts and expedients. It ought to be met upon great and general principles. But if, when taken upon great and general principles, he could not see his way to a safe conclusion, he should not be acting justly and manfully, if he did not avow that sentiment, and act accordingly. Were the religious opinions of the Catholics the only obstacle it would be another affair. But the Oath of Supremacy, so far as it included an abjuration of all foreign jurisdiction, spiritual as well as temporal, he considered to be a fundamental part of the settlement of the government at the Revolution. It was at that period laid down as an essential prin-

ciple, that the Protestant government was to be firmly established in these realms. He conceived this to mean, that the power of the state was to be Protestant, and to be so maintained for the benefit of all descriptions of its subjects. If any one political principle were more firmly established than another, he took it to be this:—that the subject of a state should own no allegiance out of that state. He could see no beneficial results from the motion of his noble friend. It was a maxim of his political life—a maxim confirmed by all he had ever heard, read, or observed—that, with respect to a great constitutional question, if a stand were to be made, it should be made *in limine*. Therefore, as he could not clearly see any prospect of a practical conclusion from the present proposition, he thought the true way in point of principle, and the most manly way, was to resist it in the first instance. He would even go further, and say, that if he were disposed to make concession, he would still oppose the motion, because he would never pledge himself to make any great change in the laws without knowing exactly what that change was to be."

An unsolicited concession to the Dissenters marked this era of lord Liverpool's government. Some difference of construction having arisen respecting the right of their teachers to qualify under the existing acts of parliament, a bill was introduced and passed, taking away the discretion of magistrates with regard to granting certificates of qualification, and requiring no other oath to be taken than that of allegiance.

On the 20th of September, 1812, parliament was dissolved. In the

mean time, the transactions in Spain and in the north of Europe were of a very gratifying nature. In the Peninsula, the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo and of Badajoz, the victory of Salamanca, the advance of Lord Wellington on Madrid, the abandonment of the siege of Cadiz, and the evacuation of the whole of the south of Spain by the enemy, were among the brilliant events of the campaign: while, in the north of Europe, the French Emperor found it necessary to retreat from Moscow amid horrors unequalled in the history of modern warfare.

The first session of the new parliament was opened on the 28th of November, 1812. The defence of government against a charge on the part of the marquis of Wellesley, of not having afforded sufficient force to his illustrious brother in the Peninsula; a proposition for granting relief to the suffering Russians; an explanation of the causes of our rupture with America; the alteration in the operations of the Sinking-fund; the renewal of the East-India Company's charter; the treaty between Great Britain and Sweden;—these were the principal topics on which the earl of Liverpool addressed the House of Lords during the Parliamentary campaign, which closed on the 22nd of July, 1813.

The military campaign was one of equal activity. Lord Wellington, after repulsing Suchet, gaining the victory of Vittoria, and taking Pampeluna and St. Sebastian, entered France as a conqueror, beat the French with great loss on their own ground, crossed the Nive, and fully established himself in France. The campaign in the north of Europe also opened propitiously; and the subsequent loss of the battle of

Leipsic threatened Buonaparte with utter ruin.

Administration, and indeed the whole country, now felt the importance of the crisis, and of every possible aid being given to the allies. Parliament met on the 4th of November, and sanctioned loans of large amount to various foreign powers. There was at this time but one opinion, that the hour for the most strenuous exertions was come. Before Christmas, parliament adjourned to a period longer than usual, viz. the 1st of March; and on meeting on that day, adjourned further until the 21st. It was, in fact, to the executive rather than to the legislative body, and to the important movements of our allies, that the eyes of the country were directed. The great events which followed were, the entrance of the allies into Paris, the abdication, by Buonaparte, of the French throne, and his retirement to Elba, and the signature, on the 30th of May, 1814, of the definitive treaty of peace between France and the allied powers.

It has been stated, that there is no instance in modern English history, of the termination of a long war by a treaty so generally approved as that which restored peace at this time to Great Britain and France. In neither House was there a debate of any consequence respecting it. When the address to the king upon the subject was moved in the House of Lords (July 28), lord Liverpool, after explaining the general principle and stipulations of the treaty, adverted to that part of the address which declared that we had attained the great objects of the war. "What," said the noble earl, "were those objects? In 1793, we entered into the war to defend

Holland from the invasion of the French ; that ally is now restored to independence under the house of Orange. During the whole course of the war, the balance of Europe was the wished-for end of our exertions ; it is now secured by the reduction of the power of France within reasonable limits. The restoration of the Bourbons has never been our object ; yet I am convinced that we could have had no satisfactory peace with any other government in France. At the conclusion of former wars, we have sometimes abandoned our allies, and consulted only our own interests : the present peace has been made in conjunction with our allies, and with their full approbation and gratitude for our services. Never did the character of Great Britain stand so high as at the present moment."

To add to the general subjects of congratulation, a treaty with America was signed at Ghent, on the 24th of December. And thus closed a year, as honourable and fortunate for Great Britain as any in her annals : establishing her independence, and her superiority to every foe ; while it shed the blessings of peace on both hemispheres, and promised unequalled future happiness and civilization to the tranquillised globe.

These agreeable anticipations were, however, soon interrupted by the astounding intelligence of the return of Buonaparte from Elba. Messages on the subject, from the prince regent, having been sent to parliament, lord Liverpool, on the 7th of April, and on the 23rd of May, moved corresponding addresses, dwelling, in the speeches by which they were introduced, on the peculiar advantages of an attempt to overthrow

this dangerous enterprise of the enemy, while the confederacy of the allies was subsisting in entire unanimity, and they were prepared to act in concert. These were not mere words. Never did England make efforts so gigantic, either in a financial or in a military point of view as on this occasion ; and the result was the proud day of Waterloo. This was followed by the celebrated treaty of Paris.

In the session of 1816, the principal subjects to which the earl of Liverpool directed his attention were, the defence of the amount of military force which ministers thought it prudent still to retain, the explanations of the recent treaty, the transactions between government and the Bank of England, and the state of the silver coinage.

It is unnecessary to trace the various measures, which lord Liverpool proposed or supported during the remainder of the reign of George III.

On the 29th of January, 1820, the venerable monarch, under whose particular favour the family of lord Liverpool had risen to its present honours, ceased to live. But George IV., at the period of his accession, had exercised the sovereign power nearly eight years. He had freely and solemnly decided on the policy he would adopt, and the administration to whom the interests of the country should be committed. The usual changes of a new reign were, therefore not looked for ; and when lord Liverpool and the other ministers resigned their seals, *pro forma*, on the morning after the late king's demise, they were severally reinstated in their respective offices.

The parliament, which the king's death had necessarily assembled,

was dissolved on the 13th of March, 1820, and the new parliament met on the 21st of April. The alleviation of the existing commercial distresses, and improvements in our internal polity, furnished the predominant topics of the session. The earl of Liverpool opposed what he considered futile and dangerous expedients for the relief of the manufacturers; while we find him, during this sitting of parliament, first developing those liberal ideas on the subject of foreign commerce, which finally distinguished his administration. This was especially evident in his speech on the marquis of Lansdown's motion for a committee to consider the means of extending and increasing the foreign trade of the country. In the first part of his speech on that occasion lord Liverpool endeavoured to prove that the existing distress was neither produced nor accompanied by any diminution of our internal consumption, except in the article of wine. He then proceeded to the consideration of the topics which lord Lansdown had discussed. "He admitted most fully the advantages of a free trade; but we had grown up under, though in spite of, a system of restrictions from which it was impossible hastily to depart. In the actual condition of our affairs, with our present load of debt and taxes, an immediate recurrence to first principles would unsettle the value of all property. Our laws, with respect to agricultural produce alone, threw an insurmountable obstacle at present in the way of complete freedom of trade."—"He allowed, at the same time, that our restrictive system might in some degree be modified, and that those parts of it in particular to which the noble marquis

had turned their lordships' attention ought certainly to be reconsidered, and might probably be partially altered without much inconvenience."

The spring of this year was occupied in negotiations with the late queen and her advisers. Lord Castlereagh well described them as involving "the most embarrassing questions which ever perplexed any government." Her majesty's sudden appearance in this country, her conduct and that of her friends, her great momentary popularity, the various propositions made for her return to the continent, and their abortive issue, were followed by the bill of pains and penalties, and the examination of witnesses in support of it at the bar of the House of Lords.

In the next session, the recent revolution in Naples, the Catholic question, and the bill for the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England, were the chief topics on which lord Liverpool addressed the House of Lords.

On the 12th of June, 1821, lord Liverpool lost his wife; and we do not find him bearing any prominent part, even in the coronation.

During the session of 1822, the earl of Liverpool called the attention of parliament, at various periods, to the state of Ireland, the depressed condition of the agricultural interest (which, however, he maintained, was attributable, not to taxation, but to the want of a sufficient market for agricultural produce), and to the rupture which had recently taken place between Russia and the Porte.

On the 24th of September, 1822, his lordship again entered into matrimonial life, by conducting to the altar Miss E. Chester;

daughter of the reverend Charles Chester, and sister of sir Robert Chester.

Parliament re-assembled early in February, 1823, under the cheering prospect of a progressive internal prosperity. The principal topic of consideration, in our relation to other governments at this time, was the conduct of France and the allies in regard to Spain. The earl of Liverpool declared that "the policy of the British government rested on the principle of the law of nations, which allowed every country to judge how it could best be governed, and what ought to be its institutions."—"He and his colleagues viewed the question of Spain as one purely Spanish, and not mixed up with any other."—"He deprecated war; but while he said this, he protested against being supposed for a moment to admit the idea, that, if unavoidable circumstances presented no alternative to England but war or dishonour, we were not in a state to go to war." When the subject was renewed on the opening of the session of parliament in 1824, lord Liverpool observed, "that he had never hesitated to declare his opinion that France had no right to invade Spain. He had disapproved of that interference, and deprecated that attack, because France could make out no specific case which gave her any title to interfere. At the same time, he had been desirous that the evil might be averted by some concessions; not a concession from Spain to France, for France had no right to make any such demand; but a concession from Spain to herself, which might have taken away the motive for invasion. The British cabinet had advised this, and could do no more. The advice was rejected by the Spani-

ards. The French army entered; and the ease with which they obtained possession of the country showed the wisdom of our having abstained from interfering in the policy of a divided nation. It was evident, not only that the great majority, but a majority so great as to be a subject of surprise, hailed the French as friends who came to overthrow the constitution."

The Catholic question was not during this session brought forward in any distinct form, but some practical concessions were made to the Catholic body, in which lord Liverpool readily concurred. Lord Liverpool also supported the Unitarian Marriage bill, although it was eventually lost.

The only topic of importance on which lord Liverpool spoke in the session of 1825 was on the new Catholic bill, which was accompanied by two auxiliary measures, not inaptly termed "wings," and which provided respectively for the dependence of the Catholic priesthood on the government, through the agency of a state provision, and for the preservation of the Protestant interest in elections, by disfranchising the smaller freeholders in Ireland. On the 17th of May, these measures were debated in the House of Lords, and the premier delivered his sentiments with considerable energy; an energy, perhaps, which he put forth the rather, because rumours had been circulated that he was prepared to make concessions to the Romanists. It was the last time he spoke on the subject.

At the close of the year, an unexampled panic of the money market was followed by extensive embarrassments of the mercantile interests, and the most numerous bank failures ever known. The

whole circulation of the country became, in fact, paralysed. In the debate on the address at the opening of parliament, February 18th, 1826, the earl of Liverpool reminded the House that he had last year "created an opportunity" to admonish the public of the ruin which must follow the then prevailing rage for speculations. "One effect of those speculations had been to increase the circulation of country bank notes to the amount of four millions in two years, or, in point of fact, to double it. The remedy which he should propose would be to remove the limitation to six persons, imposed upon bank partnerships by the Bank of England charter, as far as it affected bankers at above sixty-five miles distance from London, and gradually to withdraw one and two pound notes from circulation." These measures were accordingly carried into effect.

A new parliament was called together on the 14th of November, 1826. In reply to a question by lord King, on the 29th, the earl of Liverpool stated that ministers were prepared to propose a general measure in regard to the Corn-laws; but that they thought it would be unfair, both to parliament and to the country, to bring it forward before the Christmas holidays, as it had been fully understood that parliament was not to meet for business till after Christmas, and that it had been convoked in November merely for a special purpose.

That purpose having been accomplished, an adjournment to the 8th of February, 1827, took place. On that day, of course, parliament met; and lord Liverpool, after first giving notice, in the House of Lords, that he should move on

the following Monday an address of condolence to his majesty, on the melancholy loss of his brother, the late duke of York, said, "it was his intention to submit to the House, on Monday se'nnight, the views of government on the Corn-laws."

The noble earl was permitted to fulfil but one of those pledges, namely, to move the address of condolence to his majesty. In performing this melancholy duty, he very ably reviewed the claims of his late royal highness on the public regard, and the peculiar situation in which he stood with reference to his majesty.

The Earl of Liverpool was in his place in the House of Lords on the 15th, and brought down a message from his majesty, recommending a further provision for the duke and duchess of Clarence. The next day he moved an address expressive of the willingness of the House to make a suitable provision for their royal highnesses. It was the last occasion on which this faithful servant of the Crown and of the country was seen at his post. His lordship retired to rest at Fife House at his usual hour, and, apparently, in good health. On the following morning, Saturday, the 17th of February, he took his breakfast alone, in his library, at ten o'clock. At about that hour, also, he received the post letters. Some time after, his servant, not having, as usual, heard his lordship's bell, entered the apartment, and found him stretched on the floor, motionless and speechless. From his position, it was evident that he had fallen in the act of opening a letter. Dr. Drever, the family physician, happened at that moment to call, and sir Henry Hallford and sir Astley



Cooper were immediately sent for ; when it appeared that his lordship had been seized by a fit both of an apoplectic and of a paralytic nature ; which affected the whole of his right side. The history of the progress of the infirmity, which thus at once prostrated his mind and body, belongs to that sacred privacy, which ought never to be invaded. As soon as his situation would admit, he was removed to his seat at Combe Wood. After various fluctuations, although at no time with the slightest prospect of convalescence, the fatal moment at length arrived. The noble earl had for some days been in his ordinary state, and no

symptoms calculated to excite immediate apprehension had occurred. On Thursday, the 4th of December, 1828, he had breakfasted as usual, when, about half-past nine o'clock, he was attacked with convulsions and spasms. A messenger was instantly despatched to Mr. Sandford, one of his medical attendants, who resides in the neighbourhood ; but, before that gentleman could arrive, his lordship had breathed his last. The countess of Liverpool, the honourable Cecil Jenkinson, and Mr. Childs, his lordship's steward, were in the apartment when the noble earl expired.

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SURPRISE and CAPTURE of VALDIVIA by LORD COCHRANE,  
in 1820.

Lord Cochrane, after cruising about for some time, determined, in January, 1820, to return to Valparaiso, and to look in upon Valdivia, by the way. He arrived off the latter place on the 2nd of February, with the O'Higgins in a sinking state, the Montezuma schooner, and the Intrepido brig, having major Miller, with a party of marines, on board. When about thirty miles from land, the troops were removed into the lighter vessels, to one of which, the schooner, lord Cochrane, also shifted his flag ; and the frigate, being left to beat off and on, her less formidable partners made what way they could for the port, in the hope of taking the Royalists by surprise,

The harbour of Valdivia is situated in 39° 50' south latitude, and 73° 28' west longitude, and forms a capacious basin, girdled in by

a deep and impenetrable forest, which advances to the water's edge. It is protected on the east by Fort Niebla, on the west by Amargos, completely commanding the entrance, which is only three-quarters of a mile across ; and by forts Corral, Chorocomayo, San Carlos, El Yngles, Mansanera, on an island at the extremity, and El Piojo and Carbonero, which bend round it in a semicircle. These are so placed as not only to defend the approach, but to enfilade one another : they mounted, at this time one hundred and eighteen pieces of ordnance, eighteen and twenty-four pounders ; and they were manned by no fewer than seven hundred and eighty regulars, and eight hundred and twenty-nine militia. Wherever they were not washed by the sea, the faces of these castles were co-

vered by deep ditches and ramparts, with the solitary exception of El Yngles, which had merely a rampart faced with palisades. In addition to all this, it is necessary to state, that such is the nature of the country behind, that no communication by land can be held between one fort and another, except by a path along the beach; and even this, which admits but of one man abreast, was enfiladed at a point where it crosses a ravine between forts Chorocomayo and Corral, by three guns. Against this place lord Cochrane determined to make an attempt; and he justified himself by observing, that "they must succeed, because the Spaniards would hardly believe that they were in earnest, even after the attack began."

The schooner and the brig, having hoisted Spanish colours, anchored on the 3rd of February, at three P. M., under the guns of the fort of El Yngles, opposite the caleta, or landing-place, and between the two. When hailed from the shore, captain Basques, a Spaniard by birth, who had embarked at Talcahuano as a volunteer, was directed to answer that they had sailed from Cadiz with the S. Elmo, of seventy-four guns, from whose convoy, he added, they had parted, in a gale of wind, off Cape Horn, and requested a pilot might be sent off. At this time, the swell was so great as to render an immediate disembarkation impracticable, as the launches would have drifted under the fort. Lord Cochrane's object, therefore, was to wait until the evening, when the wind would have abated, and the swell subsided. The Spaniards, who had already begun to entertain suspicions, ordered the vessels to send a boat ashore; to which

it was answered, they had lost them in the severe gales they had encountered. This, however, did not satisfy the garrison, which immediately fired alarm guns, and expresses were despatched to the governor at Valdivia. The garrisons of all the southern forts united at Fort Yngles. Fifty or sixty men were posted on the rampart commanding the approach from the caleta; the rest, about three hundred, formed on a small esplanade in the rear of the fort.

Whilst this was passing, the vessels remained unmolested; but, at four o'clock, one of the launches, which had been carefully concealed from the view of those on shore, by being kept close under the off-side of the vessel, unfortunately drifted astern. Before it could be hauled out of sight again, it was perceived by the garrison, which, having no longer any doubts as to the hostile nature of the visit, immediately opened a fire upon the vessels, and sent a party of seventy-five men to defend the landing-place. This detachment was accurately counted by those on board, as it proceeded one by one, along the narrow and difficult path to the caleta. The first shots fired from the fort having passed through the sides of the brig, and killed two men, the troops were ordered up from below, to land without further delay. But the two launches, which constituted the only means of disembarkation, appeared very inadequate to the effectual performance of such an attempt. Major Miller, with forty-four marines, pushed off in the first launch. After overcoming the difficulties of the heavy swell, an accumulation of sea-weed, in comparatively smooth water, loaded the oars at every stroke, and

impeded the progress of the assailants, who now began to suffer from the effects of a brisk fire from the party stationed at the landing-place. Amongst others, the coxswain was wounded, upon which major Miller took the helm. He seated himself on a spare oar, but, finding the seat inconvenient, he had the oar removed, by which he somewhat lowered his position. He had scarcely done so, when a ball passed through his hat, and grazed the crown of his head. He ordered a few of his party to fire, and soon after jumped ashore with his marines, dislodged the Royalists at the inlet, and made good his footing. So soon as the landing was perceived to have been effected, the party, in the second launch, pushed off from the brig; and, in less than an hour, three hundred and fifty Patriot soldiers were disembarked. Shortly after sunset, they advanced, in single files, along the rocky track, leading to Fort El Yngles, rendered slippery by the spray of the surf, which dashed, with deafening noise, upon the shore. This noise was rather favourable than otherwise to the adventurous party. The Royalist detachment, after being driven from the landing place, retreated along this path, and entered Fort Yngles by a ladder, which was drawn up, and, consequently, the Patriots found nobody *on the outside* to oppose their approach. The men advanced gallantly to the attack, but, from the nature of the track, in very extended order. The leading files were soldiers whose courage had been before proved, and who, enjoying amongst their comrades a degree of deference and respect, claimed the foremost post in danger. They advanced with

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firm but noiseless step, and, while those who next followed cheered with cries of "Adelante" (forward), others, still farther behind, raised clamorous shouts of "Viva la Patria," and many of them fired in the air. The path led to the salient angle of the fort, which, on one side, was washed by the sea, and, on the other side, flanked by the forest, the boughs and branches of which overhang a considerable space of the rampart. Favoured by the darkness of the night, and by the intermingling roar of artillery and musketry, by the lashing of the surge, and by the clamour of the garrison itself, a few men, under the gallant Ensign Vedal, crept under the inland flank of the fort; and, whilst the fire of the garrison was solely directed towards the noisy Patriots in the rear, those in advance contrived, without being heard or perceived, to tear up some loosened pallsades, with which they constructed a rude scaling-ladder, one end of which they placed against the rampart, and the other upon a mound of earth which favoured the design. By the assistance of this ladder, Ensign Vedal and his party mounted the rampart, got unperceived into the fort, and formed under cover of the branches of the trees which overhung that flank. The fifty or sixty men who composed the garrison, were occupied in firing upon those of the assailants, still approaching in single files. A volley from Vedal's party, which had thus taken the Spaniards in flank, followed by a rush, and accompanied by the terrific Indian yell, which was echoed by the reverberating valleys around, produced terror and immediate flight. The panic was communicated to the column of

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three hundred men, formed on an arena behind the fort, and the whole body, with the exception of those who were bayoneted, made the best of their way along the path that led to the other forts, but which, in their confusion, they did not attempt to occupy or defend. Upon arriving at the gorge of a ravine, between Fort Chorocomayo and the Castle of Corral, about one hundred men escaped in boats that were lying there, and rowed to Valdivia. The remainder, about two hundred men, neglecting the three guns on the height, which, if properly defended, would have effectually checked the advances of the pursuers, retreated into the Corral. This castle, however, was almost immediately stormed by the victorious Patriots, who, favoured by a part of the rampart which had crumbled down, and partly filled up the ditch, rushed forward, and thus obtained possession of all the western side of the harbour. The Royalists could retreat no farther,

for there the land communication ended. One hundred Spaniards were bayoneted; and about the same number, exclusive of officers, were made prisoners. Such was the rapidity with which the Patriots followed up their success, that the Royalists had not time to destroy their military stores, or even to spike a gun. Day-light of the 4th found the Independents in possession of the five forts—El Yngles, San Carlos, Amargos, Chorocomayo, and Corral.”

The fall of these forts was speedily followed by the reduction of Valdivia itself; after which, lord Cochrane, leaving a detachment to preserve his conquests, set sail for the Island of Chiloe. But his efforts, in that quarter, were not attended with success. The inhabitants, excited by their priests, gave the invaders so warm a reception, that the latter were compelled to take to their boats, and the fleet returned to Valparaiso.

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OPENING of the ITALIAN CAMPAIGN of 1799, and SIEGE of GENOA.

[From *Botta's History of Italy*.]

In the beginning of 1799, the French army in Italy consisted of little more than five-and-twenty thousand soldiers, who were distributed in the following manner. The right, under Soult, extended from Recco, on the eastern Riviera of Genoa, to Mount Cornua and Torriglio, and from the Bocchetta through Campofreddo, Stella, and Montelegina, on the western Riviera, as far as Cadibona and Savona; and commanded Gavi,

and also Genoa, where the generalissimo Massena held his headquarters. The left, under Suchet, guarded the western district from Vado to the Varo, with garrisons in the principal places: viz. San Giacomo, Settepani, Santo Stefano, Madonna della Neve, Montecalvo, Montegrosso; and also on the summits of the maritime Alps. This front was certainly too wide to be well defended by such a small body of men; but Genoa

was necessary to the designs of France, because it was of consequence to the ulterior movements of the Consul that it should long hold out, and Massena wished to occupy a large tract of country for the supply of provisions, of which he was in great want, therefore he was resolved to keep the command of the Riviera until compelled to abandon it.

On the other side, Melas, though a skilful and experienced general (and, perhaps, chiefly because he was so), could not persuade himself that the troops assembled at Dijon were to descend like a tempest on Italy, deeming it impossible that the republicans could, in so short a time, after so many discomfitures, have collected troops and arms sufficient for a movement of such consequence on those very plains where he had defeated, and from whence he had driven, them a few months back; but he knew not how to estimate the promptitude of Buonaparte, nor the readiness with which the French speeded to whatever point his name and voice called them. Hence he remained in too great security as to what might happen on his rear and on his right flank; and thus, intent only on driving the French from Genoa, he directed his whole force against a distant division of the French army, against difficult passes, against sterile rocks, leaving the field open to his adversary to descend to the rich and level plains of Lombardy with all the weight of his central force. From the subsequent occurrences, it will appear evident that Melas in this committed a great error, because he did exactly that which Buonaparte would have chosen him to do. This is so certain that

I am inclined to believe that, leaving the Ligurian territory so feebly guarded, garrisoning the capital, and spreading so wide a front, proceeded rather from stratagem on the part of Buonaparte, as a bait to Melas to carry on the war where success promised to be so easily secured, than from error or weakness. In any case, it does not appear what advantage Austria could derive from the reduction of Genoa, which she could not, and probably did not wish to keep, or from the occupation of the shores, which she certainly neither felt the desire, nor possessed the means of permanently retaining. Then, too, the hope of displaying the Austrian standards on the frontiers of France, with the idea of exciting the people to rise against Buonaparte, was entirely vain, and undoubtedly was so thought by every one who had means of knowing the temper of those times. Not in France, not amidst the rocks of Liguria, but in the fertile plains of Piedmont and Lombardy, was the contest to be decided, whether Italy should lie at the discretion of France or of Austria. The Austrians, therefore, being masters of the passes, should have guarded them jealously, and should have remained in force in the plain, instead of wandering away to an extreme point of the field of war. Melas, directing his efforts on one side against Genoa, and on the other against Nice, turned his back on Buonaparte, who was marching from Dijon,—an accident of war of peculiar singularity, which denoted in the Austrian general either too much confidence in himself, blameable ignorance of the designs already publicly manifested by the enemy, or a false

estimate of how much that enemy could effect in a short time with his devoted Franks, so confident in him, so prone to arms, so impatient of defeat, so jealous of military honours.

The Austrians, who much exceeded Massena in numbers, were so placed as to surround the whole Ligurian territory. From Sestri on the east, on the summits of the Apennines, opposite to those which the French occupied, they extended as far as the Col di Tenda. Otto commanded on the left, Hohenzollern on the right, as far as Novi, and opposite Gavi and Bocchetta. The generalissimo, Melas, was at Cairo, Esnitz at Ceva, against Suchet; and, finally, on the extreme point to the right, Morzin was between Cuneo and the skirts of the Col di Tenda.

Melas had stationed the greater number of his forces on the Carcare, his design being to push on and drive the enemy from the upper summits, to Savona, in order thus to separate the left wing of the French from the centre, and from the right, who fought on the eastern district. If he should succeed in this, his ulterior object of shutting up Massena in Genoa, and forcing him to capitulate, would be the more easily accomplished; and, as Massena could not quickly send reinforcements from the eastern side of the gulf of Genoa to the western, Melas commanded Otto to attack the French under Miollis at Recco, Toriglio, Scafera, Sant' Alberto, and Mounts Cornua, Becco, and Fascia; he also commanded Hohenzollern to attack the Bocchetta, and carry it at any price. On the 7th of April, at the earliest dawn, the Germans, setting out from the Carcare in three columns,

proceeded to the execution of these orders. The centre, under Mittruschi, marched by Altare and Torre to Cadibona, a post which had been strongly fortified by the French, and the key, or as it were the pivot, on which the war in this quarter turned. The left, under General St. Julian, marched against Montenotte, and thence to Sassello, where a large body of republicans were stationed. Lastly, the right, under Esnitz and Morzin, passing by Mollare towards the sources of the East Bormida, had the charge of forcing the passes of Mount San Giacomo. These movements, skilfully arranged, were intended to give Savona to the Austrians, and thereby to separate Suchet from Massena. The first engagement took place at Torri: the contest was severe, the Austrians having the advantage in numbers, the French in ground; but in the end, this Gallic van-guard was driven back to the trenches of Cadibona. Here the encounter was still more desperate, but was at last decided in favour of the Imperialists, by the brave battalion of Reisch, which attacked the trenches in flank, and constrained the republicans to retreat in such disorder that, but for the timely aid of a fresh reinforcement under Soult, they would have been entirely routed. But neither the presence nor the exertions of Soult could restore the fortune of the day; for the Austrians, in the enthusiasm of victory, drove the enemy entirely out of the field; and the French, climbing with breathless labour up the summits of the mountains, sought shelter on Monte Ajuto, where there are some fortifications. Melas, unwilling to leave them in possession of this

asylum, sent Palfi and Lattermann against it, with five battalions of grenadiers, and the regiment of Spleney; and the one attacking it in front, the other in flank, succeeded in dislodging the French from this strong position. The republicans again made head at Montemoro; Melas attacked them in front and in the rear, and in the flanks on one side towards Vado, on the other towards Arbizzola, and obliged them, from the fear of being cut off, to retire in confusion to Savona. The victors closely following, entered the city with them pell-mell. Soult, in the exigency of the moment, threw what provisions he could into the fortress, and, fighting rather as if he were the victor, than vanquished by the Imperialists, who had already descended to Arbizzola, retired to Varaggio. These encounters were attended with great loss on both sides, but the French were most severely injured, as their numbers were less.

In a similar manner the republicans, though constantly overpowered by superior force, defended in turn every village, every mountain pass, or fortress, of the Genoese territory. Massena, Soult, Suchet, and Miollis, were opposed to Melas, Hohenzollern, Otto, and Esnitz, in a succession of severe, though undecisive, actions. But, in the end, the Austrians having a decided superiority in numbers, were so generally successful, that Massena was forced to retire within the walls of Genoa; and Suchet, who had been driven back beyond Nice, defended the ancient frontier of France on the banks of the Varo with a degree of courage, intelligence, and activity, worthy of the highest praise. His services at this period proved of the utmost conse-

quence to the republic, not only preserving her own territory inviolate, but gaining time for the mighty design of the consul in Italy.

And now the hoary and victorious Melas began to discover that he had fallen into the snare laid for him by the youthful warrior, and that it was so little the season for the conquest of Provence, that all his efforts must be given to the preservation of Italy, if it were not already too late. He had received the earliest intelligence of the descent of Buonaparte from the Pennine Alps. At first he thought the matter of little consequence; yet he erred much in supposing that the consul was likely to appear with a small force on the summits of the Alps; and he should have been fully aware, that where Buonaparte was, there was the whole fortune of the war—there the coming ruin of Austria. On the first report, he sent a brigade to Piedmont, across the Col di Tenda; but, when he found that the danger was even greater than rumour had made it, he resolved instantly to leave the distant field of fruitless contests, to repair to that arena where conqueror must be opposed to conqueror, hand to hand. Esnitz was therefore commanded to desist from the attack on Provence, and either to join Otto in the siege of Genoa, if Genoa still held out, or to follow Melas to the plains of Alexandria, if the capital of Liguria should have yielded to the arms of Austria. Esnitz accordingly retired, and was closely followed by Suchet. Every pass of the Genoese territory being shut against him, the Austrians entered Piedmont by the valley of Ormea; while Suchet marching on, attacked the castle of Savona.

At this time the war consisted of

two principal circumstances—the siege of Genoa, and the descent of Buonaparte into Italy. The one closely depending on the other, Otto used every effort to take the city, in order to join the definitive struggle in the fields of Alexandria. Massena, through the courage and the ingenuity of his own officers, or of the patriotic exiles of Piedmont (who came to and fro with intelligence, traversing, at an extreme risk, the quarters of the Austrians), was well informed of all that occurred in the Pennine Alps; and, for a contrary reason, wished to hold out as long as possible. The capital of Liguria rises in a magnificent amphitheatre on the back of the Apennines, between the rivers Polcevera and Bisagno, and is guarded by an outer and inner circuit of wall. These two circumvallations are furnished with bastions and curtains, according to the circumstances of the steep, rocky, and broken grounds. The first wall begins on the right bank of the Bisagno, on the eastern shore, above the Roman gate and the pier, and rises on the mountain to the utmost steep; then, turning westward, surrounds the city, and after extending itself into a fort called the Tanaglia, close to the Crocetta, terminates near to the lantern at the new mole. The second, rising also at the eastern shore, joins the other wall half-way to the new mole. The strongest part of the rampart is on the highest part of the steep, but is commanded by two summits rising above and beyond it, on which are, therefore, placed two forts—one on the mountain of the Two Brothers, the other lower down, called, from its form, the Fort of the Diamond: whoever holds these is master of Genoa, as they command all the other fortifi-

cations. The weakest part of the circumvallation is lower down, at the mouth of the Bisagno, but is strengthened by forts on the neighbouring eminences; viz. the fort of Quazzi, on the Mountain of the Winds; fort Richelieu, on Mount Manego; and, lastly, that of Santa Tecla, on the height of the same name. These, however, being still insufficient, there are entrenchments formed on the neighbouring mounts of the Ratti, the Fascia, and Becco. Such were the defences when Genoa was independent: they then sufficed, because they could not be reduced by a short siege, and a long one was improbable, in consequence of the mutual jealousy of other powers. Massena's living defence consisted of 10,000 French soldiers: he had with him Soult, Gazan, Clausel, Miollis, and Darnaud. To these must be added about 2,000 Italians of different states, formed by Massena into a regular body, and placed under the command of Rosignoli, a Piedmontese, a man of noble nature, of great courage, and enthusiastically devoted to liberty. They were faithfully aided by the Genoese National Guard, equally from affection to France, hatred of Austria, and the fear of pillage during any internal disturbance. All this force together was, however, certainly not sufficient to guard so large a circuit: and scarcity of provisions was also much feared, particularly of grain; for the English, under Keith, prevented the entrance of supplies from Corsica and Marseilles.

Of the then existing government of Genoa I will say little: it was neither more free nor more submissive than the preceding. A great change, as to its form, had taken place; for, as the Directory



had been set aside in France, an empirical and servile fashion of imitation would have it also set aside in Liguria; and here it was replaced by a commission of government. The change was praised with the customary servility. This government seconded Massena with good will, but submissively and humbly, because present danger and long-sustained misfortune had broken men's spirits.

The force which invested Genoa was of various descriptions. Its chief strength lay in the Germans, but to them were added numerous bands of peasantry as well from the Riviera as from the mountains. These were drawn together, not from any good motives, but from those of hatred, revenge, and the desire of pillage, by Azzeretto, a man who had shewn himself to be corrupt and dissolute, when fighting with the French; and was no less so now when fighting with the Germans. The Austrians were also powerfully assisted by the English and Neapolitan ships, which not only cut off supplies, but kept up a constant fire on the shores, particularly near the Bisagno, where the coast is less strongly defended than towards the Polcevera. Otto, who conducted the siege, commanded a vigorous assault on the 23rd of April, to the left of the Polcevera. The regiment of Nadasti first drove the French from Rivarola, and then took possession also of San Pier d'Arena; but Massena drove them out again with the twenty-fifth regiment. The assailants knew that the weakest part was towards the east, and therefore resolved on an attack in that quarter, endeavouring to seize the heights. On the 30th, before the dawn of day, Hohenzollern and Palfi attacked

the Mount of the Two Brothers; colonel Frimont, descending from the Fascia, assaulted the three forts, Ratti, Quezzi, and Richelieu; general Massena escaladed Santa Tecla; Azzeretto, with his peasants, stormed around the "Diamond;" and Gottesheim, passing Starla, approached San Martino d'Albaro and the walls of the city. In aid of all these movements on the eastern side, Otto attacked Rivarola on the western. The Germans succeeded in almost all these attempts; they gained mount Ratti, the Two Brothers, and fort Tecla. Fort Richelieu and the Diamond were surrounded. Gottesheim had already gained one half of San Martino, and was occupied in reducing the other. The danger of the French was great; for, if the Germans could keep the places they had taken, Genoa must inevitably fall. Massena, therefore, strove to recover his losses: he sent Soult to the "Two Brothers;" Darnaud against Gottesheim; Miollis against Santa Tecla and Quezzi; and all were successful. The Italians under Rossignoli were the first who accomplished the task assigned them—retaking the Two Brothers; Massena, indefatigable, invincible, and indignant, animated by success, made a fresh sortie on the 11th of May, his intention being, to drive the enemy from mount Fascia, from whence they could destroy the fortifications nearest to the citadel: Soult he commanded to wind up the back of the mountain; Miollis to attack it in front. Miollis was unsuccessful; but Soult, after a fierce contest, carried the mount. Hohenzollern and Frimont, however, recovered it ere long from the republicans. Massena, in the mean time, collected provisions

from the country, though but a scanty and insufficient supply. He next endeavoured to take Mount Creto, important both from its commanding situation, and as a pass from the eastern to the western Riviera. Two large squadrons were sent against it: the right under Soult, the left under Gazan. The Germans were vigilant and well fortified; and the assault was furious; the defence valiant. The French, however, were gaining the day, when a terrific storm came on; the air became quite dark, and the rain fell in extraordinary torrents; and the assailants were forced to retire. When the sky cleared they returned to the attack; but, in the mean time, Hohenzollern had been able to bring up fresh troops; he broke the republicans, and drove them back within the walls. In this affair the combatants fought with indescribable fury—man to man. Soult, whilst zealously urging his men to the charge, was severely wounded in the right leg, and made prisoner.

This unfortunate expedition was the last sortie attempted by Massena, for he had lost his best soldiers, and was too weak to leave the city. However, he was still strong enough to prevent the enemy from carrying it by force of arms; but famine effected what valour was unequal to accomplish. Having here to describe the aspect of Genoa in these latter days of the siege, I cannot but deplore the fate of an Italian people reduced to the extremest misery—not in a struggle decisive of misery or slavery, but to determine whether a city, desolated by rapine, slaughter, famine, and pestilence, should, in the end, be subject to Austria or France! Keith prevented the en-

trance of supplies by sea, Otto by land. Provisions became scarce—scarcity grew into want.

When this deficiency was first dreaded, food was dealt out in scanty portions; it was then adulterated; and, finally, every thing most disgusting was devoured—not only horses and dogs, but even cats, mice, bats, and worms; and happy was he who could obtain these. The Austrians had taken the mills of Bisagno, Voltri, and Pegli, and none were left to prepare the corn. This was remedied, for a time, by using hand-mills, chiefly coffee-mills. The Academy was now employed to devise better ones; and they invented springs, and wheels, and mills of novel construction, with some of the largest of which, one man could grind a bushel a-day. In every street, in every shop, these machines were seen continually at work; in private houses—in familiar parties, every one was grinding: the ladies made it their pastime; but within a short time there was no more corn left to grind. When grain failed, other seeds were sought to supply its place: flax-seed, millet, cocoa, and almonds, were first put in requisition, for of rice or barley there was none; and these substitutes were roasted, mixed with honey, and baked, and were considered a delicacy. Parents and friends rejoiced with him who could, for an additional day support himself and his family with flax-seed, millet, or a few grains of cocoa; even bran, a substance affording no nourishment, was also ground, and, when baked with honey, was eaten, not to satisfy, but to deaden hunger; beans were most precious.—Happy were now, not those who lived, but those who died! The day was sad from hunger.

and the lamentations of the famishing; the night was sadder still from hunger accompanied by delirious fancies. When every kind of seed had been exhausted, recourse was next had to herbs; monk's-rhubarb, sorrel, mallows, wild succory, rampions, were diligently sought for, and as greedily eaten as if they had been pleasing to the palate. Long files of people, men of every rank, ladies of noble birth, as well as plebians, were seen examining every verdant site, particularly the fertile orchards of Bisagno, and the delightful hills of Albano, to dig out of them those aliments which nature has destined solely for the ruminating beasts. For a time sugar was used: rose, violet, and candied sugar, and every kind of confection were in general use. The retailers, men and women, sold them in public, in elegant little baskets adorned with flowers and garlands—a strange sight in the midst of all these pallid, emaciated, and cadaverous faces; yet, thus powerful is the imagination of man, pleasing itself in embellishing that which, in its own nature, is most lamentable and terrible—a merciful dispensation of Providence, who wills not man's despair. But enough:—women of plebeian, as well as those of noble birth, who were alike seen to feed on what was most loathsome in the morning, ate of the most delicate confections in the evening. That the sight of extreme misery does not correct iniquity in the evil-disposed, Genoa, in her utmost distress, afforded an example but too horrible; for some, devoid of every feeling of humanity, and actuated only by the vile spirit of gain, used chalk in the eatables they sold, instead of flour, of which not a few of the consumers died, suffering under the

agonies caused at once by hunger and by the deleterious compound.

During the siege, yet before the last extremities arrived, a pound of rice was sold for seven lire; a pound of veal for four; a pound of horse-flesh for thirty-twosoldi; a pound of flour for ten or twelve lire; eggs at fourteen lire the dozen; bran at thirty soldi the pound. Before all was over, a bean was sold for two soldi, and a biscuit of three ounce weight for twelve francs, and none were at last to be had. Neither Massena, nor the other generals, would allow themselves greater indulgences than private individuals; they fared like the plebeians—a laudable instance of self-denial, and highly efficacious in enabling others to bear up against their privations. A little cheese and a few vegetables was the only nourishment given to the sick and wounded in the hospitals. Men and women, in the last agonies of starvation and despair, filled the air with their groans and shrieks. Sometimes, while uttering these dreadful cries, they strove with furious hands to tear out their agonised intestines, and fell dead in the streets. No one relieved them, for no one thought but of himself; no one heeded them, for the frequency of the circumstance had made it cease to seem horrible. Some in spasms and convulsions and contortions groaned out their last amidst crowds of the populace. Children, left by the death or the despair of their parents in utter destitution, with mournful gestures, and tears, and heart-broken accents, implored the pity of the passing stranger; but none either pitied or aided them; the excess of his own suffering extinguishing in each man's breast compassion for the misery of others. These innocent deserted

beings eagerly searched in the gutters of the streets, in the common sewers, in the drainings of the washing-houses, for a chance morsel of some dead animal, or any remains of the food of beasts, which, when found, was greedily devoured. Many who lay down alive in the evening were found dead in their beds in the morning, and children more frequently than adults: fathers accused the tardiness of death, and some hastened its approach by the violence of their own hands—citizens and soldiers alike. Some of the French preferring death to the anguish of hunger destroyed themselves; others disdainfully flung down those arms which they had no longer strength to carry; and others, abandoning a habitation of despair, sought in the camp of the enemy, English or Austrian, that food and that pity which was no longer to be found amidst the French and Genoese. But cruel and horrible beyond all description was the spectacle presented by the German prisoners of war, confined in certain old barges anchored in the port; for such was the dire necessity at last, that for some days they were left without nutriment of any description. They eat their shoes, they devoured the leather of their pouches, and, scowling darkly at each other, their sinister glances betrayed the horrid fear of being at last reduced to a more fearful resource. In the end, their French guards were removed, under the apprehension that they might be made the sacrifice of ravening hunger: so great at last was their desperation, that they endeavoured to pierce holes in the barges in order to sink them, preferring to perish thus, rather than any longer endure the tortures of hunger. As commonly happens, a mortal

pestilence was added to the horrors of famine: the worst kinds of fevers carried off crowds from the public hospitals, the lowly hovels of the poor, and the superb palaces of the rich. Under the same roof, death might be seen in different shapes: one died, maddened by hunger, another stupified by fever; some pallid from extenuation, others livid with febrile spots. Every thing brought grief—every thing fear; for he who was still living awaited either his own death, or that of his nearest friends. Such was the state of the once rich and joyous Genoa; and the bitterest thought of all was, that her present sufferings could conduce nothing to future good, either as to her liberty or her independence.

The fortitude of all was exhausted. Massena alone retained his firmness, because his mind was bent on aiding the enterprise of the consul, and on preserving intact his reputation as an unconquered commander; but, at last, when honourable conditions were offered by Keith, he brought down his spirit to a composition, since even the loathsome and poisonous food Genoa was reduced to, could not last for more than two days longer. Yet still, his tone was rather that of a successful than of a defeated general: he insisted on the cession being called a convention, not a capitulation, which the allies were forced to grant. Massena and his troops, about eight thousand in number, were to leave Genoa, unrestricted by any conditions, either as to their persons or their allegiance. They were free to return to France by land; and those who could not accomplish this march, were to be carried by the English ships to Antibes, or the Gulf of Juan. The German

prisoners were given up. No inquisition was to be made as to the past, and those who wished to abandon Genoa were at liberty so to do; the allies were to furnish provisions, and take care of the sick; and on the 4th of June, the city was to be delivered up to the Austrian and English forces. On the appointed day, accordingly, the first took possession of the gate of the lantern; the second of the mouth of the port. Then Otto entered in triumph with his army, Keith with his fleet; but the prize thus obtained by a tedious war of detail, was speedily wrested from them by a brief and vigorous campaign. The most ardent democrats went away with the French; amongst others, Morandi, the Abbate Cuneo, the advocate Lombardi, and the brothers Boccardi. The bells were rung as for a festival, hymns were sung, and if bonfires were lighted by the partizans of the Austrians from affection, more were lighted by their enemies from fear. Every thing seemed to be as usual—bread, meat, vegetables, and provisions of all kinds re-appeared in abundance, and those who abandoned themselves without restraint to the first impulse of appetite died in consequence. Thus many, who had not been destroyed by long inanition, were killed by satiety. The retailers and venders, excited by the greediness of gain, strove to keep up the prices, but the infuriated populace fell on

them in such a manner, as made them feel that hunger is a fierce counsellor. The peasants, under Azzeretto, endeavoured to sack the houses of the democrats, as they said, but, nevertheless, did not spare the aristocrats. But Hohen-zollern, who had been left by Otto in command, restrained these excesses by military law. The Austrian commander created an imperial and royal regency, to which he called Pietro Paolo Celestia, Carlo Cambiaso, Agostino Spinola, Gian Bernardo Pallavicini, Girolamo Durazzo, Francesco Spinola di Gian Battista, and Luigi Lambruschini. The regency restrained the re-action of party vengeance ready to burst forth, by a laudable exertion of authority; but then came the opening of purses, an inevitable but cruel command in miserable Genoa. As for the rest, no sign was shown on the part of Hohenzollern, or of Melas, of any inclination, either towards the restoration of her ancient government, or her independence. Notwithstanding this, the aristocrats shouted *vivas* for the emperor, from hatred against the democrats, just as the democrats had sent forth *vivas* from France from hatred to the aristocrats;—blind slaves and madmen, both the one and the other; for they could not see, that from their private animosities sprang the ruin of their country, and the domination of foreigners.

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#### ENTRANCE of BUONAPARTE into ITALY in 1799.

[From Botta's *History of Italy*.]

Buonaparte's plan for the re-conquest of Italy was vast and magnificent. He proposed to cross the Great St. Bernard with the

main body of the army, descending thence by the valley of Aosta into the Piedmontese plains. General Thureau, with a squadron of three or four thousand men, was ordered to march from the Maurienne and Upper Dauphiny, over Mount Cenis and Mount Ginevre, as far as Susa, and further, if necessary, for the purposes of encouraging a rising in that district against the Austrians, of alarming the people for the safety of Turin, and of co-operating with the force the consul intended to assemble on the banks of the Dora. General Moncey was to descend at the same time by the Lesser St. Bernard, with a chosen body of twelve thousand men, for the purpose of raising the country on the upper part of the plain of Lombardy, between the Tesino and the Adda. To favour a rising in the district between the Tesino and the Sesia, General Bethancourt was ordered to cross the Simplon, and to descend by Domo d'Ossola to the shores of the Lago Maggiore; where, narrowing its expanse, it permits the waters of the Tesino to flow from it. A detachment of five thousand men were to cross the Lesser St. Bernard, and meet the main body in the valley of Aosta, as the nature and the amount of the difficulties which a large body of men would encounter in crossing the Great St. Bernard were well known to the consul. Altogether the troops amounted to about sixty thousand men. Thus the consul embraced the whole of the Alpine region which extends from St. Gothard to Mount Ginevre, and threatened with invasion the plain of Piedmont and that of Lombardy. On the other hand, he hoped that Massena, keeping his ground

in Genoa, and Suchet in the Riviera, would detain Melas till he himself should come up to attack him both on his flank and on his rear. Bold and wonderful, as we have already said, was this undertaking of the consul, but it might have drawn on him speedy and utter ruin, if Moreau had been defeated on the Rhine, or if Melas had been more prudent, more active, or better informed.

Having deluded the civilized Genevese, by his flattering discourses of peace, of benevolence, and courtesy, the first consul set forth on his stupendous enterprise, his forces being already assembled at Martigny, in the Valais, a district situated at the foot of the Great St. Bernard.

On the 17th of May, the whole body set out from Martigny for the conquest of Italy. Extraordinary was their ardour, wonderful their gaiety, and astonishing also the activity and the energy of their operations. Chests, coffers, trunks, cannon, wheel-carriages, sledges, barrows, litters, horses, mules, harnesses, saddles, baggage and ammunition, of every description, piled on pack-saddles, were assembled in one motley mass; in the midst of which the soldiers laboured to the utmost, while the officers, sparing no bodily exertion, were not less zealous and unremitting in their efforts. Laughter and song lightened their toils, repartees or good-humoured raillery passed from mouth to mouth: as if by common consent, however, they spared each other, and whatever was bitter in sarcasm, or pungent in wit, was directed against the Austrians. Thus proceeding, they seemed to be hastening, not to a fearful war, but to a festival; not to a dubious hazard, but to

certain victory. The multitude of various and mingled sounds were re-echoed from hill to hill, and the silence of these solitary and desert regions, which revolving ages had left undisturbed, was for a moment broken by the rejoicing voices of the gay and warlike.

The strange army, thus strangely assembled for the dangerous expedition, began the ascent by the steep hill in front of the hamlet of St. Pierre, which leads to the road passable for carriages. Precipitous heights, strong torrents, sloping vallies, succeeded each other with disheartening frequency. The prompt exertions of the soldiers were every instant demanded, to save the various vehicles which conveyed the artillery, from rolling down the precipices; and now supporting, now heaving and dragging the ordnance, they laboured unceasingly; while the more they laboured the more did the merriment of their jests and the ingenuity of their repartees increase. The slow-paced Vallenses collected in crowds from their houses, or more properly speaking, from their huts and caves; and, seeing a body of men so laboriously employed and yet so gay, they were lost in wonder, and could scarcely believe but that they were beings of another world. Being invited to lend their assistance, and paid for their aid, they rendered it willingly, but not three of their number could effect as much as the zeal of a single Frenchman. I should be unwilling to repeat all that the soldiers jestingly said to these good people, as to the tardiness of their movements, and the strange fashion of their attire.

In this manner the republicans reached St. Pierre. Lannes, with his division, arrived first; for,

owing to his incredible boldness and ardour, he was always chosen by the consul to take the lead in every enterprise of danger—an honourable distinction, which he not only willingly accepted, but anxiously sought. They had now reached an elevation, where skill or courage seemed as nothing against the potency of nature. From St. Pierre to the summit of the Great St. Bernard there is no beaten road whatever, until is reached the monastery of the religious order devoted to the preservation of travellers bewildered in these regions of eternal winter; narrow and winding paths, over steep and rugged mountains, alone present themselves to the eye. But here the pertinacity of human resolution, the power of human ingenuity shone conspicuous. Every means that could be devised was adopted for transporting the artillery and baggage; the carriages which had been wheeled, were now dragged, those which had been drawn, were carried; the largest cannon were placed in troughs and sledges, and the smallest slung on strong and sure-footed mules. And thus this same passage, which Trivulzi accomplished in the severest season of the year, hauling up the artillery of Francis the first, from rock to rock, over the wintry barriers, Buonaparte effected in the service of the republic by means of sledges, carriages, and beasts of burden.

The ascent to be accomplished was immense: in the windings of the tortuous paths the troops were now lost, and now revealed to sight. Those who first mounted the steeps, seeing their companions in the depths below, cheered them on with shouts of triumph; they

answered in turn, and thus excited each other to their perilous and laborious task. The vallies on every side re-echoed to their voices. Amidst the snow, in mists and clouds, the resplendent arms and coloured uniforms of the soldiers appeared in bright and dazzling contrast; the sublimity of dead nature, and the energy of living action thus united, formed a spectacle of surpassing wonder. The consul exulting in the success of his plans, was seen every where amongst the soldiery, talking with military familiarity to one, and now to another; and skilled in the eloquence of camps, he so excited their courage, that, braving every obstacle, they now deemed that easy, which had been judged impossible. They soon approached the highest summit, and discerned in the distance the pass which leads from the opening between two towering mountains, to the loftiest pinnacle. With shouts of transport the soldiers hailed this extreme point as the termination of their labours, and with renewed ardour prepared to ascend. The consul proposed their pausing to rest awhile from their fatigues, but rejecting the proffered indulgence, they replied; "Let not that give you any concern, but only have a care to ascend yourself, and leave the rest to us." When their strength occasionally flagged under excess of fatigue, they beat their drums, and then reanimated by the spirit-stirring sound, proceeded forward with fresh vigour. At last they reached the summit, and there felicitated each other, as if after complete and assured victory. Their hilarity was not a little increased by finding a simple repast prepared in front of the monastery, the provident consul

having furnished the monks with money to supply what their own resources could not have afforded for such numbers. Here they were regaled with wine, and bread and cheese, and enjoyed a brief repose, amidst dismounted cannon and scattered baggage—amidst ice and conglomerated snow.

They now turned their steps towards the quarter where the Italian sky began to appear; and if the ascent had been laborious and perilous, the descent was still more fatiguing and hazardous, because the snow, touched by a milder air, began to thaw, and afforded but an uncertain support, and insecure footing; besides which, the mountain was much more precipitous on this than on the northern side; and it too frequently happened, that both men and horses, by the snow sliding from under them, were precipitated into the deep vallies, and, whelmed in the snowy abyss beneath, found burial ere life was yet extinct. The fatigue and danger the soldiers now underwent were incredible, and the progress they made but trifling. At last, growing impatient, they agreed to choose the summit where the snow was most solid, and to slide down from thence to Etrubles. The danger was great, but not less great was the merriment which accompanied the velocity of their grotesque flight, as they glided rapidly through the crumbling snow. In this manner the soldiers and officers of the main body, with the consul himself reached the point of their destination in safety while those charged with the baggage joined them a little later, by a more circuitous route. When they were at length re-united at Etrubles, the expression of one common sentiment of joy at their



success and safety spread from rank to rank; and, looking upward, toward the icy and rugged summits, they could scarcely yet believe that an entire army, with all its incumbrances, could have made its way over barriers thus horribly deformed by the convulsions of distant ages, and sternly closed by the rigours of perpetual winter; but most of all they admired the constancy and the powerful mind of the consul; and, from this prosperous commencement auguring well for the success of all his future enterprises, they could not but think, that to him who had overcome the perils of the Great St. Bernard all other undertakings would prove comparatively easy. And now they began to breathe the soft airs of Italy: the snows were half dissolved—the torrents flowed with increased volume—the dead rocks put on fresh verdure. Recalled to the recollection of their former campaigns by the genial influence of the balmy sky, the veteran soldiers shouted “Italy!” and, in glowing language, described to the young conscripts all that that name recalled. Speakers and hearers were quickly touched by an equal degree of enthusiasm; the one longing as much to revisit, as the other to behold, that land of beauty. To the former, memory recalled images already proved true by experience—to the latter, imagination depicted them enlarged and brightened. Their force of purpose became most efficacious; and, to the enamoured fancy of these intrepid spirits Italy seemed to be already won—they thought not of battle, but of victory.

Their success, however, depended entirely on celerity. The Alpine regions they had reached were

sterile, and the pass of St. Bernard, yet to be accomplished, was hazardous. It was necessary to descend at once to the plain, without affording Melas time to anticipate their arrival. It was also important, to prevent the rumour which had been industriously propagated of the return of the French, from diminishing. The consul, therefore, descended hastily by the banks of the river Dora; and the van-guard sent on to reconnoitre, under the command of Lannes, reduced some places of small importance, and easily gained possession of the town of Aosta and the lands of Chatillon.

But a rude obstacle presented itself in the fortress of Bard, which, by its situation, is the key to the pass commanding the road in the narrow gorge which the valley forms at that spot. Pavetti had represented the reduction of that fortress, to the consul, as an easy undertaking, so anxiously did he desire that the French should pass through the valley of Aosta, in order that his native district might be the first to be restored, as he believed, to liberty; but the result proved that an insignificant rock might be a powerful obstacle in the way of mighty designs. The Austrian commander refusing to surrender, the French endeavoured to take it by assault, but in vain; they planted their cannon against it, but without effect. The impetuous generals, chafing and fretting to find their progress arrested by a narrow rock, and a handful of soldiers, the garrison consisting of only four hundred men, could not brook the affront of being thus stopped by the insignificant fortress of Bard—they whom neither the strength of Mantua, nor the eternal snows of the enormous St. Bernard

could impede. They were aware that their march was already known in the plain, and that Melas, giving up this useless enterprise on the Varo, was hastening to support there the declining fortunes of Austria. Besides, the valley of Aosta was poor and sterile, unequal to the support of such an army, for whom no supplies had been prepared, and which began already to feel the approach of want. In vain they consulted to find a remedy: none presented itself. They battered the rock from the houses of the valley, they battered it from the belfry of the church, with no effect, it was so well defended, and the peculiar stone it was built of was so hard that its strength defied all their efforts.

At length, finding it impossible to take the fortress, they resolved to seek a passage in another direction. To the left of Bard rise the irregular summits of Mount Albaredo, the highest part of which commanding the fortress, though the lowest is commanded by it. Berthier suggested the possibility of crossing by the upper range. In less than two days they cut steps in the steepest and hardest rocks, built parapets on the edge of the precipices, and threw bridges over the chasms, so that a path was now open beyond the reach of the guns of the fortress. This work was truly astonishing, and worthy of being commemorated in history. The men passed with security; but the artillery and baggage could not be conveyed by so narrow and steep a path; and Lannes, who had already reached Ivrea, ran the risk of being attacked by the Austrians before the arrival of the cannon, without which no other arms avail in modern warfare. The pertinacity of the consul had

commanded a fresh assault of the fortress, which had had a disastrous result. Great was the danger on every side, for the time admitted of no delay; when, in the critical moment, Marmont devised a new stratagem:—he strewed the road they were to pass with manure and straw, wrapped the axles of the wheels with bands of hay, and the carriages being drawn quickly along during the night, the ordnance happily cleared the gorge of the defile. When the Austrian commander became aware of the stratagem practised by the enemy, he opened a tremendous fire; but the celerity of their movements, and the darkness of the night, prevented the republicans from suffering any material loss in this extraordinary passage; and now, with all the implements of war at their command, they prepared to invade the Piedmontese territory. A short time after, Chabran, descending by the Lesser St. Bernard, forced the commandant of Bard to capitulate, but granted the garrison their lives and effects, on condition of their not again bearing arms till an exchange of prisoners should take place.

Whilst the main body of the French army now debouched by Ivrea, the other divisions had not been idle; but, concurring in the execution of the general plan, had reached the stations appointed by the consul. Bethancourt, descending by the Simplon, had made himself master of Domo d'Ossola; Moncey, quartered at Bellinzona, approached Lugano, and the banks of the Tesino, and the Adda. Thureau, still nearer at hand, scouring the country in the neighbourhood of the capital of Piedmont, had appeared first at Susa, then, marching on, had shown

himself at Avigliana, after having captured a considerable number of the Austrians, who had endeavoured to block up his passage by occupying the lofty rocks where, before the war, the impregnable fortress of Brunetta had been

situated:—such was the storm that the unparalleled design of the consul drew down on every side on that tract of country which is comprised between the Dora and the Adda.

#### BATTLE OF MARENGO.

[From *Botta's History of Italy*.]

Melas had assembled his forces under the walls of Alexandria, in the strong position between the Bormida and the Tanaro. With an army of forty thousand men, strong in artillery, in chosen cavalry, in tried and disciplined infantry, he was in all respects well furnished for a combat on which the fortunes of so many nations hung. Nor was he deficient either in ardour or skill, or in the confidence of recent victory; and he was, moreover, well aware of the vast importance of the impending battle. On the other hand, the consul was about to fight on those Italian fields which were already full of his brightest fame: his officers, young, confident, and brave, panted with incredible zeal to confirm the glorious destinies of France: his soldiers—a few only veterans, the greater number conscripts,—were not, like the Germans, inured to war; yet ardour and hope supplied to them what was wanting in experience. In numbers, however, in cavalry, and in artillery, they were inferior to the enemy: the result of the combat therefore seemed sufficiently dubious. Melas, although thus unexpectedly attacked, although defeated at the Chiusella, and at Casteggio, appeared, notwithstanding, to have the greater probability of victory; nor can we sufficiently

praise the skill and celerity with which, when aware of the consul's design, he had assembled his army in the fields of Alexandria. The consul ought to have perceived that his adversary's intention was to give battle in this strong position, because he had fortified the banks of the Bormida with trenches and artillery; but, contrary to all probability, imagining that Melas wished to draw back towards Genoa, he had sent Desaix, who had recently arrived from Egypt, to Rivalta, on the road to Arquì; and he, in obedience to his orders, had already commanded the division of Boudet to move still nearer to the place:—a serious error, because he ought to have concentrated rather than have dispersed his force in presence of so powerful an enemy; and thus, through him, the whole fortune of France was on the point of perishing in the field of Marengo. Besides this, from a resolution, neither prudent nor rational, he had sent the division of Monnier, which, with that of Boudet, composed the left wing commanded by Desaix, to Castelnovo, on the Scrivia, so that in this manner the whole of this wing, at a moment of such importance, was dispersed and disorganised. Melas occupied the village of Marengo, beyond the Bormida, by an advanced guard posted in the

neighbourhood of Alexandria; and this village, the consul commanded Gardanne to attack, who easily carried it, the Germans making but a feigned and feeble resistance. This circumstance ought to have made Buonaparte aware that Melas, so far from meditating a distant march to Genoa, thought only of contesting the issue in the neighbourhood of Alexandria. However, being obstinate to an extreme in his ideas, he persisted in the belief that the Austrians intended to withdraw into Liguria, until in the end his scouts brought him intelligence from Rivalta and the banks of the Po, which removed his erroneous impressions, and convinced him that the mighty contest would be decided in the Alexandrian, and not in the Ligurian territory. He therefore commanded Boudet and Monnier to return in haste to the main body; but they were then so far distant that it was probable they would not arrive till the battle would be decided.

On the 14th of June, at five in the morning, Melas crossed the eventful Bormida. Esnitz, with the light infantry, and the chief strength of the cavalry, moving to the left of the imperialists, marched towards Castel Ceriolo, by the road which leads to Sale, because the intention of the Austrian commander was, to take the French in the rear on that side, in order to cut them off from Pavia and Tortona, whence they communicated with the detachments on the left bank of the Po. Keim, with the heavy troops, moved towards the village of Marengo, by which the road to Tortona passes: this was the centre. A third division on the right, commanded by Haddick, with a body of Hungarian grenadiers led by Otto, were to ascend

the left bank of the Bormida, to draw off at Fragarolo, and to join the centre near Tortona. He foresaw (and this was in fact the intention on both sides) that the principal struggle would be for the possession of Marengo, because all the movements of the French were directed to that point. The Austrian infantry was preceded by a formidable train of artillery, its harsh thunder giving fearful warning of the severe and murderous contest that was about to take place. Against this overpowering force the French were not equally matched in the early part of the combat; for, owing to the providence of the consul, Monnier was far off on the right, and Desaix on the left.

All their hopes, therefore, rested on the division of Victor, which was tolerably strong, at Marengo, and on that of Lannes stationed to the left of the road to Tortona. To these may be added about nine hundred soldiers of the consular guard, the cavalry under the command of the younger Kellermann, the squadron under Champeaux, and lastly, that under Murat. The first covered the infantry of Victor; the second, that under Lannes; and the last, posted at the extreme right of the whole front, guarded the road which led to Sale. Thus the French line of battle commencing at the Bormida, and obliquely seceding from it, passed by Marengo, and extended as far as Castel Ceriolo. Keim encountering Gardanne, who had been dispatched by Victor to Pietrabuona, an insignificant place between Marengo and the Bormida, bore him down with an overwhelming force. The remains of the routed band retired in disorder towards Marengo, and they would have been entirely

surrounded and taken, if Victor had not quickly sent Chambarlhac to their rescue. The Austrians came up and engaged in a horrible contest with Victor: here on both sides were performed deeds of stupendous valour; at last fortune inclined towards that (Keim) which had the superiority in numbers and artillery. Keim triumphantly entered Marengo; but though discomfited, Victor's ranks were not disordered, but in unbroken mass they still presented a menacing front to the enemy, and drew up behind Marengo. He was joined by Lannes on the right, and the combat was renewed with greater fierceness than ever. Keim was opposed to Lannes, Haddick to Victor; and whoever considers the temper of these generals, and that of their troops, will easily believe that never was a combat distinguished by greater skill or valour than this. Lannes was ably seconded in his attack on Keim by Champeaux and his cavalry, who in this *melée* received a mortal wound, of which he died a few days after. Kellermann with his squadron effectually supported Victor, leading on charge after charge in ceaseless succession. Notwithstanding this, Victor, having been from the first in action, and Gardanne having suffered much in the affair of Pietrabuona, his troops were so exhausted, and his ranks so thinned, that he yielded the post at last, and retired precipitately, and not without some disorder, to St. Julian. Deprived on his left flank of the support of Victor, Lannes was also constrained to fall back, which allowed Keim to become still more master of the field, and led him to believe himself in secure possession of the victory. During this time, Esnitz had occupied Castel Ceriolo

with the light infantry, and, with his horse, had extended his ranks in hopes of falling on the rear of the two bodies of the receding republicans; and if this design had succeeded, it would without doubt have given the victory to the imperialists.

In this perilous situation, the only resource the consul possessed was in the nine hundred soldiers of his own guard and in Murat's cavalry, which were certainly not able to make head alone against the numerous cavalry of Esnitz: he therefore commanded the advance of the nine hundred guards. I know not whether I ought most to laud their prowess, or condemn the incapacity of Esnitz; but certain it is, that the German general, although he had hemmed them in on every side, was never able to break them; for, either he did not do all that he ought to have done, or the nine hundred did more than could be deemed possible. So numerous were the light troops under Esnitz, that he might have left a small part to have kept this consular guard in check, and might have made a spirited attack on the rear of the squadrons which were giving way. This, however, he did not do, but persisted in attacking this small body of the enemy with his whole force; but whether it arose from cowardice or error, this conduct on the part of Esnitz, and the heroism of the consular guard, who had obeyed the summons of the consul with all possible speed, gave Monnier time to arrive from Castel Nuovo. He first came in contact with the troops of Esnitz; and, though surrounded by their numbers, he cut his way through them, gallantly assisted by the brave guard. St. Cyr, having driven the Tyrolese from Cas-

tel Ceriolo, made himself master of the village, and, with stakes and barricades, quickly entrenched himself there. Esnitz endeavoured to drive him out, but in vain; fortune however favoured him at this moment—Monnier and the consular guard were obliged to retreat; but, instead of following up his advantage, and pursuing the yielding enemy, he obstinately persisted in his attack on Castel Ceriolo. He was, however, constantly repulsed by St. Cyr, who kept him so long at bay, that this general was now the salvation of the whole French army, as the consular guard had been in the first instance: they, by their persevering resistance, had given time for the arrival of Monnier; while his skill and courage procured a delay that allowed Desaix to join the action. Melas in the mean time, hoping to profit by the favourable opportunity which fortune had afforded him, had sent forward his right wing, with the five thousand Hungarian grenadiers, in order to prevent the French from making head at St. Julian, to which place their movements seemed to be directed. It appeared probable, that the troops under Keim, already triumphant, and those of Esnitz, half victors on the one side, and half conquered on the other, would suffice for this object; but to ensure success, and to provide for the emergency which the arrival of Desaix might occasion, Melas sent on the Hungarians far before the rest, of whom as the body to whom the victory belonged, Zach, the quarter-master of the whole Austrian camp, took the command.

It was now five in the evening: the combat had already lasted for more than ten hours. The conquering Austrians exulted in suc-

cess, while slender hope of recovery remained to the French, and that only in Desaix. The inhabitants of Alexandria believed that the arms of Austria had already obtained a decided victory, because the tremendous sounds which had spread terror within their walls in the morning had become more and more distant; and the sound of the battle-tumult now but faintly reached their ears. The consul himself despaired; nor did he shew, in this crisis of the battle, the presence of mind, the fortitude, or, in any respect, the temper worthy of him who had formed the admirable plan of this second invasion of Italy. As if bereaved of all judgment, he was wholly engrossed by the intense anxiety with which he watched for the arrival of Desaix. Whilst he still hesitated, filled with fears as great as his hopes were feeble, intelligence was brought him that the first ranks of Desaix's squadron were beginning to appear at St. Julian; and now all his ardour returned. Any other than himself would, in a situation thus desperate, have made use of this reinforcement to secure a retreat; but the bold and all-powerful consul employed it to renew the battle, and regain the victory. He now changed the order of his line; so that diverging obliquely from Castel Ceriolo to St. Julian, St. Cyr was placed at the extreme point on the right, whilst first Monnier, and then Lannes, proceeded on the left towards St. Julian; and at this last place, across the road to Tortona, was Desaix stationed. The cavalry of Kellermann was posted in front, and the field was between Desaix and Lannes. Esnitz not having effected with his cavalry and infantry what Melas had expected,

against the French right wing, the Austrian commander dispatched the five thousand Hungarians under Zach against their left, hoping that this compact body of powerful men would be able to break them, and to cut them off from the road towards Tortona. The Hungarian column, on which the fortune of the day depended, confident in its strength, marched boldly against Desaix. The latter allowed them to approach before he fired; but, when they were within reach of his guns, he thundered on them with the artillery Marmont had assembled in front, and then discharged his own. For the first moment, dismayed by this severe reception, the Hungarians made a brief pause, but, quickly recovering from the shock, they marched on as if one solid and invincible mass. Nor could the French, being lighter-bodied troops, succeed in arresting their progress, although they surrounded them, and struggled against them with their utmost energy. The case here was similar to the battle of Fontenoy. Desaix, wholly undismayed by the danger, placed himself in front, reconnoitring the country to discover whether it afforded any advantage of ground, by which he might profit; when, struck on the breast by a ball from a musket, he found an almost instantaneous death. His last words to Lebrun (the generous son of a generous father) were these: "Go and tell the consul that I die, grieving only that I have not done enough to live in the memory of posterity." Boudet succeeded Desaix in the command; and neither was he himself disheartened by this grievous disaster, nor did his soldiers lose their courage; but on the contrary, the desire of revenge

stimulating spirits naturally valiant, they threw themselves on the five thousand with irresistible fury. Nor did the Hungarians succumb. It was a fearful and a mortal strife. The republicans were beginning to lose ground; their situation seemed desperate. But fortune decreed that the salvation of France should arise on the brink of utter ruin; and Kellermann was destined to effect the important rescue. In fact, whilst Boudet, who still endeavoured to maintain his ground in front, began, notwithstanding, to give way, Kellermann, with all the weight of his cavalry, attacked the Hungarian mass in flank, and, charging in between and across their files, divided the column in handfuls, and totally disordered it. Their ranks broken, their lines lost, intermingled with the French, entangled with one another, there remained to them no order, nor any means of defence. And hence, Kellermann continuing to press on them more vigorously, and Boudet returning to the charge with fresh animation, derived from this opportune aid, their whole body was constrained to lay down their arms. Thus that which the infantry and the artillery had failed to accomplish, the cavalry effected, exactly contrary to what had happened at Fontenoy, where the artillery effected what the cavalry and infantry had unsuccessfully attempted. Zach seems to have committed an important error in having advanced too far amongst the French troops; for, when he was so fiercely attacked, the other squadrons were too distant to afford him timely succour. In fact, he was too confident of victory. The disastrous fate of the Hungarian column

gave every where the preponderance to the fortune of the French, who now pressing on, closed in the rear of the enemy, thus deprived of their principal support, and forced them to retreat with great loss and confusion. Melas gave the signal to collect his shattered forces, and he retired, vanquished, to that spot from whence he had set out in the morning with such well-founded hopes of victory. He but once again made head, and that in considerable numbers, at Marengo, to give time for the arrival of the retreating squadrons, and then sought shelter beyond

the Bormida. The French took up the same quarters they had occupied before the battle. Of the Imperialists there were killed four thousand able veterans who had served in the Italian campaigns, seven thousand were wounded, and eight thousand remained prisoners in the hands of the enemy. The French loss was three thousand killed, and four thousand wounded but few were made prisoners, because of the number taken in the early part of the day, the major part were liberated by their fellow-soldiers at the moment of their unexpected victory.

#### BATTLE OF MAIDA.

[*From Bottà's History of Italy.*]

In the beginning of July, 1806, general Stuart landed about five thousand soldiers on the coast of the Gulf of St. Eufemia. He called on the people, to rise but with little effect,—and such being the coldness of the inhabitants, he was in doubt whether he should immediately embark, or continue on the terra firma, when he received intelligence that Regnier, with a body about four thousand strong, was encamped at Maida, ten miles from the coast: he heard, at the same time, that a reinforcement of three thousand men was hastening to join Regnier, as the debarkation of the English was already known in the neighbourhood. He resolved, therefore, to attack the enemy before the second body of troops should join him. The French general was encamped on the side of a woody hill, above the village of Maida, which commanded the plain of St. Eufemia: thick woods secured his flanks; in front flowed the river Amato, which, though

every where fordable, yet, from the marshes on its banks, it would have been difficult for the English to pass.

The position of Regnier was strong, nay, almost impregnable; and, if he had there awaited the attack of the enemy, his victory would have been certain. It must be remarked, that it was impossible for the English long to remain where they were, as the country, abounding in marshes, emitted, more especially in the summer season, pestilential exhalations, producing mortal disorders. But Regnier, either too confident in himself, or judging too meanly of the enemy, consented to commit to the arbitration of fortune an event otherwise certain: he descended, therefore, from the favouring hill, crossed the fatal river, and advanced into the perilous plain. Perhaps, besides his confidence in himself and his troops, who were in fact brave men, he was further tempted by the consideration of having some



squadrons of cavalry, which the English were destitute of. He was now joined by the three thousand, and this increased the confidence of the French: the English advanced to meet them; the two rival nations hastened to the struggle.

On the 6th July the battle commenced with some irregular skirmishing between the light-armed troops: then began the contest of the heavy troops—they fired a few volleys of musketry; then, urged by rivalry, and impatient of fighting at a distance, they rushed on each other with fixed bayonets. The *melée* was terrible; the French were impetuous, the English steady. The former, either because they had believed they were advancing to secure an easy victory, and were therefore appalled by the unexpected resistance, or by some other circumstance, began after a short struggle hand to hand, to give way, especially on the left, and then actually fled. The English, quickly pursuing and fiercely pressing on them, made no small slaughter of the fugitives. Regnier strove to regain the day by a charge of cavalry on the left of the enemy; but the English made such an immovable resistance with their muskets and bayonets, that he was obliged to desist. He then strove,

since the attack in the front of the line proved so fruitless, to turn this same wing of the English with the cavalry, and attacking it in flank and rear to put its ranks in disorder. Already had the cavalry circled round the enemy, and the contest became full of peril to the English, when a fresh regiment from *Messina*, which had just landed at St. Eufemia, arrived on the field, and placing itself behind a slight shelter which the ground afforded, made head against the cavalry, and by an incessant fire not only arrested their progress, but forced them to retreat in some disorder. On this Regnier's troops fled in confusion, every one seeking safety for himself as he best could, regardless of discipline or order. The victory of the English was complete. Regnier erred in having descended to the plain; he erred also in having too much extended his line. Seven hundred of the French fell on the field, two thousand fell into the hands of the victors, part on the field of battle, the rest at Monteleone, whither they had retired. The victory was adorned by the capture of general Compere. Of the fugitives, who were in considerable numbers, many falling into the hands of the Calabrians were cruelly massacred; a few, brought captive to general Stuart, were saved.

## MANNERS, CUSTOMS, &amp;c.

ACCOUNT of FRANKLIN'S *Second Journey to the Shores of the*  
POLAR SEA.

**I**T is unnecessary to follow captain Franklin and his party through the numerous obstructions and difficulties they encountered in the first part of their journey, sometimes hurried away with, and sometimes struggling against, the streams of rivers, and dragging their boats and baggage across portions of land. We shall, therefore, begin our account of their expedition from the point where the Great Bear Lake river, flowing out of the lake of the same name, joins the Mackenzie river. It was on the banks of the former, that the party resolved to take up their winter-quarters, and to build a habitation and store, to which, when completed, they gave the name of Fort Franklin.

Having reached this spot so early as the 7th of August, Franklin calculated, that, by setting off immediately, sufficient time would be allowed him to reach the sea at the mouth of the Mackenzie, and return to winter-quarters before the severity of the cold should have set in. He conceived that, by taking a view of the state of the Polar Sea, at that season, with regard to ice, and of the trending of the coast to the westward, he would be enabled to form a tolerably cor-

rect notion as to the probability of next year's success. Accordingly, while those best fitted for the purpose were left to complete the construction of the houses, he, with another party, set out on an expedition down to the Bear Lake river and the Mackenzie, to the junction of the latter with the sea.

The Mackenzie falls into the sea in numerous large branches, intersecting an extensive delta of alluvial soil. Captain Franklin was satisfied, on reaching the Whale Island of Mackenzie, the extreme point of that traveller's progress, that he too had reached the sea; and, though on tasting the water, found it to be perfectly fresh, he was not the less convinced, from the great expansion of water to the northward, and the sudden diverging of the shore, that, at this point, he had, in fact, entered into the Polar Sea; and he states that he was the more confirmed in this opinion by the appearance of a seal sporting about the boat. With a determination to leave no doubt remaining as to the fact, he pushed on towards an island much farther out, which looked blue from its distance; and, "under its shelter, the boat passed a line of strong ripples, which marked the termination of

the fresh water, that on the seaward side being brackish ; and in the further progress of three miles to the island, he found the water decidedly salt."

To this island, Franklin gave the name of Garry. Its latitude was  $69^{\circ} 29' N.$ , longitude  $135^{\circ} 41' W.$ , the variation of the needle,  $51^{\circ} 42' E.$  ; temperature of the air  $52^{\circ}$ —of the sea water  $51^{\circ}$ —of the fresh water  $55^{\circ}$ . It abounded with layers of wood-coal, similar to that found in the Mackenzie, besides a bituminous liquid trickling down the sides of the cliff. The discovery of this bituminous shale might have been attended with dangerous, perhaps fatal, consequences. 'In the course of the evening,' says captain Franklin, 'I found that a piece of the wood-coal from Garry's Island, which I had placed in my pocket, had ignited spontaneously, and scorched the metal powder-horn by its side.' Small as this island is, numbers of moose and rein deer, and foxes, were seen upon it ; and several kinds of gulls, dotterels, geese, cranes, and swans were flocking around its shores. The vegetation consisted of various shrubby plants in flower, grasses, and mosses ; the beach covered with pebbles of granite, greenstone, quartz, and lydian-stone.

From this advanced position, the party made the best of their way back, and joined their companions at winter-quarters on the 5th of September. About the same time, Dr. Richardson returned from the north-eastern shores of Great Bear Lake, where it approached nearest to Coppermine River, whither he had proceeded, for the purpose of fixing upon a spot to which he might bring his party, the following year, from the mouth of that river, in the event of his reaching this ultimate object of his research.

During the passing of a long dreary winter, the Canadians and the Indians were engaged in fishing and hunting for the support of the whole party : during the autumn, the fishing was so successful, that the nets yielded daily from three to eight hundred fish of the kind called 'herring-salmon,' and occasionally trout, tittameg, and carp. The rein-deer furnished the party but scantily with flesh-meat, and in the winter the supply of this article ceased altogether. The officers had ample employment in making and registering the thermometrical, magnetical, and atmospherical observations, in writing up their journals, finishing the charts, drawings, and sketches, examining and arranging the objects of natural history which had been collected, and in various other matters.

Every thing went on well till the end of the year, but, owing to the extreme severity of the weather in January and February, the sources, whence they had derived their food, failed. All the animals, but the wolf and the fox, had migrated to the southward ; the stock of dried meat was expended ; the fish caught did not allow more than three or four small herrings to each man ; and being out of season, not only afforded very little nourishment, but caused frequent and general indisposition. Under such circumstances, they were obliged to have recourse to their provision of panican and portable soup, which had been set apart for the voyage along the sea-coast.

Dr. Richardson kept a curious "register of phenomena connected with the progress of the seasons at Fort Franklin." From this it appears, that on the 11th of September, the muskitoes ceased to be trou-

blesome; on the 2nd of October, the first ice was observed; and on the 5th, the last swan passed to the southward; on the 7th, the last rain fell—on the 11th, the last brown duck was noticed. On the 6th of May, the first swans were seen; on the 7th, the geese appeared; on the 8th, the ducks; and on the 9th the gulls arrived;—on the 11th the first shower fell; on the 16th, the mosses began to sprout; on the 17th, various singing birds and orioles made their appearance, and some swifts and white geese arrived; on the 27th, the laughing-geese were first seen; and on the 31st, the goat-suckers brought up the rear;—on the 3rd of June, the dwarf-birch, willows, and shrubby-potentilla were in leaf—and the anemonies, tussilagons, and the Lapland rose, (*rhododendron lapponicum*,) and several other plants were in full flower; and on the 26th of July, ripe whortle-berries were brought to the Fort. The lowest temperature occurred on the first of January, when Fahrenheit's thermometer descended to  $-49^{\circ}$ ; the highest between the 1st and 10th, was  $-8^{\circ} 8'$ ; and the mean  $-29^{\circ} 7'$ .

By the 15th of June, the equipments of the boats were completed. Fourteen men, including Augustus, (the Esquimaux interpreter) were appointed to accompany captain Franklin and lieutenant Back, in the Lion and Reliance, the two larger boats; and ten, including Ooligbuck, (another Esquimaux) to go with Dr. Richardson and Mr. Kendall, in the Dolphin and Unicorn—the former party to proceed to the westward, the latter to the eastward, of the mouth of the Mackenzie river. On the 28th of June, they all quitted the fort, descended the Mackenzie, and on

the 4th of July, reached that part of the river where it divides into various channels, and where the two parties were to pursue different directions. "We felt," says captain Franklin, "that we were only separating to be employed on services of equal interest; and we looked forward with delight to our next meeting, when, after a successful termination, we might record the incidents of our respective voyages."

The western party had scarcely cleared the branch of the river down which they descended, when they discovered a crowd of tents on an island, with a number of Esquimaux strolling among them. Captain Franklin wished to open a communication with these people, but gave orders that the boats should be kept afloat, and that on no account should any one fire upon them, even if they showed any marks of hostility, until himself or lieutenant Back should set them the example. On approaching the island, they made signs to the Esquimaux to come off. They did so; and "we endeavoured," says Franklin, "to count their numbers as they approached, and had proceeded as far as seventy-three canoes and five oomiaks, when the sea became so crowded by fresh arrivals that we could advance no farther in our reckoning." An amicable trade speedily took place, till an incident happened which produced unforeseen and annoying consequences:—

"A kaiyack being overset by one of the Lion's oars, its owner was plunged into the water with his head in the mud, and apparently in danger of being drowned. We instantly extricated him from his unpleasant situation, and took him into the boat until the water could be thrown out of his kaiyack;

and Augustus seeing him shivering with cold, wrapped him up in his own great coat. At first he was exceedingly angry, but soon became reconciled to his situation, and looking about, discovered that we had many bales, and other articles, in the boat, which had been concealed from the people in the kaiyacks, by the coverings being carefully spread over all. He soon began to ask for every thing he saw, and expressed much displeasure on our refusing to comply with his demands; he also, we afterwards learned, excited the cupidity of others by his account of the inexhaustible riches in the Lion, and several of the younger men endeavoured to get into both our boats, but we resisted all their attempts."

They now pressed forward in crowds, and stole every thing they could lay their hands on. They began to drag the Reliance towards the shore, and soon after her the Lion:—

"Two of the most powerful men, says captain Franklin, jumping on board at the same time, seized me by the wrists and forced me to sit between them; and as I shook them loose two or three times, a third Esquimaux took his station in front to catch my arm whenever I attempted to lift my gun, or the broad dagger which hung by my side. The whole way to the shore they kept repeating the word '*teyma*,' beating gently on my left breast with their hands, and pressing mine against their breasts. As we neared the beach, two oomiaks, full of women, arrived, and the '*teymas*' and vociferation were redoubled. The Reliance was first brought to the shore, and the Lion close to her a few seconds afterwards. The

three men who held me now leaped ashore, and those who had remained in their canoes taking them out of the water, carried them to a little distance. A numerous party then drawing their knives, and stripping themselves to the waist, ran to the Reliance, and, having first hauled her as far up as they could, began a regular pillage, handing the articles to the women, who, ranged in a row behind, quickly conveyed them out of sight."

In short, after a furious contest, in which knives were brandished in the most threatening manner, and several of the men had their clothes cut through, lieutenant Back ordered his people to seize and level their muskets, but not to fire till the word was given: this had the desired effect; the whole party taking to their heels, and hiding themselves behind the drift timber on the beach. Captain Franklin still thought it best to temporise while the boats were lying aground, for, armed as they were with long knives, bows, arrows, and spears, fire-arms could not have been used with advantage; and he states his conviction, that such was the high excitement to which they had wrought themselves, that the first blood his party had shed would instantly have been revenged by the sacrifice of all their lives.

Augustus now volunteered to go on shore and remonstrate with his countrymen on their bad conduct; they pleaded in mitigation thereof that they had never seen white people before, and that every thing was so new to them and so desirable, that they could not resist the temptation of stealing; they promised they would never do the like again; and, as a proof of their sincerity, restored the articles that had been stolen. Their real in-

tion, however, as it afterwards appeared, was to possess themselves of all the property by murdering the whole party. After this, the exploring party met with no interruption from the natives, with whom they had frequent intercourse as they proceeded along the coast, sometimes meeting with very numerous parties, taking the precaution, however, of keeping the boats afloat, as far as it was possible, whenever they approached their stations.

It was observed that the farther they advanced to the westward the native Esquimaux bore a nearer resemblance to those well-known Tartar features of high cheek bones and small elongated eyes.—

Every man had pieces of bone or shells thrust through the septum of his nose; and holes were pierced on each side of the under lip, in which were placed circular pieces of ivory, with a large blue beard in the centre, similar to those represented in the drawings of the natives on the N. W. coast of America, in Kotzebue's Voyage. These ornaments were so much valued, that they declined selling them; and, when not rich enough to procure beads or ivory, stones and pieces of bone were substituted. These perforations are made at the age of puberty; and one of the party, who appeared to be about fourteen years old, was pointed out, with delight, by his parents, as having to undergo the operation in the following year. He was a good-looking boy, and we could not fancy his countenance would be much improved by the insertion of the bones or stones, which have the effect of depressing the under lip, and keeping the mouth open.

“With regard to the women,”

captain Franklin observes, “their own black hair is very tastefully turned up from behind to the top of the head, and tied by strings of white and blue beads, or cords of white deer-skin. It is divided in front, so as to form on each side a thick tail, to which are appended strings of beads that reach to the waist. The women were from four feet and a half to four and three-quarters high, and generally fat. Some of the younger females, and the children, were pretty. The lady whose portrait adorns this work, was mightily pleased at being selected by lieutenant Back for his sketch, and testified her joy by smiles and many jumps. The men, when sitting for their portraits, were more sedate, though not less pleased, than the females; some of them remarked that they were not handsome enough to be taken to our country.”

Having passed the first range of the Rocky Mountains, and between it and the second, a large river, at least two miles broad, was observed to empty itself into the Polar Sea, after coming, as the Esquimaux informed them, from a distant part of the interior. Near to Herschel's Island, in latitude  $69^{\circ} 33' N.$ , longitude  $139^{\circ} 3' W.$ , was another river, which they call the Mountain Indian River. Here they fell in with a party of Esquimaux, who traded up that river and to the westward with their countrymen, who obtain their goods from white people, and which Franklin had no doubt, from the appearance of the articles, were of Russian manufacture. There is another large river, to which they gave the name of Clarence: they found among the drift timber on the beach, a pine-tree, seven feet and a quarter in girth and thirty-

six feet long, and many others were seen of not much inferior size, which must have grown considerably to the southward.

From the moment the expedition left the mouth of the Mackenzie river, scarcely a day passed that the atmosphere was not, at some portion of it, so loaded with fog as to hide every object that was distant only a few miles, and sometimes so dense as to prevent them from seeing one end of the boat from the other. This state of the air is undoubtedly, of all others, the most hazardous for boat navigation in an icy sea. On the former expedition to the eastward of the Coppermine River they had generally clear weather; here a clear blue sky was a rare phenomenon. Captain Franklin explains the difference thus: By reason of the low and swampy land that lies between the Rocky Mountains and the sea coast—the very shallow sea washing that coast, which at the distance of three or four miles, in some places, was found to be scarcely deep enough to float their boats—and the numerous masses of ice brought down by the northerly winds, and grounded every where along this low coast—there is a constant exhalation of moisture during the summer months, which the vicinity of the Rocky Mountains prevents being carried away, and which is therefore condensed into a thick fog.

It was the 16th of August before the boats had reached the half-way point between the Mackenzie River and Icy Cape. At this early period, the young ice began to form at night on the pools of fresh water; the summer, if a constant succession of northerly gales and fogs could be so called, was nearly at an end, as experience on a for-

mer voyage had taught Franklin to conclude. He had then witnessed, a day later, and at two degrees more southerly, the commencement of severe storms of wind and snow, and found that, in the course of another fortnight, winter had fairly set in with all its severity. The sun had now begun to sink below the horizon; the temperature rarely exceeded 37° of Fahrenheit; the autumnal flight of geese and other birds had commenced; the deer were hastening from the coast; no Esquimaux had recently made their appearance, nor had any indication of winter-houses been seen.

“Till our tedious detention,” says Captain Franklin, “at Foggy Island, we had no doubt of ultimate success; and it was with no ordinary pain that I could now bring myself even to think of relinquishing the great object of my ambition, and of disappointing the flattering confidence that had been reposed in my exertions. But I had higher duties to perform than the gratification of my own feelings; and a mature consideration of all the above matters forced me to the conclusion, that we had reached the point, beyond which perseverance would be rashness, and our best efforts would be fruitless. In order to put the reader completely in possession of the motives which would have influenced me, had I been entirely a free agent, I have mentioned them without allusion to the clause in my instructions, which directed me to commence my return on the 15th or 20th of August, ‘if, in consequence of slow progress, or other unforeseen accident, it should remain doubtful whether we should be able to reach Kotzebue’s Inlet the same season.’

"In the evening I communicated my determination to the whole party; they received it with the good feeling that had marked their conduct throughout the voyage, and they assured me of their cheerful acquiescence in any order I should give. The readiness with which they would have prosecuted the voyage, had it been advisable to do so, was the more creditable, because many of them had their legs swelled and inflamed from continually wading in ice-cold water while launching the boats, not only when we accidentally run on shore, but every time that it was requisite to embark or to land upon this shallow coast. Nor were these symptoms to be overlooked in coming to a determination; for though no one who knows the resolute disposition of British sailors can be surprised at their more than readiness to proceed, I felt that it was my business to judge of their capability of so doing, and not to allow myself to be seduced by their ardour, however honourable to them and cheering to me."

It was fortunate he came to this resolution. Captain Beechy, who proceeded one hundred and twenty miles beyond Icy Cape, arrived on the 24th of August at a low sandy spot, extending so far to the northward, as to make it impossible to proceed round it; and the weather was so tempestuous, that it was with the utmost difficulty that officer's barge got back to Kotzebue Sound, to rejoin the Blossom.

On the 21st of September this western expedition reached Fort Franklin, where they met all their friends, the eastern detachment under Dr. Richardson having arrived on the 1st.

Dr. Richardson had been much

more fortunate than the western party. The coast between the mouths of the two rivers extends about five hundred miles, and he accomplished the voyage between the 4th of July and the 8th of August. The Esquimaux he met with on various parts of the coast, as well as on the islands formed by the reaches of the Mackenzie river, were more numerous, more peaceable, and, apparently, more wealthy, than those to the westward; but, like all savage nations, they missed no opportunity of stealing, while carrying on barter, whatever they could lay hands on. However, with the exception of one party, who had about fifty kayacks, no violence was attempted. This exception was occasioned by the boats grounding, when an attack, similar to that on Franklin, was made, but immediately repelled by the show of fire-arms, the use of which the aggressors appeared perfectly to understand, the result, no doubt, of experience acquired in contests with the neighbouring Indians.

Their winter-huts are of a superior kind; they are met with in whole villages, constructed of driftwood trees, planted generally in the sand with their roots uppermost. "These villages," says Dr. Richardson, "when seen through a hazy atmosphere, frequently resembled a crowd of people, and sometimes we fancied they were not unlike the spires of a town appearing above the horizon." The size and quantity of this timber is quite surprising. One straight log of spruce fir is mentioned, thirty feet long, seven feet in circumference at the small end, and twelve a short distance above the root. "There is such an abundance of drift-timber," says Dr.



Richardson, "on almost every part of the coast, that a sufficient supply of fuel for a ship might easily be collected, and," he adds, "should the course of events ever introduce a steam-vessel into those seas, it may be important to know that, in coasting the shores between Cape Bathurst and the Mackenzie, fire-wood sufficient for her daily consumption may be gathered. The following is the description of an Esquimaux village, in which was one very curious building:—

"The large building for an assembly-room was, in the interior, a square of twenty-seven feet, having the log-roof supported on two strong ridge poles, two feet apart, and resting on four upright posts. The floor in the centre, formed of split logs, dressed and laid with great care, was surrounded by a raised border about three feet wide, which was, no doubt, meant for seats. The walls, three feet high, were inclined outwards, for the convenience of leaning the back against them, and the ascent to

the door, which was on the south side, was formed of logs. The outside, covered with earth, had nearly a hemispherical form, and round its base there were ranged the skulls of twenty-one whales. There was a square hole in the roof, and the central log of the floor had a basin-shaped cavity, one foot in diameter, which was, perhaps, intended for a lamp. The general attention to comfort in the construction of the village, and the erection of a building of such magnitude, requiring an union of purpose in a considerable number of people, are evidences of no small progress towards civilization. Whale skulls were confined to the large building, and to one of the dwelling-houses, which had three or four placed round it. Many wooden trays, and hand-barrows for carrying whale-blubber, were lying on the ground, most of them in a state of decay."

On the 8th of August the party reached the mouth of the Coppermine river.

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CAPTAIN CLAPPERTON'S *Second Expedition into the Interior of AFRICA, from the BIGHT of BENIN to SOCCATOO.*

When Denham and Clapperton returned from their successful mission into the central parts of Northern Africa, the latter brought a letter from Bello, the sultan of the Fellans, or Fellatas, resident at Soccatoo, addressed to the king of England. In that letter the sultan proposed three things;—the establishment of a friendly intercourse between the two nations, by means of a consul, who was to reside at the seaport of Raka;—the delivery of certain presents described, at the port of Funda, sup-

posed to be somewhere near Whidah;—and the prohibition of the exportation of slaves, by any of the Houssa merchants, to Atagher, Dahomey, or Ashantee.

On the arrival of Clapperton in England, lord Bathurst, then Secretary of State for the colonies, conceived these proposals to afford a fair opportunity for endeavouring to carry into effect objects of such considerable importance; and Clapperton immediately volunteered his services on the occasion. He had arranged with Bello, that his

messengers should, about a certain time, be at Whidah, to conduct the presents and the bearers of them to Soccatoo. Clapperton was allowed to take with him two associates; one of whom was captain Pearce, of the navy, an excellent draughtsman; and the other, Dr. Morrison, a surgeon in the navy, well versed in various branches of natural history; and, at his particular request, a fellow-countryman, of the name of Dickson, who had served as a surgeon in the West Indies, was added to the list.

These gentlemen, with their servants, embarked on his majesty's ship *Brazen*, on the 25th of August, 1825, and arrived off Whidah on the 26th of the following November. Mr. Dickson landed at Whidah, and proceeded, in company with a Portuguese, of the name of De Sousa, to Dahomey, where the latter had resided for some time. Here he was well received, and sent forward, with a suitable escort, to a place called Shar, seventeen days' journey from Dahomey, where he also arrived in safety, and thence proceeded, with another escort towards Youri, but has not since been heard of. The *Brazen* proceeded with the rest to the river Benin, or Formosa, where they met with an English merchant of the name of Houtson, who advised them by no means to think of proceeding by that river, as the king bore a particular hatred to the English, for their exertions in putting a stop to the slave-trade; nor did he (Mr. Houtson) know how far, or in what direction, that river might lead them. He recommended Badagry as the nearest and most convenient spot to proceed from, with safety, into the interior; and offered to accompany them to a

certain distance, which offer was accepted.

It appears that their inquiries at Whidah after Bello and his messengers were entirely fruitless; and equally so as to Fundu or Raka—names never heard of on that part of the coast. It is now known that these places are near two hundred miles inland, and that Raka is not even on the banks of any river; and that neither of them were then under the dominion of Bello.

On the 7th December they commenced their journey from Badagry, accompanied by their servants, and a Houssa black, of the name of Pascoe, who had been lent from one of the king's ships to accompany the late Belzoni as interpreter. For a short distance they proceeded in canoes to a place, where a great market is held, called Bawie. The banks of the creek are represented as low, and covered with reeds; and the party were so imprudent as to sleep close to the river, in the open air. The next night (the 9th), they again slept in the open air, in the market-place of Dagmoo, a large town where they might have had as many houses as they wanted. On the 10th, Clapperton was seized with fever and ague. On the 12th, Dr. Morrison was attacked with fever. On the 13th, captain Pearce was severely indisposed; and, on the 14th, Richard Lander was taken ill. On the 23rd, Dr. Morrison, after being carried in a hammock to the distance of about seventy miles, finding himself worse, requested to return to a town called Jannah; and Mr. Houtson accompanied him. The next day, one of the servants died; and, on the evening of the 27th, captain Pearce breathed his last.

The following morning, the remains of this lamented officer were interred in presence of all the principal people of the town. The grave was staked round by the inhabitants, and a shed built over it. An inscription was carved on a board, placed at the head of the grave, by Lander—'I being unable,' says Clapperton, 'to assist, or even to sit up.' Two days after this, Mr. Houtson returned, with the information of Dr. Morrison having died at Jannah, on the same day as captain Pearce, where he had his remains decently interred—the people of the town attending the ceremony.

These unfortunate officers had been conveyed thus far, about seventy miles, in hammocks, by the people of the country; every where experiencing the kindest attentions, lodged in the best houses, and supplied with every thing that the country afforded. Clapperton was able occasionally to ride on horseback, and sometimes to walk; but greatly debilitated, and not free from fever. He describes the country between Badagry and Jannah, the frontier town of the kingdom of Yourriba, as abounding in population, well cultivated with plantations of Indian corn, different kinds of millet, yams, and plantains, wherever the surface was free from dense forests. Every where on the road the party was met by numbers of people, chiefly women, bearing loads of produce on their heads, always cheerful and obliging, and delighted to see white men, frequently singing in chorus, holding up both hands, and clapping them as tokens of joy, as they passed along, and whole groups kneeling down, and wishing the travellers a good journey.

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Towns and villages were very frequent; and some of the former were estimated to contain from eight to fifteen thousand souls. At Jannah, the crowds were immense, but extremely civil, and highly amused to see white men.

'In the evening, says captain Clapperton, Mr. Houtson and I took a walk through the town: we were followed by an immense crowd, which gathered as we went along, but all very civil; the men taking off their caps, the women kneeling on their knees and one elbow, the other elbow resting upon the hand. In returning we came through the market, which, though nearly sunset, was well supplied with raw cotton, country cloths, provision, and fruit, such as oranges, limes, plantains, bananas; and vegetables, such as small onions, chalotes, pepper and gums for soups; also, boiled yams, and accasons. Here the crowd rolled on like a sea, the men jumping over the provision baskets, the boys dancing under the stalls, the women bawling, and saluting those who were looking after their scattered goods, yet no word or look of disrespect to us.'

'I cannot omit bearing testimony to the singular and perhaps unprecedented fact, that we have already travelled sixty miles in eight days, with a numerous and heavy baggage, and about ten different relays of carriers, without losing so much as the value of a shilling, public or private; a circumstance evincing not only somewhat more than common honesty in the inhabitants, but a degree of subordination and regular government which could not have been supposed to exist amongst a people hitherto considered barbarians.'

The people of Jannah are inge-

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nious as well as industrious. They are excellent carvers in wood: all their doors, drums, and wooden utensils, being covered with figures of men, snakes, crocodiles, &c. Numerous looms were in operation—sometimes eight or ten in one house; their cotton cloths good in texture, and some of them very fine. Their looms and shuttles are described as being on the same principle with the common English loom, but the warp seldom more than four inches in width. They have abundance of indigo, of an excellent quality. The women are generally the dyers, and boys the weavers. They also manufacture a tolerable kind of earthenware.

The old caboceer, or chief of the town, was delighted to see the strangers; assigned them good lodgings; and sent thither hogs, ducks, pigeons, plantains, yams, and whatever the place would afford; while his numerous wives, about two hundred, welcomed them with songs of joy. On being informed that an Englishman had only one wife, he and the whole crowd, particularly his wives, laughed immoderately. The old gentleman wore a rich crimson damask robe and a red velvet cap; but during the ceremony of reception he changed his dress three different times, each time increasing the splendor of his appearance.

The approach to Emmadoo is described as extremely beautiful through a long, broad, and majestic avenue of trees, at the end of which a stockade, eighteen feet high, with a wicker gate, and another of the same kind, at the distance of a hundred paces, defend the entrance of the town. The surface of the adjoining country is

broken into hills and dales, a small stream of water running through every little valley. At Afoora the granite formation began to show itself. The town of Assulah is surrounded with a wall and a ditch, and may contain six thousand people. Assouda, another walled town, had about ten thousand inhabitants. At both the party was abundantly supplied with provisions; and regaled with dancing and singing the whole night, by the apparently happy inhabitants.

The appearance of the country improved as our travellers advanced; they had now reached the mountainous range, the width of which is stated to be about eighty miles. The highest point would appear not to exceed two thousand five hundred feet at that part where the travellers crossed them; and the road, by the edge of the hills and through the valleys, not more than one thousand five hundred. The valleys were planted with cotton, corn, yams, and plantains; and on the tops and hollows of the hills were perched the houses and villages of the proprietors of these plantations. The town of Duffoo in these mountains is said to have a population of fifteen thousand souls; and Chiadoo, seven thousand. On departing from the latter, Clapperton was attended by the chief, and an immense train of people, of all ages and sexes, with drums, horns, and gongs, making a strange discord when mingled with the agreeable voices of the women. The highest summit of these mountains is between Erawa and Chaki.

The town of Koosoo, at the northern termination of the mountains, is stated to be the largest that our traveller yet had seen, and supposed to contain twenty

thousand inhabitants. Next to it was Yaboo, another large town, and then Ensookosoo, between which and the former is a beautiful plain, well cultivated and studded with a number of Fellatah villages, whose inhabitants are living here, as they do in most parts of Soudan, a quiet and harmless pastoral life, unmolested by the black natives, and not interfering with any of the negro customs. From hence to the capital of Youriba, which is named Eyeo, or Katunga, many of the villages were deserted, and the towns more or less, in ruins, from the incursions of the more warlike Fellatahs of Soccatoo, and the insurrectionary slaves of Houssa, who had laid waste the country. Town followed town in quick succession, but all of them had suffered from the recent incursions.

The approach to the town of Tshow was through a beautiful valley, 'planted with large shady trees and bananas, having green plots and sheets of water running through the centre, where the dingy beauties of Tshow were washing their well-formed limbs, while the sheep and goats were grazing around on the verdant banks.' This picture of repose is stated, however, to be frequently disturbed by inroads from the neighbouring kingdom of Borgho, the natives of which are described as thieves and plunderers; and as our traveller was now close on its borders, he thought it necessary to brush up his arms. In the evening, however, a chief, with a large escort of horse and foot, arrived from Katunga, to conduct him safely to the king. Katunga is delightfully situated at the point of a granite range of hills. Accompanied by a band of music

and an immense multitude of men, women, and children, they proceeded about five miles in the city before they reached the residence of the king, who was seated under a verandah, with two red and two blue umbrellas, supported on long poles held by slaves. The chiefs were observed to be holding a parley with the king, which Clapperton conjectured to relate to his being desired to perform the usual ceremony of prostration.

"I told them," says he, "if any such thing was proposed, I should instantly go back; that all the ceremony I would submit to would be to take off my hat, make a bow, and shake hands with his majesty, if he pleased. This being granted, we accordingly went forwards." Theatrical entertainments were exhibited in the king's park, in a square space surrounded by clumps of trees. The first performance was that of a number of men dancing and tumbling about in sacks, having their heads fantastically decorated with strips of rags, damask silk, and cotton of variegated colours; and they performed to admiration. The second exhibition was hunting the boa snake, by the men in the sacks. The huge snake, it seems, went through the motions of this kind of reptile, 'in a very natural manner; though it appeared to be rather full in the belly, opening and shutting its mouth in the most natural manner imaginable.' A running fight ensued, which lasted some time, till at length the chief of the bag-men contrived to scotch his tail with a tremendous sword, when he gasped, twisted up, and seemed in great torture, endeavouring to bite his assailants, who hoisted him on their shoulders, and bore him off in triumph. The

festivities of the day concluded with the exhibition of the white devil, which had the appearance of a human figure in white wax, looking miserably thin, and as if starved with cold, taking snuff, rubbing its hands, and treading the ground as if tender-footed, and evidently meant to burlesque and ridicule a white man, while his sable majesty frequently appealed to Clapperton whether it was not well performed. After this the king's women sang in chorus, and were accompanied by the whole crowd.

The city of Eyeo, called in the Houssa language Katunga, has a thick belt of wood round the walls, which are built of clay, about twenty feet high, and surrounded by a dry ditch; they are fifteen miles in circumference, and are entered by ten gates. The houses are of clay with thatched roofs. The posts that support the verandahs and the doors are carved in bas relief, with figures of the boa killing an antelope or a hog, with warriors accompanied by their drummers, &c. It has seven markets, held every evening, in which are exposed for sale yams, corn, calavances, bananas, vegetable butter, seeds of the colocynth, goats, fowls, sheep, cotton cloths, and various implements of agriculture. The country produces small horses, but fine horned cattle, many of them with humps on their shoulders like those of Abyssinia; sheep, hogs, muscovy ducks, fowls, pigeons, and turkeys. They have various kinds of fruit, such as oranges, limes, and, so Clapperton says, pears and apples. The cotton plant and indigo are extensively cultivated; but the commerce with the coast is almost exclusively in slaves, which are given in exchange

for rum, tobacco, European cloth, and cowries. This intercourse, which is constant, is entirely by land, either from Badagry, Lagos, or Dahomey. The price of a slave at Jannah, as nearly as could be calculated, was from 3*l.* to 4*l.* sterling; their domestic slaves, however, are never sold, except for misconduct. In fact, the whole population may be considered in a state of slavery, either to the king or his caboceers. The features of the Yourriba people are described as being less characteristic of the negro than those of Badagry; the lips less thick and the nose inclined to the aquiline; the men well made, and of an independent carriage; the women of a more coarse appearance, probably from drudgery and exposure to the sun.

Though Clapperton remained at Katunga from the 23rd January to the 7th March, and though the river Quorra,—the mysterious and miscalled Niger—was not more than thirty miles to the eastward, he was not able to prevail on the king of Yourriba to allow him to visit it; whenever he asked for permission to do so, he was always put off with some frivolous excuse, and in this too, the old gentleman appears to have been as cunning and as cautious as a Chinese mandarin—observing at one time, that the road was not safe, at another, that the Fellatas had possession of the country, and what would the king of England say, if anything should happen to his guest? It was with some difficulty, after all, that Clapperton could prevail on him to let him depart on his journey: the king offered, if he would stay, to give him a wife;—of wives, he said, he himself had plenty—he did not exactly know how many, but he

was sure that, hand to hand, they would reach from Katunga to Jannah.

On departing from Katunga for Kiama, a city of Borgho, Mr. Houtson took his leave of our traveller, and returned to the coast, where he shortly afterwards died. Clapperton continued his route among ruined villages, that had been sacked by the Fellatas. These marauders, it seems, have a mode of setting fire to walled towns, by tying combustibles to the tails of pigeons, which, on being let loose, fly to the tops of the thatched houses, while they keep up showers of arrows, to prevent the inhabitants from extinguishing the flames. Having crossed the river Moussa, a considerable stream which falls into the Quorra, an escort appeared to conduct our traveller to Yarro, the sultan, as they called him, of Kiama. They were mounted on remarkably fine horses, but were a lawless set of fellows, who plundered the villages as they went along, without mercy or remorse.

At Kiama he was well received by Yarro, who assigned him an excellent house, within a square inclosure, and sent him milk, eggs, bananas, fried cheese, curds, and *foo-foo* (paste of Indian corn). Shortly afterwards he paid him a visit, mounted on a beautiful red roan, attended by a number of armed men, on horse-back and on foot, 'and six young female slaves, naked as they were born, except a stripe of narrow white cloth tied round their heads, about six inches of the ends flying out behind, each carrying a light spear in the right hand.' Each of these girls, on entering the door, put a blue cloth round her waist. Yarro promised our traveller every assistance, and

kept his word. On taking leave, he remounted his horse, 'the young ladies undressed, and away went this most extraordinary cavalcade.'

The light forms of the girls, the vivacity of their eyes, and the ease with which they appeared to fly over the ground, made them appear something more than mortal as they flew alongside of his horse, when he was galloping, and making his horse curvet and bound. A man with an immense bundle of spears remained behind at a little distance, apparently to serve as a magazine for the girls to be supplied from, when their master had expended those they carried in their hands.

Kiama is one of the largest cities in Borgho. Clapperton estimates it to contain, at least, thirty thousand inhabitants; but, like the rest of the people of this kingdom, they are represented as great robbers.

At Wawa, another city of Borgho, our traveller was well and hospitably received, the old governor of which told him, that every thing should be done that he wished. Being so near that part of the Quorra where Mungo Park perished, our traveller thought he might get some information of this melancholy event.

"The head man's story is this: that the boat stuck fast between two rocks, that the people in it laid out four anchors a-head, that the water falls down with great rapidity from the rocks, and that the white men, in attempting to get on shore were drowned, that crowds of people went to look at them, but the white men did not shoot at them as I had heard; that the natives were too much frightened either to shoot at them, or to assist them, that there were found a great many things in the

boat, books, and riches, which the sultan of Boussa has got, that beef cut in slices and salted was in great plenty in the boat, that the people of Boussa who had eaten of it all died, because it was human flesh, and that they knew we white men eat human flesh."

From hence, it was settled that our traveller should proceed across the Quorra, to a city called Koolfu; but as Boussa was higher up the river than the common ferry of Conie, and he was determined to visit the spot where Mungo Park perished, the governor promised to forward his servant and baggage to the former place, where he was to meet them after his visit to Boussa. This town he found, on his arrival, to be situated on an island formed by two branches of the Quorra, the smaller and more westerly one named the Menai, which he crossed by a canoe, the horses swimming over. On waiting on the sultan, by whom, he was kindly received, his first inquiry was concerning some white men, who were lost in the river some twenty years ago, near this place.

"He seemed rather uneasy," says Clapperton, "at this question, and I observed that he stammered in his speech. He assured me he had nothing belonging to them; that he was a little boy when the event happened. I said I wanted nothing but the books and papers, and to learn from him a correct account of the manner of their death; and that with his permission, I would go and visit the spot where they were lost. He said no, I must not go; it was a very bad place. Having heard that part of the boat still remained, I asked him if it was so: he replied that such a report was untrue; that she did remain on the

rocks for some time after, but had gone to pieces and floated down the river long ago. I said if he would give me the books and papers it would be the greatest favour he could possibly confer on me. He again assured me that nothing remained with him,—every thing of that kind had gone into the hands of the learned men; but that if any were now in existence he would procure them and give them to me. I then asked him if he would allow me to inquire of the old people in the town the particulars of the affair, as some of them must have seen it. He appeared very uneasy, gave me no answer, and I did not press him further.

"The sultan, when I inquired of him afterwards about the papers of my unfortunate countryman, said that the late iman, a Fellata, had had possession of all the books and papers, and that he had fled from Boussa some time since. Every one, in fact, appeared uneasy when I asked for information, and said it had happened before their remembrance, or that they did not see it. They pointed out the place where the boat struck, and the unfortunate crew perished: but even this was done with caution, and as if by stealth."

The place where the vessel was sunk is in the eastern channel, where the river breaks over a grey slate rock extending quite across it. A little lower down, the river had a fall of three or four feet. Here, and still further down, the whole united streams of the Quorra were not above three-fourths the breadth of the Thames at Somerset-house. On returning to the ferry, Clapperton found a messenger from the king of Youri, who had sent him a present of a camel. This



messenger, Clapperton adds, "said that the king, before he left Youri, had shown him two books, very large, and printed, that had belonged to the white men that were lost in the boat at Boussa; that he had been offered a hundred and seventy mitgalls of gold for them, by a merchant from Bornou, who had been sent by a Christian on purpose for them. I advised him to tell the king, that he ought to have sold them; that I would not give five mitgalls for them; but that, if he would send them, I would give him an additional present; and that he would be doing an acceptable thing to the king of England by sending them, and that he would not act like a king if he did not. I gave him for his master one of the mock-gold chains, a common sword, and ten yards of silk, and said I would give him a handsome gun and some more silk, if he would send the books. On asking him if there were any books like my journal, which I showed him, he said there was one, but that his master had given it to an Arab merchant ten years ago; but the merchant was killed by the Fellatas on his way to Kano, and what had become of that book afterwards he did not know.

Upon this, Clapperton sent a person with a letter to Youri—

"Mohamed," he continues, "the Fezzanie, whom I had hired at Tabra, and whom I had sent to the chief of Youri for the books and papers of the late Mungo Park, returned, bringing me a letter from that person, which contained the following account of the death of that unfortunate traveller: that not the least injury was done to him at Youri, or by the people of that country; that

the people of Boussa had killed them, and taken all their riches; that the books in his possession were given him by the Iman of Boussa; that they were lying on the top of the goods in the boat when she was taken; that not a soul was left alive belonging to the boat; that the bodies of two black men were found in the boat chained together; that the white men jumped overboard; that the boat was made of two canoes joined fast together, with an awning or roof behind; that he, the sultan, had a gun, double-barrelled, and a sword, and two books that had belonged to those in the boat; that he would give me the books whenever I went to Youri myself for them, not until then."

The last account of this unfortunate traveller, is stated to be from an eye-witness.

"This evening I was talking with a man that is married to one of my landlady's female slaves, called her daughter, about the manners of the Cumbrie and about England; when he gave the following account of the death of Park and of his companions, of which he was an eye-witness. He said that when the boat came down the river, it happened unfortunately just at the time that the Fellatas first rose in arms, and were ravaging Goober and Zamfra; that the sultan of Boussa, on hearing that the persons in the boat were white men, and that the boat was different from any that had ever been seen before, as she had a house at one end, called his people together from the neighbouring towns, attacked and killed them, not doubting that they were the advance guard of the Fellata army then ravaging Sou-dan, under the command of Malem Danfodio, the father of the present

Bello; that one of the white men was a tall man with long hair; that they fought for three days before they were all killed; that the people in the neighbourhood were very much alarmed, and great numbers fled to Nyffé and other countries, thinking that the Fellatas were certainly coming among them. The number of persons in the boat was only four, two white men and two blacks: that they found great treasure in the boat; but that the people had all died who eat of the meat that was found in her. This account I believe to be the most correct of all that I have yet got; and was told to me without my putting any questions, or showing any eagerness for him to go on with his story. I was often puzzled to think, after the kindness I had received at Boussa, what could have caused such a change in the minds of these people in the course of twenty years, and of their different treatment of two European travellers. I was even disposed at times to flatter myself that there was something in me that belonged to nobody else, to make them treat me and my people with so much kindness; for the friendship of the king of Boussa I consider as my only protection in this country."

Clapperton proceeded to the ferry at Comie, crossed the Quorra, which was about a quarter of a mile in width, running about two miles an hour, and from ten to fifteen feet deep. The canoes were about twenty feet long and two wide. He was now in the province of Nyffé; the country well cultivated, and the ant-hills near El Wata were the largest he ever saw, being from fifteen to twenty feet high, resembling so many Gothic cathedrals in miniature.

In this part of the country, the natives smelt iron ore, and every village had three or four blacksmiths' shops in it. The houses are generally painted with figures of human beings, huge snakes, alligators, or tortoises. On arriving at Koolfu, our traveller took up his abode with a Widow Laddie, huge, fat, and deaf, very rich, sells salt, natron, boosa, and roa bum, or palm wine. The boosa is made from guinea corn, honey, Chili pepper, and the root of a coarse grass, and is a very fiery and intoxicating beverage. The whole night was passed in singing, dancing, and drinking boosa. The women, too, dressed in all their finery, joined the men, danced, sang and drank boosa with the best of them. These scenes are exactly similar to those which Burckhardt describes to have taken place among the bousa-drinkers of Berber and Shendy.

Koolfu is a sort of central market, where traders meet from every part of Soudan and western Africa. It is a walled town, with four gates, and may contain from twelve to fifteen thousand inhabitants, including all classes, the slave and the free, who live together and eat together without distinction, the men slaves with the men, and the women with the women; for, in the true style of all orientals, the two sexes eat their meals apart, and never sit down to any repast together. They are represented as a kind-hearted people, and affectionate towards one another, but they will cheat, if they can—and who is there, we may ask, that does not, in the way of trade? From Koolfu to Kufu the country was woody, the trees along the path consisting mostly of the butter tree. The villages were nu-

merous, and cultivation extensive ; but so insecure did the inhabitants consider themselves, that every man, working in the fields, was armed to defend himself against the inroads of the Fellatas.

Zaria, the capital of Zeg-zeg, is a large city, inhabited almost wholly by Fellatas, who have their mosques with minarets, and their houses flat roofed. It is said to be more populous than Kano, a city which is estimated by Clapperton to contain from thirty to forty thousand inhabitants. Many of them are from Foota Bonda and Foota Torra, and seem to know and to have had dealings with the French and English on the coast, and, as our author says, have not improved by the acquaintance. The environs of this city are said to be beautiful—like some of the finest parts of England in the month of April, and grain and fruits of various kinds are cultivated both within and without the walls. The beauty and fertility of the country continued all the way to Kano, which our traveller entered on the 20th July 1826.

Here Clapperton met his former friend and acquaintance, Hadje Hat Sala, who informed him of the state of the war between Bello and the Sheik of Bornou. Though still in bad health, he determined to proceed at once to Bello, and to leave his servant Richard and old Pascoe at Kano, under the protection of Hadje, who was authorized to grant them whatever money they might want. At Jaza he met his old friend the gadado, or prime minister ; who greeted him with great kindness ; told him that Bello had received his letter from Koolfu, and had sent a messenger to conduct him to Soccatoo. It seems, however, that, the gadado prevailed on him to remain for

some time in Kano, where he was plundered of several articles, and, among others, of his journal and remark book, a circumstance which has occasioned an hiatus in his narrative from July to October, on the 12th of which month we find him, with a part of the sultan's army, near Zurmie, on the borders of a large lake, or rather chain of lakes, on the plain of Gondamie, approaching nearly to Soccatoo.

‘The borders of these lakes are the resort of numbers of elephants and other wild beasts. The appearance at this season, and at the spot where I saw it, was very beautiful ; all the acacia trees were in blossom, some with white flowers, others with yellow, forming a contrast with the small dusky leaves, like gold and silver tassels on a cloak of dark green velvet. I observed some fine large fish leaping in the lake. Some of the troops were bathing ; others watering their horses, bullocks, camels, and asses : the lake as smooth as glass, and flowing around the roots of the trees. The sun, on its approach to the horizon, throws the shadows of the flowery acacias along its surface, like sheets of burnished gold and silver. The smoking fires on its banks, the sounding of horns, the beating of their gongs or drums, the braying of their brass and tin trumpets, the rude huts of grass or branches of trees rising as if by magic, every where the calls on the names of Mohamed, Abdo, Mustafa, &c., with the neighing of horses and the braying of asses, gave animation to the beautiful scenery of the lake, and its sloping green and woody banks.’

He now learned from the gadado that the sultan Bello was encamped before Coonia, the capital city.

of Goobur, which had rebelled against him, and which he was determined to subdue before he returned to Soccattoo. The Kano troops therefore moved forwards, and Clapperton along with them. They soon reached the main army; Bello received him most kindly; told him he had sent two messengers, one of whom went as far as to Katunga; said he would receive the king's letter and present at Soccattoo, as he intended to make his attack on the city the following day. We cannot omit Clapperton's description of this curious assault.

'After the mid-day prayers, all, except the eunuchs, camel drivers, and such other servants as were of use only to prevent theft, whether mounted or on foot, marched towards the object of attack; and soon arrived before the walls of the city. I also accompanied them, and took up my station close to the gadado. The march had been the most disorderly that can be imagined; horse and foot intermingling in the greatest confusion, all rushing to get forward; sometimes the followers of one chief tumbling amongst those of another, when swords were half unsheathed, but all ended in making a face, or putting on a threatening aspect. We soon arrived before Coonia, the capital of the rebels of Goobur, which was not above half a mile in diameter, being nearly circular, and built on the bank of one of the branches of the rivers, or lakes, which I have mentioned. Each chief, as he came up, took his station, which, I suppose, had previously been assigned to him. The number of fighting men brought before the town could not, I think, be less than fifty or sixty thousand, horse and foot, of which the foot amounted to more than nine-

tenths. For the depth of two hundred yards, all round the walls was a dense circle of men and horses. The horse kept out of bow-shot, while the foot went up as they felt courage or inclination, and kept up a straggling fire with about thirty muskets, and the shooting of arrows. In front of the sultan, the *Zeg-seg* troops had one French fusil: the Kano forces had forty-one muskets. These fellows, whenever they fired their pieces, ran out of bow-shot to load; all of them were slaves; not a single Fellata had a musket. The enemy kept up a sure and slow fight, seldom throwing away their arrows, until they saw an opportunity of letting fly with effect. Now and then a single horseman would gallop up to the ditch, and brandish his spear, taking care to cover himself with his large leathern shield, and return as fast as he went, generally calling out lustily, when he got among his own party, "Shields to the wall!" "You people of the Gadado, or Atego," &c., "why don't you hasten to the wall?" To which some voices would call out, "O! you have a good large shield to cover you!" The cry of "Shields to the wall," was constantly heard from the several chiefs to their troops; but they disregarded the call, and neither chiefs nor vassals moved from the spot. At length the men in quilted armour went up "per order." They certainly cut not a bad figure at a distance, as their helmets were ornamented with black and white ostrich feathers, and the sides of the helmets with pieces of tin, which glittered in the sun, their longquilted cloaks of gaudy colours, reaching over part of the horses' tails, and hanging over the flanks. On the neck, even the horse's

armour was notched, or vandyked, to look like a mane; on his forehead and over his nose, was a brass or tin plate, as also a semi-circular piece on each side. The rider was armed with a large spear; and he had to be assisted to mount his horse, as his quilted cloak was too heavy; it required two men to lift him on; and there were six of them belonging to each governor, and six to the sultan. I at first thought the foot would take advantage of going under cover of these unwieldy machines; but no, they went alone, as fast as the poor horses could bear them, which was but a slow pace. They had one musket in Coonia, and it did wonderful execution, for it brought down the van of the quilted men, who fell from his horse like a sack of corn thrown from a horse's back at a miller's door; but both horse and man were brought off by two or three footmen.'

At the conclusion of this battle the whole army set off in the greatest confusion, men and quadrupeds tumbling over each other, and upsetting every thing that fell in their way. Clapperton made his way to Soccato, where he found the same house he had formerly inhabited prepared for his reception. Here, and in the neighbourhood, he resided nearly six months, in the course of which time he collected much information respecting the first irruption of the Fellatas, or Foulahs, from Fouta Torra, Fouta Jella, &c., on the western side of Africa, under Othman Danfodio, the father of Bello; the manner in which he succeeded in subjugating the greater part of Houssa; the manners of these Mahomedans; the state of society, of their agriculture, commerce, and manufactures.

A very few days after Clapperton's arrival in Soccato, he was visited by Sidi Sheik, Bello's doctor, and one of his secretaries, who, after some preamble, told him that, by whatever road he might choose to return home, he should be sent under an escort,—were it even by Bornou, —though it was right to inform him that, on his former visit, the Sheik of Bornou had written, advising Bello to put him (Clapperton) to death. This, Clapperton observed, was very extraordinary, after the kind manner in which the sheik had behaved to him, to the very last hour of his departure, and insisted on seeing the letter. For this purpose he lost not a moment in repairing to the gadado, who affected ignorance, and said there must be some mistake, as he was sure there was no such letter. The next day the gadado took him to the sultan, who told him that such a letter had certainly been written with the sheik's sanction, by Hadje Mohamed, who therein said he was a spy, and that the English had taken possession of India by first going there by ones and twos, until they got strong enough to seize upon the whole country. A few days after this, it was announced to Clapperton that the sultan had sent for his servant and all his baggage to be brought from Kano to Soccato, and in a day or two afterwards Lander actually arrived with it. The next step was, to seize the baggage, under pretence that Clapperton was conveying guns and warlike stores to the sultan of Bornou; and lastly, he ordered Lord Bathurst's letter to the sheik to be given up to him. This conduct of the sultan had such an effect on Clapperton's spirits, that

his servant Richard says he never saw him smile afterwards; but he found it in vain to remonstrate. He told the gadado that the conduct of Bello was not like that of a prince of the Faithful; that he had broken his faith, and done him all the injury in his power. The gadado now assured him that not only the sheik, but the two hadjis of Tripoli, had written letters to Bello, denouncing him as a spy, and observing that the English wanted to take Africa as they had done India. 'I told the gadado they were acting like robbers towards me, in defiance of all good faith.' In short, their jealousy proceeded so far as to seize every thing that could be supposed to be any part of the present intended for the sheik of Bornou.

Not long after this, intelligence was received at Socatoo, of the total defeat of the Bornou army, which put the sultan in such good spirits, that he began to resume his former kind conduct towards Clapperton, discussing with him which would be the best and safest way for his return to England; but it was now too late. Clapperton's health had never been restored since the first night's fatal sleeping on the reedy banks of a stagnant ditch; and his spirits were now completely broken down by disappointment and ungenerous treatment. His journal about this time, the 12th March, terminates abruptly in the midst of a conversation as to the best route to be taken homewards. The rest is supplied by his faithful servant, Lander.

On the same day it appears he was attacked with dysentery, which he told Lander had been brought on by a cold, caught by lying down on the ground which was soft and

wet, when heated and fatigued with walking. 'Twenty days,' says Lander, 'my poor master remained in a low and distressed state. His body, from being robust and vigorous, became weak and emaciated, and indeed was little better than a skeleton.' Lander himself was in a fever, and almost unable to stir; but he was assisted in taking care of his master by Pascoe and an old black slave. Towards the beginning of April, Clapperton became alarmingly ill.—

At length, calling Lander to his bed-side, Clapperton said—

"Richard, I shall shortly be no more; I feel myself dying." Almost choked with grief, I replied, "God forbid, my dear master: you will live many years yet."

"Don't be so much affected, my dear boy, I entreat you," said he: "it is the will of the Almighty; it cannot be helped: Take care of my journal and papers after my death; and when you arrive in London, go immediately to my agents, send for my uncle, who will accompany you to the Colonial Office, and let him see you deposit them safely into the hands of the secretary. After I am buried, apply to Bello, and borrow money to purchase camels and provisions for your journey over the desert, and go in the train of the Arab merchants to Fezzan. On your arrival there, should your money be exhausted, send a messenger to Mr. Warrington, our consul at Tripoli, and wait till he returns with a remittance. On reaching Tripoli, that gentleman will advance what money you may require, and send you to England the first opportunity. Do not lumber yourself with my books; leave them behind, as well as the barometer, boxes, and sticks, and indeed every

heavy article you can conveniently part with; give them to Malam Mudéy, who will take care of them. The wages I agreed to give you my agents will pay, as well as the sum government allowed me for a servant; you will of course receive it, as Columbus has never served me. Remark what towns or villages you pass through; pay attention to whatever the chiefs may say to you, and put it on paper. The little money I have, and all my clothes, I leave you: sell the latter, and put what you may receive for them into your pocket; and if, on your journey, you should be obliged to expend it, government will repay you on your return." I said, as well as my agitation would permit me, "If it be the will of God to take you, you may rely on my faithfully performing, as far as I am able, all that you have desired; but I trust the Almighty will spare you, and you will yet live to see your country." "I thought I should at one time, Richard," continued he; "but all is now over; I shall not be long for this world: but God's will be done." He then took my hand betwixt his, and looking me full in the face, while a tear stood glistening in his eye, said, in a low but deeply affecting tone, "My dear Richard, if you had not been with me, I should have died long ago; I can only thank you, with my latest breath, for your kindness and attachment to me; and if I could have lived to return with you, you should have been placed beyond the reach of want; but God will reward you." This conversation occupied nearly two hours, in the course of which my master fainted several times, and was distressed beyond measure. The same evening he fell into a

slumber, from which he awoke in much perturbation, and said he had heard distinctly the tolling of an English funeral bell. I entreated him to be composed, and observed, that sick people frequently fancy they hear and see things that cannot possibly have any existence. He made no reply.

A few days after this he breathed his last. Lander immediately sent to ask permission of the sultan to bury the corpse, and that he would point out the place where his remains might be deposited. Bello immediately ordered four slaves to dig a grave at the village of Jungavie, about five miles to the south-east of Soccatoo, whither the body was conveyed. When all was ready, 'I opened a prayer-book,' says this faithful servant, 'and, amid showers of tears, read the funeral service over the remains of my valued master. This being done, the union jack was taken off the body slowly lowered into the earth, and I wept bitterly as I gazed for the last time upon all that remained of my generous and intrepid master.' He then agreed to give some of the natives two thousand cowries to build a house four feet high over the spot, which they promised to do.

'I then returned,' says Lander, 'disconsolate and oppressed, to my solitary habitation; and, leaning my head on my hand, could not help being deeply affected with my lonesome and dangerous situation—a hundred and fifteen days' journey from the sea-coast, surrounded by a selfish and cruel race of strangers, my only friend and protector mouldering in his grave, and myself suffering dreadfully from fever. I felt, indeed, as if I stood alone in the world, and earnestly wished I

had been laid by the side of my dear master : all the trying evils I had endured never affected me half so much as the bitter reflections of that distressing period. After a sleepless night, I went alone to the grave, and found that nothing had been done ; nor did there seem the least inclination, on the part of the inhabitants of the village, to perform their agreement. Knowing it would be useless to remonstrate with them, I hired two slaves at Soccatoo the next day, who went immediately to work, and the house over the grave was finished on the 15th.

Ten days after this, Lander still

being in a state of fever, the gadado and two others came with a commission from the sultan to search his boxes, as he had been informed they were filled with gold and silver ; but they were surprised on finding that there was not money enough to bear his expenses to the coast. They took from him however, two guns, some powder and shot, and some other articles, for the payment of which they gave him an order on Kano for a certain number of cowries. After this, the sultan, with some hesitation, allowed him to leave Soccatoo.

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#### WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

Captain Stirling, when commanding the *Success* frigate, was sent to New South Wales on a particular service, which the state of the monsoon prevented him from carrying into immediate execution. He determined, therefore, on the recommendation of general Darling, the governor, to explore, in the meantime, this western part of Australia, which was omitted to be surveyed by captain King, on the ground that it had been visited by the French in the expedition of captain Baudin : the result of that visit, however, is so unsatisfactory, and so very inaccurate, that we are rather surprised captain King should have passed over so interesting a portion, geographically considered, as the south-western angle of this great country. Captain Stirling arrived at Cape Leuwin on the 2nd March, 1827, stood along the coast, and

anchored in Gage's Roads, opposite Swan River, which he afterwards ascended to its source in boats, and sent out exploring parties to ascertain the nature of the surrounding territory.

'We found,' he says, 'the country in general rich and romantic, gained the summit of the first range of mountains, and had a bird's-eye view of an immense plain, which extended as far as the eye could reach to the northward, southward, and westward. After ten days' absence, we returned to the ship ; we encountered no difficulty that was not easily removable ; we were furnished with abundance of fresh provisions by our guns, and met with no obstruction from the natives.'

Captain Stirling describes the weather as very different from that which the French experienced ; but the latter were on the coast at



the commencement of the winter season. They were apparently so alarmed at the gales of wind, the rocks, and the reefs, and the banks, that they hastened to leave behind them this part of the coast unexamined, with all convenient speed. The strong westerly winds that prevail throughout the year in the southern ocean to the southward of the tropic, appear to assume a northern direction near this part of the coast of Australia. These winds were here found to be cool and pleasant, and were generally accompanied by clear and serene weather. The summer winds from the N.W. are not infrequent; and, coming charged with moisture from a warm region into a colder one, they are invariably accompanied by rain; but, in the immediate vicinity of the shore, land and sea breezes are constant and regular. The climate appears to be delightful. While the Success was on the coast—that is, in the autumn,—the average height of the thermometer was 72°, the extremes being 84° and 59°, the first occurring before the sea-breeze set in, the latter at midnight. The French found the temperature when at anchor, in June, from 14° to 17° of Reaumur, or 63° to 70° of Fahrenheit. On the mountains, captain Stirling says, the temperature appeared to be about 15° below that of the plain. The alternate land and sea breezes create a moisture in the atmosphere which renders the climate cool and agreeable; the mornings and evenings are particularly so; and the nights are almost invariably brilliant and clear. Such a climate, it is almost unnecessary to say, must be highly favourable to vegetation, which was accordingly observed to be most luxuriant. ‘The verdant ap-

pearance,’ says captain Stirling, ‘and almost innumerable variety of grasses, herbaceous plants, shrubs, and trees, show that there is no deficiency in the three great sources of their sustenance, soil, heat, and moisture.’

The general structure and aspect of the country may be thus described. From Cape Leuwin to Cape Naturaliste (the southern head of Baie Géographe), which is not quite a degree of latitude, the coast is formed of a range of hills, of uniform and moderate elevation, whose bases are a fine-grained granite, shooting up pinacles into the superincumbent strata, composed of gneiss or schist. Above this lies a bed of sandstone and toadstone; and over these, defined by an accurately drawn horizontal line, is a bed of compact limestone: the latter, in some places, two hundred feet deep. The veins of quartz, mica, and feldspar, which traverse the schistose strata, are in many places highly metalliferous. The disintegration of the toadstone, mouldering away under the influence of the atmosphere, has left under the limestone cliffs a number of magnificent caverns, many of them remarkable for their extent and form, and some for the beautiful stalactites and incrustations which they contain.

From Geographer’s Bay to the northward of Swan River, the whole coast line is a limestone ridge, varying in height from twenty to six hundred feet, and extending inward to the distance of from one to five miles. In those parts of the coast, not protected by exterior islands or banks, the sea-breeze has blown up the sand, and covered the sides of these limestone hills—a circumstance

that appears to have given rise to the erroneous idea, that the western coast of Australia consists mostly of barren sandhills. Behind this ridge (whose occasional naked and barren appearance captain Stirling also thinks may have caused the early and continued prejudice against the fertility of this western coast) commences a great plain, which occupies a space, from south to north, of undetermined length, (reaching, perhaps, to King George's Sound,) and varying, in breadth, from twenty to fifty miles. The eastern boundary of this plain skirts the base of an almost continuous and abrupt chain of mountains, to which captain Stirling gave the name of 'General Darling's Range.' One of the points, the highest seen and measured by him, was about three thousand feet high. The average height is stated to be from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred feet. The base is granite; the sides, in many parts, naked; and the soil supports but little vegetation, except the stringy-bark and some hardy plants. The plain, for about a mile from the base of the mountains, is strewn with fragments of rocks and sand, and pieces of chalcedony, which then give place to a red loamy soil. Thus we have, first, the limestone ridge, of an average breadth of three miles, on the sea-shore; then a plain, or undulating surface, of the average breadth of thirty miles; and, lastly, the mountain range, rising abruptly from the plain, to the height of fifteen hundred feet, and extending, north and south, in a line nearly parallel with the coast, and apparently co-extensive with it; terminating, probably, in the plain at or near King George's Sound, to the eastward of Cape Leuwin,

where, as we have said, a British settlement has already been formed.

Captain Stirling observes, that coal was not found, because it was not particularly sought for; but he is of opinion that the general character of the country is such as to warrant the belief that it might be found; 'for,' he observes, 'all the concomitant strata or members of the coal formation are exposed on different parts of the surface, below which I had no opportunity to explore. Indeed, the carboniferous order of rocks is that which is most frequently exhibited throughout this territory; and I have no doubt important results would arise from a proper examination into its mineralogical resources.'

With reference to a supply of fresh water, so indispensably necessary in every settled country, the researches made by captain Stirling and Mr. Fraser (a botanist who accompanied him) were attended with the most satisfactory results. The former observes, that the clouds which are impelled against the western side of the range of mountains are condensed into rain, the water of which is conducted across the plain to the sea, in numerous streams, but chiefly by three principal rivers, terminating in estuaries, or salt-water lakes. These are—the Swan River opposite the Island Rottenest, the Rivière Vasse, and Port Leschenault, in Geographer's Bay. 'We found,' says captain Stirling, 'a great number of creeks, or rivulets, falling into Swan River, more particularly on the eastern side; and I am inclined to think, that the country generally is much divided by such water-courses. Its supply of fresh water, from springs and lagoons, is abundant; for we

found such wherever we thought it necessary to ascertain their existence.' 'At Point Heathcote,' he adds, 'we met with a remarkable instance; for there the beach of a narrow rocky promontory is a bed of springs, and by tracing the finger along any part within four inches of the edge of the salt water, pure and fresh water instantly occupied the trace.'

The regularity of the soundings, and the moderate elevation of the land, render the navigation of this coast safe and easy; but care must be taken of the 'Reef de Naturaliste,' the shoals of Rottenest, Houtman's Abrolhos, and the rocks off Cape Leuwin. He says that anchorages, which afford protection from southerly and south-westerly winds, may be considered safe, except in the winter months; and there are three or four such places in the great Geographer's Bay, in which also are the two bar-harbours of Vasse and Leschenault. The position of this bay is precisely that of Table Bay at the Cape of Good Hope—open entirely to the north-west. A good anchorage may be found on the north-east side of the island Rottenest; and close to the entrance of Swan River, there is an excellent roadstead (Gage's) for vessels of any size, where the water is smooth, the bottom good, the depth from three to twelve fathoms, the communication with the shore convenient, and the access easy, as well by night as day. It is sheltered by islands, by banks, or by the main land, on every part, except from the N.N.W. to W.N.W. It has this further advantage—that there a vessel may lie, in four or five fathoms, within one cable's length from the river's mouth, or from the beach of Gage's Bay.

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But the best anchorage by far, on the whole coast, is in Cockburn Sound, behind the island Buache, into which is a channel from the sea, with not less than five fathoms water in it. Within the Sound, there are variable soundings, from fifteen fathoms downwards, and the holding ground every where good. 'I do not scruple to call it,' says captain Stirling, 'at all times perfectly secure, and available for vessels of the greatest dimensions, as well as for any number of them.' Close to the beach of Buache Island, on the side of this Sound, are seven fathoms of water. The main land facing the Sound has a smooth and accessible shore, with deep water all along it, except on a very few shoal points. If this Sound has an objection, it is that of its distance from the mouth of Swan River, which is six or seven miles; but this objection, as far as the river is concerned, is done away with by the safety and convenience of Gage's Roads, except in seasons when north-west gales may be expected. Cockburn Sound, however, is the only anchorage that can with propriety be considered a port. 'Its value,' says captain Stirling, 'is not to be estimated solely by its own merits; but it must be recollected, that no other is known to exist on the whole of the western coast, except Sharks' Bay, where the heat of the climate and sterility of the soil forbid the formation of an European settlement.'

Between the two heads which form the entrance into Swan River, there is, unfortunately, a bar, made by the continuity of the limestone ridge. Over this bar, the depth, at low water, is but six feet, and is therefore practicable only for boats or rafts. About

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a mile inside the heads, the water deepens; and then commences a succession of cliffs or natural wharfs, with four, five, and six fathoms at their bases. The same depths are extended over a magnificent expanse of salt water, to which captain Stirling has given the name of 'Melville Water;' and which, in his opinion, wants only a good entrance to make it one of the finest harbours in the world, being seven or eight miles in length by three or four in width, and having a depth of water from four to seven fathoms. This narrow entrance of the river, he thinks, might be made navigable by ships of burthen, without difficulty or great expense; to accomplish which, two modes present themselves. The first is, by deepening the channel over the bar, which is of soft and friable limestone; the other, by cutting through the limestone isthmus which divides the waters of the lake from the sea. 'I measured the distance,' says captain Stirling, 'and found four fathoms of water on the inside, divided from the same depth on the outside, by four hundred and eighty yards of limestone rock.' When the town begins to rise, and substantial buildings are required, the blocks of stone procured by quarrying this entrance will go far towards paying the expense of excavation.

Into this expansive sheet of water fall two rivers; one from the north-east, which is properly the Swan River; the other from the south-east, called Canning's River. Captain Stirling examined them both: the former to its source, the latter beyond the point where the water ceased to be brackish. They are both sufficiently convenient for boat-naviga-

tion, even at the end of the dry season; and any obstruction might easily be removed to make them more so, by which the productions of an immense extent of country might be transported by water-carriage.

The higher the Swan River is ascended, the more extended the flats become, and the better is the quality of the soil. Here the country is said to resemble in character that on the banks of the Macquarrie river, west of Wellington Valley; and though marks of occasional floods appeared on the lower plains, the upper flats had evidently never been flooded. The sides of the mountains were bare of underwood, and their summits covered with large masses of iron stone, among which were growing enormous trees of *Angophora*, and some straggling plants of *Hakea*. On a careful examination of this part of the country bordering the two rivers from the sea-coast to the mountains, Mr. Fraser says, the animal productions are generally the same as those of New South Wales; and the human species, in their physical qualities and endowments are similar. They have the same distinctive marks in the structure of their bodies, large heads, spare trunks, long and disproportionate limbs. They are hardy and active in their habits, and appear to possess the qualities usually arising from such habits—bravery, vivacity, a quickness of temper alternating between extreme kindness and ferocity. Most of them wore kangaroo cloaks, which were their only clothing. They carry the same kind of spears, and the womera, or throwing stick, as are used by those in New South Wales. In the summer months they frequent the sea-coast, where

their skill in spearing fish is described as quite wonderful. In winter they mostly adhere to the woods on the higher grounds, where the kangaroos, the opossum tribe, and the land tortoises are plentiful. These, with birds and roots, constitute their sustenance. They have neither boat nor raft, nor did the party fall in with any thing resembling a hut. They made use of the word 'kangaroo' and other terms in use at Port Jackson. The party saw only the three kinds of animals above-mentioned, and heard the barking of the native dog; no other reptiles but iguanas and lizards and a single snake presented themselves.

Of birds, the list is somewhat more extensive. The emu is frequent on the plains, and that once supposed 'rara avis,' the elegant black swan, was seen in the greatest abundance on the river to which it has lent its name, and particularly on Melville Lake. Equally abundant were numerous species of the goose and duck family. White and black cockatoos, parrots and parroquets, were every where found. Pigeons and quails were seen in great quantities, and many melodious birds were heard in the woods.

Seals were plentiful on all the islands. Captain Stirling says, that it was not the season for whales, but their debris strewed the shore of Geographer's Bay. The French, in May and June, met with a prodigious number of whales along this part of the coast, and sharks equally numerous and of an enormous size, some of them stated to be upwards of two thousand pounds in weight. Vlaning mentions the vast numbers of large sharks on this part of the coast, and he, as well as the French,

found the sea near the shore swarming with sea-snakes, the largest about nine or ten feet long. Captain Stirling's party procured three or four different kinds of good esculent fish; one in particular, a species of rock-cod, is described as excellent.

'The bottom of the sea,' says captain Stirling, 'is composed of calcareous sand, sometimes passing into marl or clay. On this may be seen growing an endless variety of marine plants, which appear to form the haunts and perhaps the sustenance of quantities of small fish. When it is considered that the bank extends a hundred miles from the shore, and that wherever the bottom is seen, it presents a moving picture of various animals gliding over the green surface of the vegetation, it is not too much to look forward to the time when a valuable fishery may be established on these shores. Even now, a boat with one or two men might be filled in a few hours.'

The island of Buache is admirably adapted for a fishing town. The anchorage close to its eastern shore in Cockburn Island is protected against all winds; and the island itself, of six or seven thousand acres, of a light sort of sand and loam, is well suited, as Mr. Fraser thinks, for any description of light garden crops. The side next the sea is fenced by a natural dyke of limestone covered with cypress, and in many places with an arborescent species of *Metrosideros*; and all the valleys are clothed with a gigantic species of *Solanum*, and a beautiful *Brownonia*. The soil in these thickets is a rich brown loam intermixed with blocks of limestone, and susceptible, Mr. Fraser says, of

producing any description of crop. Fresh water may be had in all these vallies by digging to the depth of two feet. On this island captain Stirling caused a garden to be planted and railed out; on which account he named it 'Garden Island;' we would recommend, however, that it should retain the name of Buache, though from the very slovenly manner in which the French expedition under Baudin slurred over this part of the coast, it would perhaps do them more credit to obliterate all traces of their ever having been here, than to retain the memory of their visit by the preservation of their nomenclature. The 'Rivière des Cygnes,' as laid down by M. Heirisson, enseigne de vaisseau, bears very little resemblance to the original, and must either have been undertaken in ignorance of the common principles of surveying, or laid down from recollection.

On this island, Buache, or Garden (as the party named it), captain Stirling left a cow, two ewes in lamb, and three goats, where, he observes, abundance of grass, and a large pool of water awaited them. They would be, at all events, perfectly free from any disturbance from the natives. The entrance into Cockburn Sound is round the north point of this island, and between it and a small barren islet which was named Pulo Carnac, but which the French called Ile Bertholet. As the headlands, bays, and islands on this part of the coast had not been named, with the exception of the island Rottenest, before the visit of the French, we could wish, on every consideration, that the names given by them should be retained, were it only to avoid the example

of Baudin, Freycinet, and the rest, who so unhandsomely gave new names to Flinders's discoveries on the southern coast, while he was held as a prisoner at the Isle of France. But the names given by Flinders have been restored,—while those of 'Napoleon's Promontory,' 'Josephine's Gulph,' and the rest of the Bonaparteian family, have passed away.

Rottenest Island is the largest in this quarter, being about eight miles in length; it is of the same formation as Buache, but contains several saline lagoons, separated from the sea, on the north-east side, by a beach composed mostly of a single species of bivalve shell. Like Buache, it is covered with an abundant and vigorous vegetation, and a small species of kangaroo is said by Freycinet to be numerous upon it. Vlaming, who first discovered it, speaks in raptures of the beauties of this island, to which, from the multitude of rats, as he thought them to be, he gave the name of the 'Rats' nest.' The French call this animal the *péramèle à long nez*.

It is not to be supposed that a hasty visit could enable the party to explore the mineralogical resources of the country. It appears, however, by a list of the soils and rock formations in captain Stirling's report, that he brought home specimens of copper ore, of lead ore with silver, and also with arsenic, two species of magnetic iron, several varieties of granite, and chalcedony, and of limestone, with stalactite, stalagmite incrustations, &c. The high cliffs of Cape Naturaliste abound with large masses of what Mr. Fraser calls 'an extraordinary aggregate,' containing petrifications of bivalve and other marine shells, every particle of

which was thickly incrustated with minute crystals. Here, too, he says, veins of iron of considerable thickness were seen to traverse the rock in various directions; and he speaks of the caverns formed in the micaceous schistus between the granite and the limestone, as something very extraordinary. They contained rock-salt in large quantities, forming thick incrustations on every part of the surface, beautifully crystallized, and penetrating into the most compact parts of the rock. In many of these caverns were very brilliant stalactites and stalagmites of extraordinary size, adhering to the nodules of granite which form their bases or floors, and which are from forty to fifty feet above the level of the sea.

In several parts of the limestone formation, mineral springs were found; one in particular was noticed within half a mile of the entrance into Swan River. It bubbled out at the base of the solid rock in a stream whose transverse area was measured by captain Stirling, and found to be from six to seven feet, running at the rate of three feet in a second of time. It was thermal, saline, pleasant to the taste, and some, who partook of it, attributed to it an aperient quality.

Such is the outline of a country in which the government have determined to establish a new colony.

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#### PRESENT STATE *of the* JEWS.

The actual number of the Jews at present may, perhaps, not exceed six millions; and of these six millions there may be resident in the contiguous countries of Moravia, ancient Poland, the Crimea, Moldavia and Wallachia, above three millions. The greatest accumulation of them on any one point in Europe is in the countries of ancient Poland, now forming Russian, Austrian, and Prussian Poland, and the modern kingdom of Poland under the sceptre of the Emperor of Russia. It is stated by Beer, that many centuries ago a considerable body of Jews migrated from France into Germany, whence many of their descendants passed into Poland; but they must have remained long in Germany before this second swarm hived itself in Poland, as the language of the Polish Jews,

called Jewish-German, though written in the rabbinical characters, is fundamentally a German dialect, with a slight intermixture of Hebrew and other elements, and particularly of Polish, in proportion as you travel farther north. The colony obtained considerable privileges of Casimir the Great, who married the beautiful Jewess Esther; and from this stock, as their language proves, must have descended the great mass of the Polish Jews. There are great numbers of Jews in the parts of Turkey contiguous to Poland; but there they literally swarm; they are innkeepers, tradesmen, distillers of brandy, brewers, horse-dealers, money-changers, usurers, as every where else; some very few of them are farmers of the soil. Their numbers have increased of late years so rapidly as

greatly to alarm and embarrass the governments of countries which afford but slender resources for a population so averse to be engaged in tillage. The evil of this immense accumulation of such a people, having one common interest and feeling, both of which are foreign to the interests and feelings of the citizens of the state; is felt, especially by the Russian government.

The crowds of Jews in some of the towns of Russian Poland, and the miserable mode of existence of the greater part of them, have been forcibly depicted of late. It seems clear that, while, with such an augmentation of their population, they must be the more disposed to seek their fortunes elsewhere, their hosts also must be the more disposed to get rid of them if they can. It is to be observed, moreover, that they are thus placed in the midst of precisely that Christian population—the Polish—where, of late, the national feelings have been the most wounded, and the interests of the great proprietors the most deeply injured and sacrificed, and where, therefore, the whole frame of society is especially precarious and liable to violent changes, such as the Israelites look forward to as precursors to their deliverance. The essentially aristocratical existence of the whole Polish nation tends decidedly to prevent the Jews rising into consequence. There is no middle class in it, unless we consider as such that which the Jews have imperceptibly formed, but which is one eminently unqualified to be useful as a blending medium between the Christian nobles and the Christian serfs. their mental development and civilization greatly exceed those

of the lower orders of Poles, because they have an education, however perverted. They are described as being in general, physically, a fine and active people, such as would contrast most advantageously with the rickety figures which, formerly at least, were seen in the public walks in Holland. The comeliness of the Jewesses in Warsaw is much celebrated; and bishop James describes the Volhynian Jews as a particularly fine race of men, and their women as remarkable for beauty in figure, features, and complexion. In general, the Jews in Poland affect no external show, except in the dress of their women, but, as of old, those of them who are wealthy, live at home in considerable splendor.

The state of Germany, as to commerce and civilization, has been very beneficial to the Jews; their wealth, in its leading cities, has long been well known, and of late has attracted more attention than they would, perhaps, have wished. Since the time of Mendelsohn, many of them have studied with much success in its universities; of these professor Neander, now a Christian, may be cited as a very creditable specimen; and many young Jews fought in the armies which delivered Germany from the yoke of Buonaparte, with a courage and intelligence of which several of them bear the honourable records in the decorations they have earned. Many Jews have studied and practised medicine with success. The distresses of the noble holders of land, occasioned by French occupation and contributions, and the preceding and subsequent wars, all of which bore with peculiar weight upon Prussia, caused permission



to be granted there to the Jews, the great holders of ready money, whose property, too, is the least tangible and exposed to spoliation, to purchase manors, (*rittergüter*), which conferred a new splendor and consistence on their existence. It was, however, subsequently found necessary to suspend the exercise of one of the privileges attached to the possession of these estates—the gift of the spiritual benefices appertaining to them—as long as they should be unconverted, and for very obvious reasons. But when these feudal properties, besides many of the finest houses in the German capitals, passed thus into Israelitish hands, it was in the course of things that the people should view with envy and indignation these foreign unbelieving money-changers climbing up on the pedestals from which the statues of Christian knights and barons of ancient race had been hurled down by the storms which shook their native land to its centre. Besides this, circumstanced as the Jews were, it was to be expected that they would enter largely into the contracts made by the French government for the prosecution of its military enterprises, and that this conduct of theirs would be highly offensive to the German patriots. These causes, therefore, and somewhat here and there of that ostentation and indiscretion which seem to be almost inseparable from the enjoyment of suddenly-acquired wealth, had indisposed the minds of men towards them; and this more than any one was aware of, until riotous proceedings against them broke out, first at Meiningen, and then at Wurtzburg, in 1820, and spread to the Rhine. These were, however, soon suppressed,

and except at Hamburgh, the vigilance of the governments of the north of Germany prevented their extension thither, in despite of an evident disposition to them—a tendency, indeed, which burst out into action at Copenhagen. It is curious that the old cry of “Hep, Hep,” was at this time revived against the Jews, after a disuse of so many centuries.

The Jews are subject to military conscriptions in Germany; their civil predicament has occupied much of the attention of the governments; various regulations have been introduced for the improvement of their condition, and especially for the promotion of education among them; and the old restraints and inhibitions on them, many of which were highly arbitrary and oppressive, have, generally speaking, been mitigated and diminished: under these circumstances, though very much indeed remains to be done, it is natural that the character and intelligence of the Jew should improve, and that the evidences of his courage and intelligence should increase daily. To his own people, at least, he abounds in kindness; and there are splendid instances of its extending beyond those national limits, and yet without its having been always duly estimated—as for instance, above fifty years ago, a Jew subscribed largely to the re-building a small town, in the north of Germany, which had been burnt down; a year or two later, arriving at its gates, on his way onwards, he was stopped at them by a law of the place, forbidding the entry of an Israelite.

Joseph II. gave the example of freeing the Jews from the ignominious burthens laid on them in barbarous ages, and liberating

them in his states from distinctions in their dress, the poll-tax, and from the obligation to live in the Jewries. He endeavoured to prepare the way for identifying them with the citizens of those states, in duties and privileges. He introduced German schools for the Jews of both sexes, laid his universities open to them, and even assigned stipends at them to the most distinguished of their students. The present emperor of Austria has also laboured to "render harmless the manners, and mode of life, and occupations of the Jews," and to remove the disparities existing between them and their Christian fellow-subjects. The act of the Germanic Confederation has declared as follows, in its sixteenth article:

'The Diet will take into consideration in what way the civil amelioration of the professors of the Jewish religion may best be effected, and in particular how the enjoyment of all civil rights, in return for the performance of all civil duties, may be most effectually secured to them in the states of the Confederation. In the mean time the professors of this faith shall continue to enjoy the rights already extended to them.'

An ukase of the emperor Alexander, of the year 1824, directed the summary removal of all the Jews of Russian Poland, except such as should devote themselves to solid mercantile business, or to the practice of medicine; it ordered that all Jews should give up, by the year 1825, small trade, distilleries, &c., and be removed to a tract of ground in a mild climate, which he would assign to them, and where, free from all taxes for a limited period, they might devote themselves to agriculture.

This was an act of legislation as impossible to execute as easy to issue. The slightest attempt at carrying it into execution must cost a convulsion in the Russian, and excessive inconvenience to all the neighbouring states, whither the dismayed Jews would fly in crowds from the perpetration of this sweeping deed of benevolence. But we would on no account so characterise another measure of the same monarch—the formation of a commission at Warsaw, "for the amelioration of the condition of the Jews." A committee of that people, also under an order of his, has been sitting there since the year 1825, to propose plans for the consideration of this commission; and the erection of an institution for the education of the rabbis and schoolmasters has already resulted from their labours. Regular teachers in Hebrew, German, Polish, history, geography, mathematics, and rabbinical literature have begun their lectures to Jewish youths; and the establishment of elementary schools for the Jews throughout the kingdom of Poland is, we understand, contemplated. The first half-yearly examination of the scholars of that institution has now taken place; it succeeded so much beyond expectation, that the rich Jews, who had been greatly prejudiced against it, are now sending their children to it, paying for their education—those who are on the establishment are educated gratis.

Although the Jews have in their rabbis professedly religious teachers, whom they believe to have power over spirits, these blind guides to the blind are not known to exercise any functions which answer to those of the Christian minister, who, besides exhortation and re-

proof, has to pour into the hearts of his flock all the comforts and consolations proffered to us by the charities and promises of the gospel. They constitute a sort of nobility of the Jews, and it is the first object of each parent that his son shall, if possible, attain it. When, therefore, a boy displays a peculiarly acute mind, and studious habits, he is placed before the twelve folio volumes of the Talmud, and its legion of commentaries and epitomes, which he is made to pore over with an intenseness which engrosses his faculties entirely, and often leaves him in mind, and occasionally in body, fit for nothing else; and so vigilant and jealous a discipline is exercised so to fence him round as to secure his being exclusively Talmudical, and destitute of every other learning and knowledge whatever, that one individual has lately met with three young men, educated as rabbis, who were born and lived to manhood in the middle of Poland, and yet knew not one word of its language. To speak Polish on the Sabbath is to profane it—so say the orthodox Polish Jews. If at the age of fourteen or fifteen years, or still earlier (for the Jew ceases to be a minor when thirteen years old), this Talmudical student realizes the hopes of his childhood, he becomes an object of research among the wealthy Jews, who are anxious that their daughters shall attain the honour of becoming the brides of these embryo santons; and often, when he is thus young, and his bride still younger, the marriage is completed, that as early a chance as possible may be taken of the Messiah being born in the family. The evil of such precocious marriages might easily be imagined,

—even were the husband less unfitted by his education for the state of wedlock, for the charge of a family, and for the business of life than he is. It is by exercises in abstruse casuistry and disputations on words and letters that the dignity of rabbi is obtained; and the worth of his labours, when he has ascended into this tree of knowledge, may be estimated by that of the ladder on which he mounted.

When Poland became the seat of rabbinical literature, the present Talmudical system of learning, if such it can be called, consisting in the most frivolous sophistry, and war of words, and particles; and in distinctions, subtle beyond perception, misleading the imagination and destroying the judgment, was invented by Rabbi Jacob Pollak, and rose into such repute that the Jewish youths flocked thither from all quarters to acquire it: the pursuit of all other and more solid Jewish knowledge fell into contempt; at the call of the Jews in Germany, France, and Holland, these northern talmudists issued forth, as would a cloud of nocturnal bats from some gloomy ruin at nightfall, true heralds of darkness, scattering obscurity around them, as tutors and rabbis. Barbarism is said to be hyperborean, and civilization to be the child of the south, and behold! they were encountered on their road by a noon-day swarm of French abbés, tutors also in their way, milliners, cooks, and dancing-masters, conveying their sciences and their talents to the north of Europe in the opposite direction. Mankind may, perhaps, have been pretty equally benefitted by their respective exertions. Among other results of the rabbinical invasion was the establishment of three

Jewish Universities in Germany—namely, at Frankfort on the Maine, Fürth (near Nurenberg), and Prague. The emperor Alexander was so sensible of the evils caused by the power of the rabbis, that he decreed in the kingdom of Poland the abolition of the bodies which, under their orders, governed the Israelitish communities, stating, amongst other things, in the ukase, that the properties of those communities should be administered by their elders, in order that they might be rescued from the existing malversation.

The Jews in France are perhaps from thirty to forty thousand; they abound chiefly at Metz, along the Rhine, and at Marseilles and Bordeaux. In Bonaparte's time they were imagined to amount to at least twice that number; but it may be inferred, from the report of the proceedings of his Sanhedrim, how large a proportion of them came from his German and Italian provinces. They are relieved from civil restraints and disabilities in France, and in the Netherlands also. The Jews in Holland, of both German and Portuguese origin, are numerous; the latter are said to have taken refuge there when the United Provinces asserted their independence of Spain; they have a splendid synagogue at Amsterdam. Infidelity is supposed to have made more progress amongst them than amongst the German Jews in Holland. The Italian Jews are chiefly at Leghorn and Genoa; and there are four thousand of them at Rome. In speaking of

the religion of the Jews, it is not necessary to particularize those who assumed the mask of Christianity under terror of the Inquisition, although much has been said of their wealth and numbers, and of the high offices they have filled in Spain, and especially in Portugal. But it is curious to see, in a very distant quarter, a like simulation produced amongst them by like causes. There are at Salonica thirty synagogues, and about twenty-five thousand professed Jews; and a body of Israelites have been lately discovered there who, really adhering to the faith of their fathers, have externally embraced Mahomedanism.

The Barbary Jews are a very fine people; but the handsomest Jews are said to be those of Mesopotamia. That province may also boast of an Arab chief who bears the name of the Patriarch Job, is rich in sheep, and camels, and oxen, and asses, abounds in hospitality, and believes that he descends from him; he is also famed for his justice. The Jews at Constantinople, forty thousand in number, and in the parts of European Turkey on and near the Mediterranean, speak Spanish, and appear to be descended from Israelites, driven from Spain by persecution. The Bible Society are now printing at Corfu the New Testament, in Jewish-Spanish, for their benefit.

The Jews in Great Britain and Ireland are not supposed to be more than from ten to twelve thousand, very many of whom are foreigners, and migratory.

## NATURAL PHILOSOPHY

AND

## MECHANICAL ARTS.

COMPRISING

NATURAL HISTORY.

BOTANY AND AGRICULTURE.

CHEMISTRY.

ARTS AND MANUFACTURES.

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 NATURAL HISTORY, BOTANY, AND  
 AGRICULTURE.

**R**ECENT microscopical observations afford reason to suspect that the *conferva zonata* of Linnæus, an aquatic production, the green colour of which has hitherto led to its being considered a plant, is endowed with animal life.

*To Increase the Odour of Roses.*  
 —A German horticultural writer recommends a large onion to be planted by the side of the rose tree, in such a manner as to touch the foot of the latter. The roses thus produced will have an odour much stronger and more agreeable than such as have not been thus treated; and the water distilled from them superior to that prepared by means of ordinary rose-leaves.

*Cochineal.*—An experiment lately tried in Spain, and in parts of the Mediterranean, to introduce the cochineal insect, promises to be

attended with the desired result in some of the provinces of Spain, as well as at Gibraltar, and at Malta. The Indian fig is of natural growth under the climate of those countries, and being the only food of the insect in question, originally suggested the idea of its importation. It has been ascertained that the powers of fecundity of the female cochineal insect are so great, as to enable it to give birth, in the very short course of its natural existence, to no less a number than six hundred and thirty-two thousand, seven hundred and twenty-seven.

*Caterpillar.*—An experiment has been tried for three years to preserve gooseberry plants from the ravages of the caterpillar, by brushing the stems with a soft brush dipped in common train or fish oil, about the time of their first appearance, or at any time

when infested, which appears to destroy or greatly to annoy them. It also much improves the growth and productiveness of the tree the following year, and clears it of moss.

*The Prangos.*—The prangos hay plant of Northern India, is a perennial herbaceous plant, with a large fleshy root-stock, usually measuring six or seven inches in diameter, and formed by the aggregation of an immense quantity of crowns, or winter buds, clustered together at or above the surface of the ground. These crowns are closely covered by the fibrous remains of the old leaves, which must be effective in protecting the buds from frost. From each crown rises an abundance of finely-cut leaves, about two feet in length, and of a highly fragrant smell when dried, similar to that of new clover hay.

*German method of making Flowers grow in Winter.*—"We saw off such a branch of any tree as will answer our purpose, and then lay it for an hour or two in a running stream, if we can find one: the object of this is to get the ice from the bark, and soften the buds. It is afterwards carried into one of our warm rooms, and fixed upright in a wooden box or tub containing water. Fresh burnt lime is then added to the water, and allowed to remain in it about twelve hours, when it is removed, and fresh water added, with which a small quantity of vitriol is mixed to prevent its putrifying. In the course of some hours the blossoms begin to make their appearance, and afterwards the leaves. If more lime be added, the process is quickened; while, if it be not used at all, the process is retarded, and the leaves appear before the blossoms."

*The Kirbut.*—The kirbut, or great flower of Sumatra, discovered by Dr. Arnold in 1818, is one of the most extraordinary of vegetable productions. It is a parasite growing out of another plant, in the manner of the mistletoe, and is found in woods, on the roots and stems of those immense climbers which are attached, like cables, to the largest trees in the forest. The flower constitutes the whole of the plant, there being neither leaves, roots, nor a stem. The breadth of a full-grown flower exceeds three feet; the petals, which are subrotund, measure twelve inches from the base to the apex; what is considered the nectarium would hold twelve pints; the pistils, which are abortive, are as large as cows' horns; and the weight of the whole is about fifteen pounds. The flower, fully blown, was discovered in a jungle, growing close to the ground, under the bushes, with a swarm of flies hovering over the nectary, and apparently laying their eggs in its substance. The colour of the five petals is a brick red, covered with protuberances of a yellowish white. The smell is that of tainted beef.

*Culture of Celery.*—Mr. Knight, president of the Horticultural Society, found, that by keeping the ground in which celery was planted, constantly wet, it grew by the middle of September to the height of five feet, and its quality was in proportion to its size. Mr. Knight also recommends planting at greater distances than is usually the case, and covering the beds into which the young seedlings are first removed, the dung will adhere tenaciously to their roots, and it will not be necessary to deprive the plants of any part of their leaves.

*Effects of Ivy on Trees.*—It ap-

pears to be a vulgar prejudice that ivy kills the trees it clings to. If it rooted itself, as is erroneously supposed, in their bark, and fed on their juices, it might merit the accusation of a destroyer; but it derives its nourishment wholly from the ground where it is rooted; and the supposed roots on the barks of trees are only tendrils or hold-fasts to enable it to climb. The opinion of its injuring trees seems to have arisen (and very naturally too) from the fact, that it prefers to climb up a dead or dying branch, and will not attach itself to very young wood at all. Mr. Repton, the landscape gardener, gives numerous facts to show that trees overrun with ivy, so far from being injured by it, grow most luxuriantly. Evelyn says, that when ivy is stripped from trees, they are often killed by cold in the ensuing winter.

*Cultivation of the British Oak.*

—The following statement was presented to the Bath and West of England Agricultural Society, by Thomas Davis, esq.:—

“In the year 1808, lord Glenbervie, the surveyor-general, laid before the commissioners of his majesty's Woods and Forests, a statement and proposition relative to the inclosures then about to be made in the New Forest, for the growth and preservation of timber for the supply of the navy; and particularly relative to the most advisable method of raising oak in such new inclosures. The total measure of uninclosed waste of the forest was then about sixty-six thousand acres; and by an act of William and Mary, it is directed that not more than six thousand acres shall be at any one time in an inclosed state. The supply of oak timber from this forest to the

royal navy is not less than five hundred loads annually. Acting under the opinions of many skilful and practical men, collected and contrasted with the surveyor-general with cautious attention, the officers of the forest, between the years 1808 and 1811, made accordingly inclosures of various sizes from one hundred and thirty to five hundred acres each. These inclosures were well fenced from deer and cattle, the rabbits and vermin destroyed, and the wet parts of the land were skilfully open drained. Of these inclosures, which necessarily included a variety of soils and surface, the most exposed situations, gravelly knaps and boggy places, supposed to be unfit for oak, were planted with Scotch firs, in rows, four feet apart each way, the holes being dug eighteen inches over, and fifteen inches deep. The residue of the land was applied to the growth of oak. The first plan adopted for raising oaks was by acorns and seedling plants intermixed. Notwithstanding an apparent success in the early stages, this attempt suffered almost a total failure. Tall oak plants from nurseries were next tried, and put in at the distance of eight feet apart. In sheltered spots and other favourable situations many of these succeeded, but they grew up rough and rudely. A more general trial of nursery plants now succeeded, put in about thirty inches high, four feet apart (as above stated) with a few Spanish chesnuts at intervals. These plants lived, but did not thrive. In exposed situations, and in severe weather, their growth was checked, and they showed but little prospect of attaining the desired object. The next step taken, of the introduction

of Scotch firs, pinasters, and larch, among the oak plants, upon the general plan of a mixed plantation, seemed to answer much better. But still the oak appeared stunted and unhealthy. The failing plants had been removed, and vacant spots filled up with varied success, but without any satisfactory result up to the year 1819. About this time, Mr. Robert Turner, who had a few years previously been appointed deputy surveyor of the New Forest (the principal executive officer) commenced a new system of raising oaks, which has since been generally practised in the forest inclosures; a system which promises great success in the present plantations under his care, and which will, in my humble opinion, prove to be one of the most valuable discoveries in the annals of planting. The Scotch fir plantation being at that period about twelve feet high, and forming an united head, were thinned out by cutting away alternate rows, and thus set out eight feet apart; with this caution, to leave the broadside to the south-west, and to save the end trees of the rows so cut out. The vacant places were then filled up with oak plants four feet high, in holes dug four feet apart, commonly in the month of December. At the end of the first year the branches of the remaining firs were thinned and shortened, to give the oaks head-room. In two years the fir branches were cut off generally. In the third year the firs were partially cut off. In the fourth and fifth years they were again reduced, by occasionally taking out a whole row of firs, and letting up two rows of oaks together. In December 1825, the oak trees planted five years ago, four feet

high amongst the firs, were commonly ten to twelve feet high, very many of them above sixteen feet high; whilst the neighbouring oak plants, which were put in alone at the same time, and of the same height, and be it remembered in land considered more fit for the growth of oak, were shorter by one-third generally; and those among the earlier oak plantations are but little better; in both instances being rough in their coats, and less kindly in their growth. The necessity of pruning young trees to direct their growth, commonly a heavy duty in large plantations, is here done away with. The plants among the firs are overhung by them for the most part; but they push up their heads through the fir branches, which at first are lopped only to prevent their whipping the oaks. Nor do the firs seem to interfere with the supply of nourishment necessary for the oaks, although they stand so thick that the oak plants are positively without sunshine for at least a year! In plain truth, the firs appear to be careful full-grown nurses, able to protect the infant oaks; and peculiarly calculated to save them from winds and frosts, of which I had the strongest proof in August 1823, when young plantations and coppices, generally throughout the country, suffered from a Midsummer frost. At that date these sheltered young oaks were wholly uninjured, whilst those in the adjacent open ground were cut most severely. It will readily occur to every planter, that as these plantations are yet in their infancy, much remains to be done, to complete this new system for its avowed object. In letting up the young oaks, care must be taken to give them at first air without



wind ; to expose them gradually to the open atmosphere, and to make them keep size with their stature. They will require much skilful attention in their future management, until they are reduced to a number, having room

for acquiring maturity fit for naval purposes, which, should they succeed well, will be a reduction from upwards of one thousand three hundred plants to less than one hundred trees on an acre of land.

## CHEMISTRY, ARTS, &amp;c.

*Poisoning Vegetables.*—M. Marcet, having ascertained that bean plants could exist in a healthy state for five or six days if immersed in spring water, tried them with five or six grains of opium dissolved in an ounce of water ; the consequence of which was, that in the evening the leaves had dropped, and by the middle of the next day, they were dead beyond recovery. Hemlock was equally fatal ; and six grains of dry powdered foxglove (*Digitalis purpurea*) in an ounce of water, began to operate by wrinkling some of the leaves of the bean in a few seconds, which it completely killed in four-and-twenty hours. Oxalic acid, though found in sorrel (*Rumex acetosa* and *oxalis acetocella*) as well as in several other plants, proved very fatal poison to others. The absorption of one-tenth of a grain killed a rose branch and flower in forty-eight hours.

*Experiments upon Eggs with the chloride of Lime and Soda.*—A correspondent of the Literary Gazette says: "In the beginning of last September, I put six eggs into a wide-mouthed pickle-bottle, and filled it up with chloride of lime in powder,—the eggs were not allowed to be in contact. I put six eggs into another bottle, which was filled up with a solution or mixture of one ounce of the powder to one pint

of common water, and six more with a solution of one ounce of chloride of soda (in solution) to a pint of water. The bottles were well closed. On the 19th of the present month I examined the eggs, and found the effects of the solutions very different. The time elapsed has, I think, been sufficient to show what may be expected from farther trials. The eggs in the powder were with difficulty loosened, the powder having become nearly as firm as soft chalk: quære,—if from the absorption of carbonic acid and some degree of moisture? The yolk of every egg was adhering to the shell, still retaining its shape, and the albumen tolerably transparent. Though not in the least offensive, the eggs were unfit for use, being in that defective state which is ascertained by a strong light. The eggs in the solution of chloride of soda were as bad as eggs could be. When first immersed in this solution, air vesicles were immediately perceived on the surface of the eggs ; though the shells, when broken, were not found to be decomposed or at all softened. The eggs in the solution or mixture of the chloride of lime were all perfect: and what rendered this result more remarkable was, that one of them was cracked, which I found to be the case after the first immersion, when the mix-

ture became clear in the upper part of the bottle. The yolk and albumen of this egg appeared as if parboiled, when taken out. There was a thin incrustation on the external surface of all the eggs in this bottle.

*Method of making a cheap Soda Ley, without Crystallizing, for the Use of the Turkey-red Dyers. By Mr. C. Cameron.*—Into a cast-iron boiler capable of holding four hundred and fifty gallons of water, I put ten hundred weight of pearl-ash (first sort), seven hundred weight muriate of soda, and four times the weight of the muriate of soda of water, applying heat, and stirring until both are dissolved. After boiling for some time, the muriate of potash begins to crystallize on the surface. As the boiling is still continued, the muriate of potash is rapidly forming, and is lifted out of the vessel by means of a ladle pierced with small holes, and is thrown into a vessel placed in an inclined position, with its end or side a little within the edge of the boiler, which allows any of the liquor that may have been carried over, to drain back again into the pot. The boiling is continued until nearly the whole of the muriate of potash is deposited and taken out. The liquid is then removed into another vessel, either of cast iron or wood lined with lead, and allowed to remain until it has cooled to the temperature of sixty degrees, during which time it parts with the rest of its muriate; it is then run off into another vessel, and diluted with water to twenty degrees specific gravity, more or less at pleasure, which prevents the soda from crystallizing, and gives an uniform strength of liquor, equally pure with the best crystallized soda, and

at about half the price. The above weight of pearl-ash and muriate of soda produces a mineral alkali equivalent in quantity to what is contained in one ton of soda of commerce, the best of which does not exceed 22 per cent. Present price of soda, 22*l.* per ton.

	£	s.	d.
Price of pearl-ash, first sort,			
per ton	28	0	0
14 cwt. of muriate of soda, 30 <i>s.</i>			
per ton	1	2	0
	29	2	0

These produce 1½ ton of muriate of potash, price 5*l.* 10*s.* 6

Cost of alkali, equivalent to two tons of soda 22 4 6

The process is so simple, that one workman can decompose one or more tons per day, dependent on the size of his vessels. As the Turkey-red work consumes from forty to two hundred and fifty tons annually, according to the extent of its establishment, it is of great importance to that valuable manufacture.

*Steam Boat.*—A new steam boat lately performed her first voyage from Rotherhithe to Woolwich, with improved paddle-wheels, constructed on a new principle of obviating resistance from fluids. By the paddle-wheels hitherto used no increase of velocity is gained by increasing the power of the steam engine, these having a maximum of velocity, beyond which a vessel cannot be propelled by them, whatever or however high the power may be; as for instance, a proportioned vessel and load, with a twenty-horse steam engine, would be propelled by them with as great velocity as with a thousand-horse power steam engine. But by the improved paddle-wheels any velocity may be gained, according to the power of the steam engine.

The new paddle-wheels also avoid the loss of power and the disturbance of the water, which all the others in use occasion; and the unpleasant shaking or vibration caused in vessels by the working of any other paddle-wheels, is obviated by these. The inventor, Lieut. Andrew Skene, of the Royal Navy, has taken out a patent for his paddle-wheels.

*New Method of Lighting large Apartments.*—Mr. Locatelli, a mechanician of Venice, has invented a new process for lighting public halls. The process has completely succeeded, and leaves nothing to be desired. The light of several lanterns is concentrated on an opening in the middle of the hall (probably the ceiling), and falls upon a system of lenses, planoconcave, which fill the opening (a foot in diameter), and distribute through the apartment rays which issue divergently. From the centre, or pit, nothing is perceived but the lenses, which resemble a chafing-dish of burning coals, illuminating the whole house, without dazzling or fatiguing the eye. Besides the advantage of being more equal and soft, the light is more intense than that of a chandelier; and there is not a spot in the hall where one cannot see to read with the greatest facility.

*Steam Artillery.*—Mr. Perkins has been long engaged in the construction of a piece of ordnance of the calibre of a four-pounder, to be discharged by high-pressure steam.—The length of the barrel is about six feet, and the diameter of the bore, which is grooved to carry a rifle-ball, is about three inches. The steam apparatus attached to the gun is calculated of sufficient strength to generate steam of one hundred atmospheres,

though it can never be necessary to employ steam for the purpose of artillery at a higher pressure than about sixty atmospheres, or about 840 or 900 lbs. to the square inch: which is greater than the elastic force of gunpowder. The elastic force of high-pressure steam, however, having much greater range or limits than that of gunpowder, is infinitely better calculated for projectiles, independently of any saving of expense; for it is estimated by Mr. Perkins, that the projectile force of steam is ten times greater than that of gunpowder, in throwing a ball to a given distance. The ground on which the firing took place at Greenwich, only admitted of two hundred yards distance, and lead shot were made use of for the experiments, though, for the purpose of economy, Mr. Perkins recommends iron shot covered with lead about a quarter of an inch in thickness, so as to accommodate itself to the rifle. The steam being raised at a pressure of about fifty atmospheres, or 700 lbs. to the inch, the piece was loaded with ball, and discharged at the astonishing rate of twenty-eight or thirty times in a minute. The loading is effected by dropping the ball into a cavity over the breech of the gun, which aperture is closed by a spring or slide, traversing in a horizontal direction between the steam and the barrel.

*Process for seasoning Timber.*—A patent has been taken out by Mr. Langton for a new method of seasoning timber, which consists in the removal of the greater part of the atmospheric pressure, and the application of artificial heat, by which the time necessary to season green timber and render it fit for use, is only about twice

as many weeks as the ordinary process requires years. The ordinary mode of seasoning timber consists in evaporating the fluid matter called sap, by the natural warmth of the atmosphere, with the precaution of screening the timber both from the direct action of the sun and wind, otherwise it cracks and receives much injury. But seasoning by the warmth of the atmosphere proceeds slowly and irregularly, and much loss by decay takes place, unless the operation be conducted under the protection of a roof to exclude rain and snow. Seasoning under cover is a slow and expensive process; for three years at least should elapse from the time of felling the tree to that of its being used in such framing as is wanted in naval architecture: hence a stock of timber equivalent to four years' consumption must be kept on hand, and three years' consumption must be either under cover, or suffering still greater loss by exposure to the wet. In the new process, the power of an air-pump is added, to draw the sap out of the interior of the wood; and the tendency of the fluid to the outside being thus increased, a higher temperature than that of the atmosphere can be applied, with less risk of causing the timber to split; consequently, the process may be completed in less time, and a few trials will show the best relation between the time and heat for the different kinds of wood. The great advantage of rendering the living tree available either for defence or common use, in a few weeks after being felled, will be obvious: by the usual method, five years is not more than is necessary. Another advantage of this process is, that it renders

the timber more durable. The naval practice is to use timber partially seasoned, in consequence of which the sap has to evaporate, the wood shrinks, the joints open, and the carpenter's skill in framing is rendered nugatory; for as timbers shrink, frames change their form and lose their strength, and ships and houses alike afford evidence of the fact, particularly ships sent to warm climates.

*Mr. Hobson's improved method of paving.*—Instead of picking up the ground loose (as is the practice in the present mode of paving), ram the ground on which the paving is to be placed, well down, until it is as solid as possible, to a form corresponding with the form the surface of the paving is to take when finished. The stones should be sorted, so as to be nearly of an equal depth; mix up gravel or small fragments of stones with lime and water, into a composition or kind of coarse mortar, and lay a bed (of sufficient thickness to allow for the irregularity of form in the bottom of the stones) of this composition on the ground which has been previously rammed, and in this composition place the paving stones, and grout them full with finely-sifted gravel or coarse sand, mixed up into a liquid state with lime and water, in the same proportions as the composition the stones are laid in. All the paving done in one day must on the same day be well rammed to an even surface, and when so done must be again grouted full, with fine gravel or coarse sand, mixed up with lime and water as before. This must be done with each portion of paving, on the day on which the paving is executed; and this method of ramming and grouting must be followed up on each day as the

paving proceeds; and when so done, it would (if practicable) be desirable that the part paved should be left without carriages being permitted to go over it for three or four days, in order to let the composition of lime and gravel, or stone, set and harden, and it will then become firm and solid, and if the lime is of a proper quality, impervious to water. This method if applied to paving done with pebbles or unsquared stone, will be found advantageous in a proportionate degree to paving done with squared stones. The lime to be used in this method of paving should be stone or grey chalk lime, as lime of that description will set and harden in water; and if of a good quality, the proportions of one measure of lime to four or five measures of gravel, or small fragments of stones, will be sufficient.

*Crane.*—An engineer, named Wright, has constructed, at the West-India docks, a crane for raising heavy weights on an entirely new principle—that of the application of the lever, assisted by

wedges, instead of the usual plan of wheel and pinion for multiplying power. The power of two men with the patent crane is capable of lifting from two-and-a-half to three times the weight lifted through the same space in a given time by the best-constructed cranes on the old principle of wheel machinery. This economy of power must prove highly valuable on board ship, when there is a scarcity of hands.

*Windmills attached to Ships' Pumps.*—The brig Hannah, Bartlett, for Plymouth, in lat. 35. 38. long. 20. passed an English ship standing south; hoisting at her main-mast a blue signal, with a white field. Captain Bartlett states, that in his outward passage the ship leaked very badly, making 3000 strokes per hour, and had it not been for a windmill which he had attached to the pump the ship must have filled. All the crew were completely worn out with constant pumping, and had nothing but gales for 35 days. When blowing fresh, the mill would pump 2461 strokes per hour.

## P A T E N T S.

W. Gossage, Leamington Priory; for improvements in cocks for the passage of fluids.

T. Botfield, Hopton Court, Salop; for improvements in smelting and making iron.

J. Hall, Ordsall, near Manchester; for improvements in dying piece goods by machinery.

J. Gilbertson, Hertford; for improvements in the construction of furnaces, whereby they consume their smoke.

C. Hooper, Spring Gardens; for a new machine for shearing and cropping woollen and other cloths.

G. Dickenson; for improvements in making paper by machinery.

W. Newton, Chancery-lane; for an improved surgical chair-bed, with various appendages.

G. D. Harris; for improvements in dressing and preparing woollen yarns, and in cleansing, dressing, and finishing woollen cloths, &c., and apparatus for the same.

W. Percivall, Knightsbridge; for construction and application of shoes for the feet of horses, &c. without nails.

G. Jackson, Dublin; for improvements in machinery for impelling boats, &c.

A. B. Vanhera, Cirencester-place; for improvements on the harp-lute and Spanish guitar.

A. Applegarth, Crayford, Kent; for improvements in block printing.

Caleb Hitch, jun. Ware; for an improved wall for building.

J. Weiss, Strand; for improvements in instruments for bleeding horses.

D. Currie, Regent-street; for a method of preserving grain and other vegetable and animal substances and liquids (communicated by a foreigner).

D. Bentley, Pendleton, Lancaster; for improvements in bleaching and bleaching machinery.

W. Brunton, Leadenhall-street; for improvements in furnaces for the calcination, sublimation, and evaporation of ores.

W. Rogers, Norfolk-street; for improvements in anchors.

B. H. Brook, Huddersfield; for improvements in the construction and set-

ting of ovens or retorts for carbonizing coal for gas works.

R. G. Jones, Brewer-street, Golden-square; for a method of ornamenting china and certain other compositions, denominated by him lithophanic (communicated by a foreigner).

G. Scholefield, Leeds; for improvements in looms.

N. Gough, Salford, Lancashire; for an improved method of propelling carriages or vessels by steam or other power.

S. Clegg, Liverpool; for improvements in the construction of steam engines.

Jane B. Lowry, Exeter; for improvements in the manufacture of hats and bonnets.

F. de Tourville, Piccadilly; for improvements in filtering apparatus.

H. Marriott, Fleet-street, and A. Siebe, Princes-street; for improvements in hydraulic machinery.

P. Taylor, Holmwood, Lancashire; for improvements in machinery for hackling and dressing flax, hemp, tow, &c.

J. Davis, Lemon-street, Goodman's-fields; for improvements in boiling sugar.

C. Harsleben, New Ormond-street; for improvements in machinery for propelling ships.

S. W. Wright, Lambeth; for improvements in the construction of wheel carriages.

T. Brudenbach, Birmingham; for a machine for forging or manufacturing tubes or rods.

J. G. Ulrich, Cornhill; for improvements in chronometers.

J. J. Watt, Stepney; for the application of a certain chemical agent by which animal poison may be destroyed, and injurious consequences prevented.

C. C. Bompus, Inner Temple; for improvements in propelling carriages, machines, boats, &c.

T. Hillman, Poplar; for improvements in the construction and fastening of masts.

J. Brownmill, Sheffield; for an improved method of transferring vessels from a higher to a lower level, or vice

*versu*, on canals; also for more conveniently raising or lowering weights, carriages, or goods on rail roads, &c.

J. Palmer, Mile End; for improvements in the moulds, machinery, or apparatus for making paper.

T. Adams, Aldbury, Salop; for improvements in trusses for hernia.

F. Westly, Leicester; for improvements in whetting knives, &c.

S. Brooking, Plymouth; for a turning or shipping fid, for securing the upper masts of ships.

M. Fullwood, jun., Stratford, Essex; for a cement denominated by him, German cement.

J. B. Macneil, Coventry; for improvements in preparing and applying materials for roads.

J. Ford, Vauxhall; for improvements in machinery combing, spinning, &c. wool; for carding, &c. flax, hemp, and silk.

C. Chubb, St. Paul's Church-yard; for improved latches for fastening doors, &c.

T. W. and J. Powell, Bristol; for improvements in machinery for refining sugar.

T. Aspinall, Bishopsgate, for the 'mechanical type caster.'

S. Hall, Barford, Notts; for apparatus for generating steam and various gases.

J. Moffatt, London; for improvements in apparatus for stoppering and securing chain cables; also for weighing anchors.

D. Jobbins, Uley, Gloucestershire; for an improved method of milling and scowering woollen cloths.

B. C. Welterstadt, Commercial-road; for a composition for rendering leather waterproof.

W. Strachan, Ruabon, Denbigh; for improvements in manufacturing alum.

R. Witty, Hanley, Stafford; for improvements in apparatus for making and supplying coal gas.

J. Bartlett, Chard; for improvements in preparing flax-thread or yarn.

G. J. Young, Newcastle; for machinery for working ships' windlasses and capstans.

S. Pratt, Bond-street; for improvements in elastic beds, cushions, &c.

T. Revis, Walworth; for an improved method of raising weights.

J. Hawks, Weymouth-street; for improvements in ships' cable and hawser chains.

J. Baring, Broad-street Buildings; for an improved method of making machines for cutting fur from skins, called the 'Cant-twist Blades Fur-cutter.'

J. H. A. Gunther, Camden Town; for improvements in piano-fortes.

W. Muller, Doughty-street; for an instrument or apparatus for teaching or instructing in the mathematics, geography, &c., and for resolving problems in navigation, spherics, &c.

B. Rider, Redcross-street; for 'Rider's Patent Hat Tips.'

J. Jones, Amluch, Anglesey; for improvements in smelting copper.

A. Bernhard, Finsbury-square; for apparatus for raising water.

R. Wornum, Wigmore-street; for improvements in upright piano-fortes.

J. C. Daniell, Lumphey Stoke; for improvements in manufacturing woollen cloth.

J. L. Higgins, Oxford-street; for improvements in wheel carriages.

W. Mencke, Peckham; for improvements in manufacturing bricks.

L. R. Fitzmaurice, Commercial-road; for improvements in ship pumps.

W. Grissenthwaite, Nottingham; for a new process in making Epsom salts.

H. Maxwell, Pall Mall; for improvements in spring spur rockets.

T. Stirling, Lambeth; for improvements in filtering apparatus.

B. M. Payne, Strand; for improvements in weighing machines.

E. Barnard, Nailsworth, Gloucestershire; for improvements in weaving cloth.

P. Foxwell, and W. and B. Clark; for improvements in machinery for dressing cloths and cassimeres.

W. Sharp, Manchester; for improvements in machinery for spinning or roving cloth, silk, &c.

G. Stratton, Frederick-place, Hampstead-road; for an improvement in warming and ventilating churches, hot-houses, &c.

G. S. Pattison, Old Burlington-street, for an improved method of applying iron to the sheathing of ships; also iron bolts, spikes and nails; (communicated by a foreigner).

S. Brooking, Plymouth; for a new method of making ship sails.

T. Miniken, Berwick-street, St. James's; for an improvement in the construction of chairs, sofas, lounges, beds, &c. and also of travelling and other carriages.

J. and S. Seaward, Poplar; for an improved method of propelling carriages, boats, &c.

C. Sanders, Park gate Iron-works, Yorkshire; for a new method of making shear steel.

J. Robertson, Limehouse; for improvements in the manufacture of cordage.

W. Bell, Commercial-road; for an improved method of filtering water and other liquids.

W. Farish, Cambridge; for an improved method of clearing water-courses.

J. B. Neilson, Glasgow; for an improved application of air to produce heat in fires, forges, and furnaces.

L. W. Wright, Borough-road; for improvements in making screws.

W. Losh, Benton-house, Northamptonshire; for an improvement in the formation of iron rails for rail roads.

J. Rhodes, jun. Wakefield; for improvements in machinery for spinning and twisting worsted, &c.

E. W. Orson, Finsbury; for an improved cartridge for sporting purposes.

J. Jones, Leeds; for improvements in apparatus for pressing or finishing woollen cloths.

P. R. Wason, Middle Temple; for an improvement in stick sealing wax.

J. Neville, Shad Thames; for an improved apparatus for obtaining power from falls and running streams of water.

T. Fowler, Great Torrington; for an improved method of raising or circulating hot water, hot oils, &c. for domestic purposes.

J. Brunton, West Bromwich; for improvements in apparatus for manufacturing coal gas and coke.

D. Napier, Warren-street, for improvements in machinery applicable to letter-press printing.

T. Tippet, Owenp, Cornwall; for improvements in the construction and mode of working engines with steam and air, and in the boiler or generator of steam; also in the application of such apparatus to propelling vessels.

S. Lawson and M. Walker, Leeds; for improved machinery for dressing hemp, &c.

H. Duebury, Kent-road; for a new machine for splitting hides and skins.

E. Hancorne, Skinner-street; for improvements in making nails (communicated by a foreigner).

W. G. Kneller, Great Pearl-street,

Spitalfields; for improvements in evaporating sugar, which improvements are also applicable to other purposes.

J. D'Arcy, Leicester-square; for improvements in the construction of steam-engines, and the apparatus connected therewith.

E. D. Philp, Regent-street, Middlesex; for an improved distilling and rectifying apparatus.

R. Stein, Regent-street, Middlesex; for improvements in distillation.

W. Brunton, Leadenhall-street, London; for an apparatus to ascertain and register the quantity of specific gravity and temperature of certain fluids in transit, part or parts of which invention is or are applicable to other purposes.

P. Derbyshire, Ely-place, Holborn; for a medicine or embrocation to prevent or alleviate sea sickness, which may be applied to other maladies.

Z. Riley, Union-street, Southwark; for an apparatus to be attached to carriages, for the purpose of affording safety in travelling.

G. Rennoldson, South Shields, Durham; for improvements in rotatory steam engines.

J. Hague, Cable-street, Wellclose-square; for improvements in the method of expelling the molasses or syrup from sugar.

I. Dickson, Chester-street, Grosvenor-place; for an improved projectile (partly communicated by a foreigner).

J. Brase, Albany-street, and T. Smith, Augustus-street, Regent's Park, Middlesex; for improvements in machines or machinery for scraping, sweeping, cleaning, and watering streets, roads, and other ways, which machines or machinery may be applied to other purposes.

J. Forbes, Cheltenham; for a method of burning or consuming smoke.

T. Lawes, Strand; for an improvement in the manufacture of bobbin-net lace.

C. Cummetow, Laurence Pountney-lane, London; for improvements in propelling vessels (communicated by a foreigner).

A. Louis, Dean-street, Birmingham; for a mechanical "volti subito," to assist the player of music quickly to turn the leaves of music-books, whilst playing.

V. Llanos, Hampstead; for an improvement or improvements on bits (communicated by a foreigner).



S. Jones, Strand, Middlesex; for a new and improved method of producing instantaneous light (communicated by a foreigner).

T. W. C. Moore, city of New York, United States of North America, now residing at Hampstead, Middlesex; for an improved method or combination of machinery for manufacturing hats or caps (communicated by a foreigner).

R. Williams, Tabernacle Walk, Middlesex; for improvements in the application of elastic and dense fluids to the propelling of machinery of various descriptions.

A. Bernhard, Finsbury Circus, Middlesex; for improvements on, or additions to, wheels or apparatus for propelling vessels, or other purposes.

J. D. Whitehead, Oakview Mills, Saddleworth, York; for improvements in making, constructing, or manufacturing cartridges for sporting, and other purposes.

J. Morfitt, Cookridge, near Leeds; for an improvement in retorts used by bleachers, and makers of oxymuriate acid, or oxymuriate of lime.

J. Slater, Birmingham; for improve-

ments in axletrees, and the boxes for carriage-wheels.

J. Levers, Nottingham; for improvements in machinery for making lace, commonly called bobbin-net.

W. Stead, Gildersome, and J. Stead, Doncaster; for a paddle wheel upon a new or improved principle for propelling steam packets and other vessels.

J. Charlesworth and J. Charlesworth, Holmfirth, and S. A. Mellor, of the same place, York; for improvements on, or additions to, gig-mills for the raising and finishing of woollen cloths and other fabrics.

J. Sirnister, Bull-street, Birmingham, Warwick; for improvements in weaving, preparing, or manufacturing, a cloth or fabric, and the application thereof to the making of stays, and other articles of dress.

E. Josephs, Haydon-square, Middlesex; for improvements on the wheels, axletrees, and other parts of carts, waggon, and other conveyances.

F. H. N. Drake, Colyton-house, Devon, esq.; for a process for the invention of a peculiar till (communicated by a foreigner).

## ANTIQUITIES

AND

## MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

*American Antiquities.*—Mr. As-  
sal, the inspector of mines in Penn-  
sylvania, has visited, and carefully  
examined, the remains of former  
times which exist in the forests of  
that country. He describes two  
kinds; those which seem to have  
belonged to the ancestors of the  
actual natives, and those which  
seem to indicate the presence, at  
some remote period, of a people  
more civilized than Indians. The  
latter consist of fortifications of  
earth or stone, tumuli, mummies,  
idols, and utensils. It is in the  
states of New York, Ohio, and  
Pennsylvania, that the greater  
number of these fortifications are  
found. One has been discovered  
to the south of Lake Ontario;  
the others, which are not far from  
one another, are placed on a line  
which stretches in a south-westerly  
direction to the river Chenango,  
near Oxford. These fortifications  
differ in form. The ramparts are  
sometimes only five, and sometimes  
thirty feet high; and they enclose  
sometimes ten, sometimes fifty  
acres. The neighbourhood of a  
river, with fish, and a site not  
subject to inundation, have always

determined those by whom these  
fortifications were built. A kind  
of covered way communicates be-  
tween them and the river. The  
entrance is not always direct. In  
front, and interiorly, there is fre-  
quently a little rampart which de-  
fends the entrance. This arrange-  
ment bears an analogy to the for-  
tification which the Romans placed  
at the entrances to their camps,  
and which they called *clavicula*;  
but with the Romans it was an  
exterior work. In some of the  
areas which these fortifications,  
surround, are little artificial hills,  
intended either to assist in the de-  
fence, or to afford the means of  
overlooking the enemy. Near  
Circleville, in the Ohio state, is a  
circular fortification, comprehend-  
ing a square one; the walls of  
which latter are so accurately ad-  
justed by the cardinal points, that  
it is difficult to believe that the  
constructor of them was destitute  
of astronomical knowledge. A few  
arrow-heads, and the remains of  
some very fine pottery, in which  
traces of glazing are visible, are  
all that has yet been discovered in  
these places. The tumuli are of

various heights; some only four feet, others exceeding a hundred. The bodies over which they were heaped seem to have been previously submitted to the action of fire. There have been found in them some copper studs, plated with silver, fragments of scabbards, a copper and silver hilt of a sword, a mirror of mica membranacea, and some stone knives and hatchets. The idols exhibit only an unformed trunk, and a head of the coarsest workmanship. The mummies have nothing particular about them. It is Mr. Assall's opinion that the people, who have left these remains, came from Asia by crossing Behring's Straits.

*University of Upsala.*—The number of students in the University of Upsala last year was 1520, of whom only seven were foreigners. Among them were 141 noblemen, 358 sons of clergymen, 229 sons of peasants, 264 sons of civilians in office, 68 sons of military persons, and 199 of citizens. Of all these, 357 studied theology, 356 jurisprudence, 82 medicine, 403 philosophy, and 322 applied themselves to no particular branch.

*American Great Western Canal.*—The Great Western Canal, which was begun in 1817, is now completed, and connects Lake Erie with the waters of the Hudson, near Albany. This undertaking is generally mentioned to have been suggested, and principally promoted, by the hon. De Witt Clinton, then governor of the State. Its whole length is 362 miles, and cost seven millions of dollars. Boats run on the canal of about 50 tons burthen, and draw about four feet water. They are drawn by two or three horses, and afford tolerably comfortable accommodations for passengers. At

Lockport the water is raised 65 feet by means of a chain of locks, which may be considered a work of the first magnitude. The canal terminates at Buffalo, and has given to the town a commercial importance, bustle, and activity, from its becoming the great thoroughfare between the lower country and Lake Erie, the state of Ohio, and the rest of the western territory.

*First English Newspaper established in China.*—The two first numbers of a paper, dated the 7th and 15th November, 1827, and entitled the "Canton Register," have been received in England.

*DENMARK—Education.*—The following is a statement of the annual increase of schools on the Lancasterian system in the kingdom of Denmark:—First year (31st December) 1823, 244 schools; second year, do. 1824, 605 schools; third year, do. 1825, 1,143 schools; fourth year, do. 1826, 1,545 schools; fifth year, do. 1827, 2,003 schools. Schools organizing in 1828, 368:—that is to say, 2,371 schools for the Danish dominions.

*THE NETHERLANDS—Literature of the Netherlands.*—The following is a summary of the works, original and translated, which were published in different languages in the Netherlands during the years 1825, 1826, and 1827, exclusively of periodical works, journals, gazettes, &c.—

	1825	1826	1827
Theology .....	111	103	99
Jurisprudence, Medicine, and Natural Philosophy.....	93	105	146
History .....	94	96	96
Philology, Poetry, and the Drama.....	135	134	114
Miscellanies and Romances .....	246	325	286
Total ..	679	763	741

*German Literature.*—The number of new works published at the last Easter fair at Leipsig, amounted to 3,234, viz.:—2,852 books, including smaller works, as pamphlets; 191 novels and tales; 37 dramatic pieces, whole collections counting each for one number; 116 maps, globes, &c.; 33 musical works; 5 games. The books in foreign modern languages, exclusive of the preceding list, amount to 336. The number of publishers is stated at 401.—*Beck's Repertorium.*

*Oriental Libraries.*—M. Schulz, a professor of the University of Giessen, and a member of the French Asiatic Society, left Paris in the middle of the summer of 1826, for the purpose of making a literary journey in Asia, and particularly with reference to the Persian empire. During his stay at Constantinople, he had endeavoured, but in vain, to procure exact catalogues of the manuscripts contained in the various libraries of Constantinople. The moment was not favourable. Not long before, a firman had prohibited all the booksellers of Constantinople from selling to persons not Mussulmen any Arabic, Persian, or Turkish manuscripts. The dragoman of the French embassy having requested leave for M. Schulz, to visit the mosques, to which it is known the greater portion of the libraries are attached, the Reis Effendi refused the required permission, observing, that the Porte was not in the habit of granting it, except to ambassadors alone. At last, however, the young traveller, having become acquainted with various learned persons, ulemas, and others, from whom he experienced the greatest politeness and kindness, obtained, by their

advice and recommendation, the means of entering and examining at his leisure the finest and richest of those establishments. M. Schulz thinks it difficult to say how many libraries there are in the vast circumference of Constantinople. Many are almost unknown, which are nevertheless as rich in valuable works as the most celebrated. M. Schulz names thirty libraries, most of them very considerable, which he had visited. It would have taken him many months merely to copy the catalogues of all the manuscripts in them; he therefore directed his attention solely to the historians. He met in that class with most valuable works—works of which not even the names are known in Europe, or which have been generally thought lost. Limiting his efforts in this way, he had been able to draw up a large catalogue, in the Turkish language, of the historical and geographical books in sixteen of the principal libraries of Constantinople. In the mean while M. Schulz made extracts from four historians, the names of which he believes have not yet reached Europe. These authors are, Ibn-Alathir, Ibn-Alasakir, Ibn-Aladim, and Ibn-Khaldoun. The first, according to M. Schulz, is one of the good Arabian historians, and enjoys a high reputation in the East. As for the works of Ibn-Alasakir, and Ibn-Adim, on Damascus and Aleppo, "they are," he observes, "quite colossal productions. It is difficult to conceive how one single man could, not compose, but merely copy, a work so gigantic as that of Ibn-Alasakir, which forms eleven folio volumes, consisting, according to a calculation far from being exaggerated, of from twenty to twenty-two

thousand folio pages, of very small writing; that is to say, of a million lines, and of from fifty to sixty millions of letters!" But the manuscript, which more particularly occupied M. Schulz during his stay at Constantinople, is the great work of Ibn-Khaldoun, which M. Hammer had said did not exist in any of the libraries of that city. M. Schulz fortunately found it in seven folio volumes.

*Footsteps before the Flood.*—A paper, by Mr. Grierson, was lately read before the general meeting of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth, the subject of which was, some footsteps of quadrupeds discovered in a red sandstone quarry, about two miles to the north of the town of Lochmaben, in the county of Dumfries. Professor Buckland, having received casts of some of the most distinct impressions, together with a fragment of the sandstone itself, expressed his full conviction (though the fact was at variance with his general opinions respecting the geological formation), that the rock, while in a soft state, had been traversed by living quadrupeds. The dip of the strata in the quarry is towards the west, and at an angle of about thirty-five degrees. On the eastern side, therefore, it is the upper surface of the strata that presents itself; and of this there is a great lateral extent. The upper edge of the strata, the face of which is there exposed, reaches within about fifteen feet of the surface of the ground. From this upper boundary down to the line where they disappear under the rubbish, which (since the working has been carried on chiefly on the opposite side of the quarry) has accumulated at their base, there are fully fifteen feet of

their surface distinctly exhibited, and that for a range of not less than between forty and fifty yards. On the range of this acclivity, no less than four separate tracks were found of as many different kinds of animals. Three of these tracks were towards the south extremity of the range on the surface of the same identical layer, and two of them within two or three yards of each other. The fourth one was towards the north extremity, and probably on the same layer as the others; but owing to a quantity of earth which had rolled down, this was not fully ascertained. The simple inspection of the tracks, however, made it impossible to doubt in what manner they had been produced. The great number of the impressions in uninterrupted continuity, the regular alternations of the right and left footsteps, their equidistance from each other, the outward direction of the toes, the grazing of the foot along the surface before it was firmly planted, the deeper impression made by the toe than by the heel, and, in one instance, the sharp and well-defined marks of the three claws of the animal's foot—are circumstances which immediately arrest the attention of the observer, and force him to acknowledge that they admit of only one explanation. The impressions of one of these tracks, Dr. Buckland thinks, have been produced by the feet of a tortoise or crocodile.—It will be obvious from the preceding description of the stratum containing these animal impressions, that though now lying bare and superficial as at the time when the impressions were made, it is really the one on which all the other strata of the quarry had been superimposed. One of the deepest

and most distinct impressions was found at the base of the stratum in the lower part of the quarry, perhaps sixty or seventy feet beneath the surface of the earth.

*A New Star.*—The president of the Astronomical Society, Mr. Herschel, thinks there are good

reasons for believing that the fifth star in the trapezium in the nebula of Orion, did not exist there on the 13th of March, 1826. It appears to have been first observed by the celebrated astronomer M. Struve, on the 11th of November, in the same year.

# POETRY.

## THE HOMES OF ENGLAND.

Where's the coward that would not dare  
To fight for such a land ?

*Marmion.*

*By* MRS. HEMANS.

THE stately Homes of England,  
How beautiful they stand !  
Amidst their tall ancestral trees,  
O'er all the pleasant land.  
The deer across their greensward bound  
Thro' shade and sunny gleam,  
And the swan glides past them with the sound  
Of some rejoicing stream.

The merry Homes of England !  
Around their hearths by night,  
What gladsome looks of household love  
Meet in the ruddy light !  
There woman's voice flows forth in song  
Or childhood's tale is told,  
Or lips move tunefully along  
Some glorious page of old.

The blessed Homes of England !  
How softly on their bowers  
Is laid the holy quietness  
That breathes from Sabbath-hours !  
Solemn, yet sweet, the church-bell's chime  
Floats thro' their woods at morn ;  
All other sounds, in that still time,  
Of breeze and leaf are born.

The Cottage Homes of England !  
By thousands on her plains,  
They are smiling o'er the silvery brooks,  
And round the hamlet-fanes.

Thro' glowing orchards forth they peep,  
 Each from its nook of leaves,  
 And fearless there the lowly sleep,  
 As the bird beneath their eaves.

The free, fair Homes of England !  
 Long, long, in hut and hall,  
 May hearts of native proof be rear'd  
 To guard each hallow'd wall !  
 And green for ever be the groves,  
 And bright the flowery sod,  
 Where first the child's glad spirit loves  
 Its country and its God !

### TO WORDSWORTH.

*By the Same.*

THINE is a strain to read among the hills,  
 The old and full of voices ;—by the source  
 Of some free stream, whose gladdening presence fills  
 The solitude with sound ; for in its course  
 Even such is thy deep song, that seems a part  
 Of those high scenes, a fountain from their heart.

Or its calm spirit fitly may be taken  
 To the still breast, in sunny garden-bowers,  
 Where vernal winds each tree's low tones awaken,  
 And bud and bell with changes mark the hours.  
 There let thy thoughts be with me, while the day  
 Sinks with a golden and serene decay.

Or by some hearth where happy faces meet,  
 When night hath hush'd the woods, with all their birds,  
 There, from some gentle voice, that lay were sweet  
 As antique music, link'd with household words.  
 While, in pleased murmurs, woman's lip might move,  
 And the rais'd eye of childhood shine in love.

Or where the shadows of dark solemn yews  
 Brood silently o'er some lone burial-ground,  
 Thy verse hath power that brightly might diffuse  
 A breath, a kindling, as of spring, around ;  
 From its own glow of hope and courage high,  
 And steadfast faith's victorious constancy.

True bard, and holy !—thou art ev'n as one  
 Who, by some secret gift of soul or eye,  
 In every spot beneath the smiling sun,  
 Sees where the springs of living waters lie :  
 Unseen awhile they sleep—till, touch'd by thee,  
 Bright healthful waves flow forth to each glad wanderer free.



## KORNER AND HIS SISTER..

*By the Same.*

GREEN wave the oak for ever o'er thy rest,  
 Thou that beneath its crowning foliage sleepest,  
 And, in the stillness of thy country's breast,  
 Thy place of memory, as an altar keepest ;  
 Brightly thy spirit o'er her hills was pour'd,  
 Thou of the Lyre and Sword !

Rest, bard ! rest, soldier !—by the father's hand  
 Here shall the child of after-years be led,  
 With his wreath-offering silently to stand,  
 In the hush'd presence of the glorious dead.  
 Soldier and bard ! for thou thy path hast trod  
 With freedom and with God.

The oak wav'd proudly o'er thy burial-rite,  
 On thy crown'd bier to slumber warriors bore thee,  
 And with true hearts thy brethren of the fight  
 Wept as they vail'd their drooping banners o'er thee.  
 And the deep guns with rolling peal gave token,  
 That Lyre and Sword were broken.

*Thou* hast a hero's tomb :—a lowlier bed  
 Is hers, the gentle girl beside thee lying,  
 The gentle girl, that bow'd her fair, young head,  
 When thou wert gone, in silent sorrow dying.  
 Brother, true friend ! the tender and the brave—  
 She pined to share thy grave.

Fame was thy gift from others ;—but for *her*,  
 To whom the wide world held that only spot,  
*She* lov'd thee !—lovely in your lives ye were,  
 And in your early deaths divided not.  
 Thou hast thine oak, thy trophy :—What hath she ?—  
 Her own blest place by thee !

It was thy spirit, brother ! which had made  
 The bright earth glorious to her thoughtful eye,  
 Since first in childhood midst the vines ye play'd,  
 And sent glad singing thro' the free blue sky.  
 Ye were but two—and when that spirit pass'd  
 'Woe to the one, the last !

Woe, yet not long !—*She* linger'd but to trace  
 Thine image from the image in her breast,  
 Once, once again to see that buried face  
 But smile upon her, ere she went to rest.

Too sad a smile ! its living light was o'er,  
It answer'd hers no more.

The earth grew silent when thy voice departed,  
The home too lonely whence thy step had fled ?  
What then was left for her, the faithful-hearted ?  
Death, death, to still the yearning for the dead !  
Softly she perish'd : be the Flower deplor'd  
Here with the Lyre and Sword !

Have ye not met ere now ?—so let those trust  
That meet for moments but to part for years,  
That weep, watch, pray, to hold back dust from dust,  
That love, where love is but a fount of tears.  
Brother, sweet sister ! peace around ye dwell :—  
Lyre, Sword, and Flower, farewell !

---

BANWELL CAVE.\*

*By the* REV. W. L. BOWLES.

SPIRIT and shadow of the ancient world,  
Awake ! Thou who hast slept four thousand years,  
Arise ! For who can gaze upon this vault,  
Strewn with the fragments of a former world,  
Swept to destruction,—but must pause to think  
Of the mutations of the Globe ;—of Time,  
Hurrying to onward spoil ;—of his own life,  
Swift-passing as a summer-cloud away ;—  
Of HIM, who spoke and the dread storm went forth !  
Since then, these bones that strew the inmost cave  
Have lain, the records of that awful doom.

When now the black abyss had ceas'd to roar,  
And waters, shrinking from the rocks and hills,  
Slept in the solitary sunshine,—HERE  
THEY LAY ; and when four thousand years had pass'd—  
And the grey smoke went up from villages—  
And cities, with their tow'rs and temples shone  
Where Life's great hum was murmuring,—  
HERE THEY LAY !

The crow sail'd o'er the lonely spot, the bents  
Wav'd to the summer-air, yet, undisturbed

---

\* In Somersetshire. See Dr. Buckland's interesting illustrations of these remains of a former world. The bishop of Bath and Wells has built a picturesque and appropriate cottage near the cave, on the hill commanding this fine view.

They lay:—till lo!—as if but yesterday  
 The wave had left them,—into light again  
 The shadowy spectacle of ages past  
 Seems to leap up, as the dim cave unfolds  
 Its mystery. Say! Christian, is it true?  
 This cavern's deep recess, strew'd with white bones,  
 Faint echo to thy Bible! O'er the cave  
 Pale Science ruminates.

Meantime I gaze  
 In silence on the scene below, and mark  
 The morning sunshine,—on that very shore  
 Where once a child I wandered:—Oh! return,  
 (I sigh) “return a moment, days of youth,  
 “Of childhood,—oh, return!” How vain the thought,  
 Vain as unworthy! yet sad Poesy  
 Unblam'd may dally with imaginings.  
 For this wide view is like the shadowy scene,  
 Once travers'd o'er with carelessness and glee,  
 And we look back upon the vale of years,  
 And hear remembered voices, and behold,  
 In blended colours, images and shades  
 Long pass'd, now rising, as at Memory's call,  
 Again in softer light.

*There is the church,*  
 Crowning the high hill-top, which overlooks  
 BREAD-DOWN, where in its lonelier amplitude  
 Stretches into grey mist the Severn Sea.  
*There*, mingled with the clouds, old Cambria draws  
 Her line of mountains, fading far away;  
*There* sit the sister Holms, in the mid-tide  
 Secure and smiling, though its vasty sweep,  
 As it rides by, might almost seem to rive  
 The deep foundations of the Earth again,—  
 Might scorn its shatter'd limits, and ascend  
 O'erwhelming to these heights, to bury there  
 Fresh welt'ring carcases, and leave their bones  
 A spectacle for ages yet unborn,  
 To teach its sternest moral to the heart.

---

'Tis well we hear not the fleet wings of Time.  
 Enough, if while the summer-day steals on,  
 We muse upon the wreck of ages past,  
 And own there is a God who rules the world.

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